

### *Dixon's Statement on Mediation Efforts*

Sir Owen Dixon, United Nations Mediator in the Kashmir dispute, announced at Karachi on August 22 that he had come to the conclusion that there was no immediate prospect of India and Pakistan composing any of their differences over the State of Jammu and Kashmir, and that he would shortly report to the Security Council.

The following is the full text of the statement issued by Sir Owen Dixon :

"I regret to announce that I have come to the conclusion that there is no immediate prospect of India and Pakistan composing any of their differences over the State of Jammu and Kashmir. No purpose can be served by my remaining any longer in the sub-continent.

"Till now I have thought it necessary for me to say nothing publicly about the course which my attempts to bring about a settlement of the matter were following. I was dealing with the two Governments and I considered that if any disclosure was to be made as to negotiations on foot, it was for them, and not for me, to make it. I believe that the Press in the sub-continent has recognised the wisdom, if not the necessity, of my maintaining silence and I desire to thank the Press for the respect they have shown for the position I thus adopted. But I think that now I should say something about the nature of the attempts that I have made to compose the differences between the two countries with respect to Jammu and Kashmir.

"I arrived in the sub-continent on 27th May, 1950 but until both the Prime Minister of India and the Prime Minister of Pakistan had returned everything I did was by way of preparation. The situation that I found was a strange one. The State of Jammu and Kashmir was divided by a cease-fire line. Armed forces serving under the commands of the respective countries occupied the territory on either side of the line. There had been no hostilities since the end of the year 1948. Substantially this state of things had gone on for seventeen months.

"Some measure of agreement had been arrived at between the two countries. It was expressed in the resolution of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan and of the Security Council. All I need say about it is that while it was agreed that the question of the accession of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to India or Pakistan could be decided through the democratic method of a free and impartial plebiscite, it was also agreed that the plebiscite would be held when certain truce arrangements should be carried out upon which the parties had not then agreed and never have agreed; and further that the details of the proposals should be elaborated in consultation with the Commission to determine fair and equitable conditions by which the free expression of the will of the people would be assured.

"In this situation I decided that it was my first duty to attempt to bring about an agreement between the two Governments which could enable the plebiscite to be held or at all events enable the preparations for

holding it to go forward. Many difficulties have been raised which had proved obstacles to such an agreement and others seemed likely to be raised. I, therefore, worked out a series of proposals of a somewhat detailed nature which were directed to meet these difficulties both as a matter of principle and as practical measure. I invited the two Prime Ministers to meet me at Delhi on July 20. At that meeting, as neither side had any proposal to make, I explained my proposals to them.

"The meeting extended over four or five days and it is hardly necessary to say that the proposals were fully discussed. The discussion covered the possibility of modifying or varying the proposals in some particulars and I threw out suggestions of other alternatives directed to securing the holding of an overall plebiscite but it became increasingly evident that my proposals did not contain or suggest a solution which the Prime Minister of India felt himself able to accept.

"No plan or suggested measures were put forward by either of the parties and at length the two Prime Ministers and I concurred in the view that there was no hope of any agreement being reached upon the measures preparatory for an overall plebiscite.

"There is no difference of opinion upon the view that the possibility had been exhausted of any agreement being reached upon the necessary conditions, including the demilitarisation of the State, which must exist before a general plebiscite could be held.

"In that situation it was evident that I must turn to some alternative suggestions which in the language of the Security Council's resolution under which I act, would be likely to contribute to the expeditious and enduring solution of the dispute which has arisen between the two Governments in regard to the State of Jammu and Kashmir.

"I, therefore, stated to the two Prime Ministers that I wished consideration to be given to certain other possible solutions which did not involve an overall plebiscite. It is enough to mention one of these, because that alone has been pursued. It is that wherever the desires of the inhabitants are known, the territory should be partitioned between India and Pakistan in accordance with those desires, due regard, however, being given to geographical, economic, topographical and demographical considerations. But where the desire of the people are uncertain, there a plebiscite should be held for the purpose of ascertaining them. The voting would be confined to that limited area.

"I thought that this form of solution ought greatly to reduce and might even remove the difficulties that had been encountered as to demilitarisation and securing the freedom and fairness of the plebiscite. The fear that an overall plebiscite might lead to further movements of people would also be largely removed. I asked that India should inform me what was her attitude to such a plan for settling the dispute over the State of Jammu and Kashmir. The conference of the Prime Ministers was then adjourned.

"I remained in Delhi until August 21, conferring

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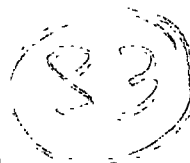
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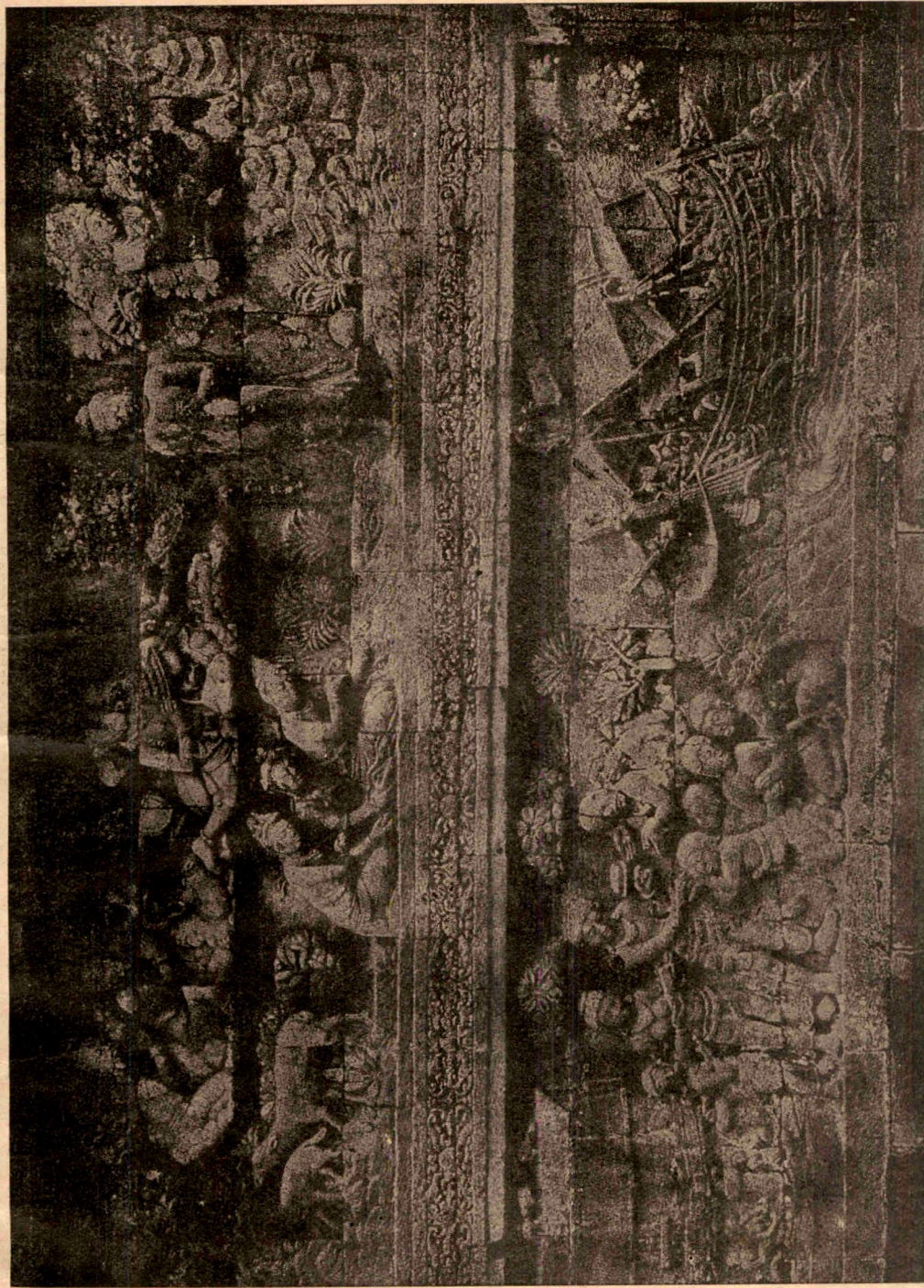
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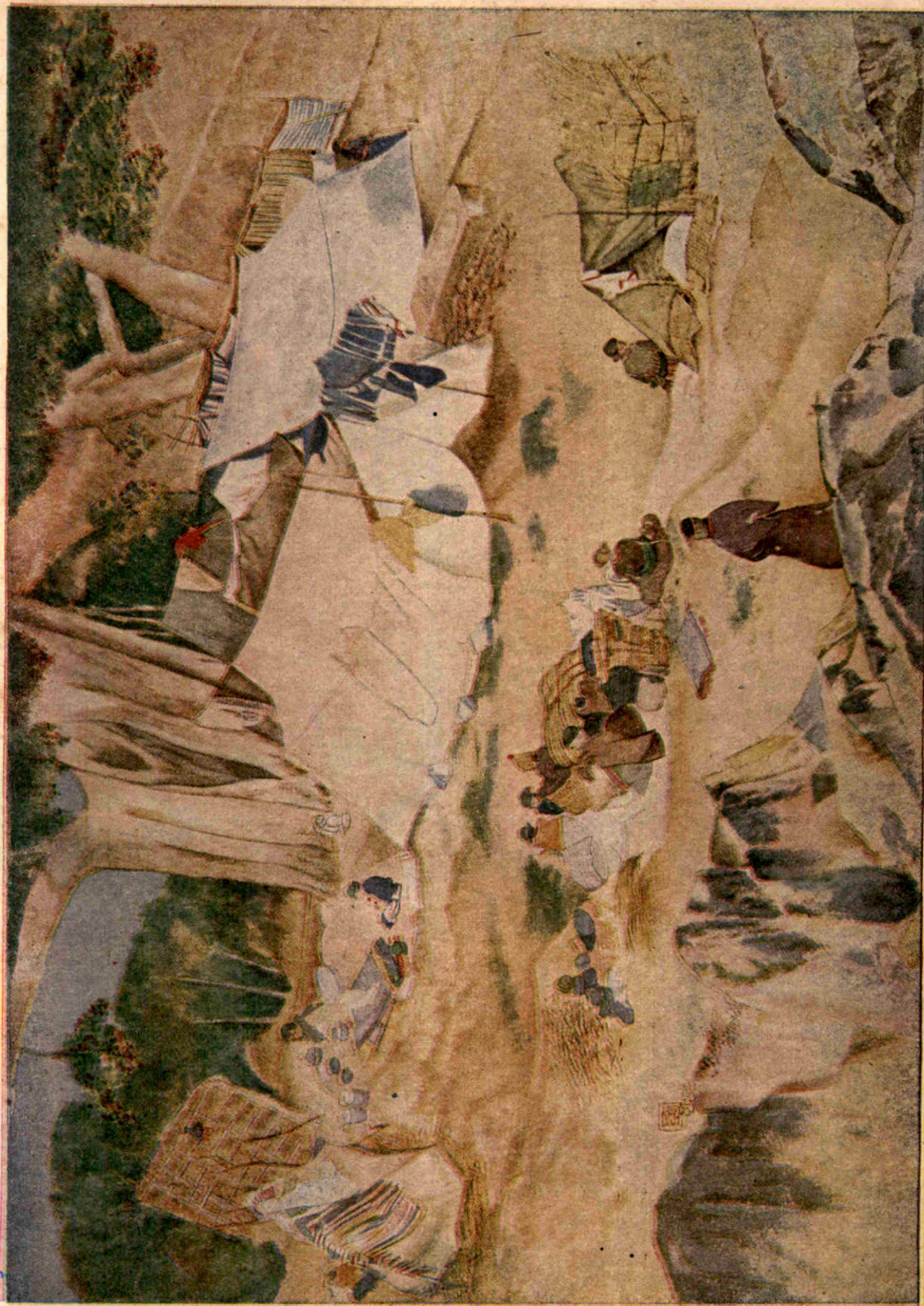


BOROBUDUR, JAVA—TWELVE HUNDRED YEARS BEFORE NEHRU



Top : A story from Lalita-Bistara  
Below : Indian merchants on voyage to Java





PILGRIMS' CAMP  
By Hira Chand Dugar

Prabasi Press, Calcutta



# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## NOTES

### *The World Situation*

Ominous portents have appeared in the Far-Eastern horizon. It is beyond the powers of any sage or prophet to foretell what they presage. Let us hope saner counsels will prevail over intransigence and that the trouble will be localized and reduced to normality.

But despite all hopes to contrary it behoves us to set our houses in order and to prepare for any possible exigency—even for that of a world conflagration. There is no sense in ignoring the fact that the world is arraigned today in two camps, both armed to the teeth. And in both camps there is no want of hot-heads and sabre rattlers ready for a trial of strength with a "damn the consequences" attitude. Under these circumstances a mere chance slip may precipitate a third World War, before even the wounds of the last one have begun to heal. The consequences would indeed be catastrophic, too terrible to visualise, but nevertheless we have to face the possibilities, while striving to maintain peace and amity with all nations.

The leaders of our nation are perfectly right in trying to keep out of any alignment save and except that of peaceful nations. But there are intrinsic values and basic principles, common to all civilizations, which no nation dare ignore with impunity, and therefore circumstances might quite possibly arise which might force us to take up arms. We must realize, without any further delay, that there are considerations which cannot be ignored and that dire consequences may follow a blind disregard of facts. Preparedness must therefore be the watchword of the moment. We would like to be assured, therefore, that those who are in charge of the nation's affairs, are exercising ceaseless vigilance together with caution.

We may examine the position abroad a little later,

but the situation at home has to be examined and a reckoning arrived at without the least avoidable delay. As matters stand, our nationals are passing through a period of extreme stress and tension, and there are unmistakable signs that the entire social and economic structure has reached the breaking point under the strain. Our leaders are inexperienced and there are hosts of disruptive forces abroad, seeking to undermine the fabric of the Union along the fissures created by greed, corruption and social injustice. It is time therefore to make an all-out effort to stop all malpractices and anti-social and anti-national movements. A halt must be called to the jockeying for political power as well, as there is an urgent call for national solidarity.

Turning to our next door neighbour, Pakistan, we think that the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact may indeed yet prove to be a blessing in disguise. We say "in disguise" deliberately, because we confess we neither liked nor believed in the Pact, at the time of its formulation, because of the procedure followed by Pandit Nehru and because of our experiences in the past about such agreements with Pakistan. We have to admit now that if the nationals of the two countries were locked in an armed trial of strength, all our doors would have been left open, perforce, to any third party that might be formidable enough to contemplate infiltration or open aggression.

We have to take stock of the Pact with an open mind therefore, as, under the present circumstances, both India and Pakistan stand to lose substantially if it fails. A realistic view of the situation must be insisted upon as the alternative to the Pact is now relegated to the sphere of speculation in its entirety. The men at the top in Pakistan are viewing the matter with serious realism, as we have been assured

by Pir Rashidi, the spokesman for the P.E.N.C. And we must say that we have been impressed by the frankness and sincerity of the chief representative of our brother editors of Pakistan.

It may be said that we are laying too much emphasis on a minor incident in a far distant country, and therefore all this homily is uncalled for. To such critics we would say that the Korean Incident may be taken at the best as a frightful demonstration, convincing in its stark reality, of the precarious condition of world politics. Even if the situation does not deteriorate any more, no sane person can dismiss the implications thereof and go on with theoretical speculations regarding gain and loss.

### Korea

The centre of gravity of international politics has shifted sharply from Europe to the Far East. With the sudden invasion of South Korea by North Korea coming close upon the heels of the cold war, the world now stands face to face with the problem of the third World War. On the defeat of Japan Korea was cut into two along the 38th parallel, the northern half surrendered to Russia and southern one to the U.S.A. Since then the north had a Russian sponsored government and the south had an American backed one. Shortly after partition, efforts for the unification of Korea started. The United Nations had sent a Commission to Korea for a local study and report. They were refused facilities to enter North Korea. The Commission is now in South Korea.

The invaders from North Korea are reported to have been armed with Russian made rifles, mortars, heavy guns and ammunition. They are also believed to have Russian fighter and reconnaissance planes, bombers, light tanks and light naval craft.

Immediately on receipt of the news, contrary to its Kashmir attitude, the U. N. Security Council went into session to consider the Korean fighting. The only item before the Council was the United States complaint of "aggression against the Government of South Korea" by North Korean forces. The Soviet delegate was absent. Mr. Lie said that the Report of U. N. Korea Commission complained that military action had been undertaken by North Korea in direct violation of the General Assembly resolution and also in violation of the principle of the United Nations Charter. The Security Council on June 25 branded the invasion of South Korea from the North as an act of aggression, called for fighting to stop, and ordered the northern forces back over the border. President Truman issued a statement in which he said that the U.S.A. would vigorously support the efforts of the Security Council to end the serious breach of the peace in Korea. He said:

"Our concern over the lawless action taken by the forces from North Korea and our sympathy

and support for the people of Korea in this situation are being demonstrated by the co-operative action of American personnel in Korea as well as by steps taken to expedite and assist the assistance of the type being furnished under the mutual defence assistance programme.

"Those responsible for this act of aggression must realise how seriously the Government of the United States views such threats to the peace of the world.

"Wilful disregard of the obligation to keep the peace cannot be tolerated by nations that support the United Nations' Charter.

"In accordance with the resolution of the Security Council, the United States will vigorously support the effort of the Council to terminate this serious breach of the peace."

U.S.A. ordered General MacArthur to rush all available arms aid from Japan to South Korea.

The order to rush all possible supplies to aid the South Koreans came as General Omar Bradley, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, summoned his chiefs to a top-level conference in Washington's pentagon headquarters.

Meanwhile, General J. Lawton Collins, the Army's Chief of Staff, arranged to brief the civilian secretaries of the Army, Navy and Air Force on latest moves while the United Nations Security Council discussed the invasion—branded as a threat to international peace.

Last year the U. S. Congress allocated 120,000,000 dollars in Marshal Aid to South Korea. This year it is due to receive another 100,000,000 dollars in economic assistance.

South Korea has also received about 10,000,000 dollars in military aid this year and had been expecting to receive a similar amount in next year's budget.

The South Koreans have also had the use of large quantities of military equipment including light arms, ammunition, communications equipment and lorries which the United States Army left behind when it withdrew.

America's decision to send South Korea as much arms aid as she can and as fast as she can was made at a top-level diplomatic and military meeting at the State Department, it was learned.

A high State Department official said before the conference, "Things still seem to favour the North. This seems to be a real attack."

General MacArthur's Headquarters also described the North Korean operation as an "extensive invasion." They, it was believed, had thrown in 70,000 troops and 70 tanks against the South.

Two days after the fighting started, President Truman ordered U.S. air and sea forces into action in Korea and took steps to safeguard the security of other non-Communist States in Asia. Acting as Commander-in-Chief of U.S. Armed Forces, he ordered the U.S. Navy and Air Forces to give South Korean Government troops "cover and support in

their resistance to the North Korean invaders." He ordered the Seventh Fleet "to prevent any attack on Formosa" and announced acceleration of military aid to the Philippines and Indo-China. He also called upon the Chinese Nationalist Government to cease all air and sea operations against the mainland. In a prepared statement, he said :

"In Korea, the Government forces, which were armed to prevent border raids and to preserve internal security, were attacked by invading forces from North Korea.

"The Security Council of the U. N. called upon the invading troops to cease hostilities and to withdraw to the 38th Parallel. This they have not done, but on the contrary have pressed the attack.

"The Security Council called upon all members of the U.N. to render every assistance to the U.N. in the execution of this resolution.

"In these circumstances I have ordered U.S. air and sea forces to give the Korean Government troops cover and support.

"The attack upon Korea makes it plain beyond all doubt that Communism has passed beyond the use of subversion to conquer independent nations and will now use armed invasion and war.

"It has defied the orders of the Security Council of the U.N. issued to preserve international peace and security.

"In these circumstances the occupation of Formosa by Communist forces would be a direct threat to the security of the Pacific area and to U.S. forces performing their lawful and necessary functions in that area."

General MacArthur, Allied Supreme Commander in Japan, has taken charge of the whole tactical operation around Korea, including operational control of the Seventh Fleet. A U.S. Defence Department official said, that the U.S. did not contemplate sending ground forces, either army or marine, to Korea.

The Security Council, on June 27, was called upon by U.S.A. to allow all members of the U. N. to help the Korean Republic to repel the armed attack. The Council passed the following resolution :

"The Security Council having determined that the armed attack upon the Republic of Korea by forces from North Korea constitutes a breach of the peace.

"Having called upon the authorities of North Korea to withdraw forthwith their Armed Forces to the 38th Parallel, and having noted from the report of the U.N. Commission for Korea that the authorities in North Korea have neither ceased hostilities nor withdrawn their armed Forces to the 38th Parallel and that urgent military measures are required to restore international peace and security and having noted the appeal from the Republic of Korea to the U.N. for immediate and effective steps to secure peace and security :

"Recommends that the members of the U.N. furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and security in the area."

The North Korean case has been put forward by its Premier Kim Il Sun in a broadcast speech. He said :

"The forces of the puppet Government of the traitor Syngman Rhee started an offensive on the terri-

tory to the North of the 38th Parallel. The valiantly fighting protection units having received the attack, checked the advance of the forces of the puppet army of Syngman Rhee.

"The Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, having considered the situation, ordered our People's Army to pass to a decisive counter-offensive.

"Executing the order, the Army of the Korean People's Democratic Republic repulsed the enemy from the territory to the North of the 38th Parallel and advanced 10 to 15 kilometres southwards, liberating the towns of Ongjin, Enan, Kaeson and Paikczon as well as a number of other towns and inhabited localities.

"The traitorous clique of Syngman Rhee has unleashed an anti-popular civil war, although the patriotic democratic forces of our Motherland have fought for the unification of the Motherland by peaceful means. It is well known that the Syngman Rhee clique has long prepared for civil war.

The Premier said the Southern Koreans constantly provoked military clashes on the 38th Parallel and added that "In the course of the preparations for the campaign into the North, on orders from the American imperialists, the traitors did not shrink from entering into a conspiracy with the hated enemies of the Korean people, the Japanese militarists.

"The Government of the Korean People's Democratic Republic, together with all patriotic democratic parties and public organizations, together with the people of all Korea has made every effort to avoid the misfortune of civil war and to unite our Motherland without bloodshed by peaceful means."

The Premier declared that "The Korean people must defend the Korean People's Democratic Republic and its Constitution, liquidate the anti-popular Fascist puppet Syngman Rhee regime set up in the southern part of our Motherland, liberate the southern part of our Motherland from the rule of the Syngman Rhee clique and establish there People's Committees, genuine organs of power."

"We must set up one single independent Democratic State and subordinate all work to the requirements and to the task of destroying the enemy," he said.

On June 27, the U.S.A. sent a Note to Russia asking it to use its influence to bring about a withdrawal of the North Korean forces invading South Korea.

On June 28, President Truman said in Washington that it was now up to the Russian leaders to decide whether there was to be peace or a third World War.

On the same day, Britain entered the field. The Prime Minister Mr. Attlee announced that Britain had decided immediately to place her naval forces in Japanese waters at the disposal of American authorities intervening in the Korean war. When he informed the House of Commons of this decision, Mr. Churchill, on behalf of the Opposition said, that the Prime Minister spoke for all parties and, "we shall do our best to give him any support he needs."

On June 29, Commonwealth High Commissioners in London discussed the new Far East moves following the Korean war. The meeting, it is believed, may presage new developments in the war against Communists in Malaya.

On that day, the decisions of the Australian and

Indian Governments were also announced. Australian and New Zealand Fleet were placed at the disposal of the U. N. through the U.S.A. The Dutch Government also decided to make Dutch Naval Forces available for necessary measures in the Korea area. India decided to assist the Republic of South Korea in her fight against invasion from the North. The following is the India Government's *Communique* :

The Government of India have viewed with grave concern the developments in Korea involving as they do not only civil war but also a threat to world peace. There have been a number of border incidents between North and South Korea in the past. But, whatever the nature of these might have been, it appears clear from the information available to the Government of India that a large-scale invasion of South Korea took place by armed forces of the North Korean Government.

This information was supplied by a variety of sources, the most authoritative among them being the U. N. Commission on Korea on which India is represented, and which, at the time of invasion, was in Seoul. In view of this information the Government of India's permanent delegate to the U. N. and representative on the Security Council, Sir Narsing Rau, supported the first resolution of the Security Council which declared that such aggression had taken place and called for a cease-fire and withdrawal of the North Korean forces to the 38th parallel.

This decision of the Security Council was not acted upon by the North Korean Government and their forces and the invasion continued till it threatened the capital city of Seoul.

The Security Council met again to consider this rapidly changing situation and passed the second resolution on Korea on the night of June 27 (*New York Times*). The Government of India's representative on the Security Council was unable to participate in the voting on this second resolution on Korea because he could not communicate it in time to his Government and obtain their instructions. The operative part of this resolution "recommends that the members of the U. N. furnish such assistance to the Republic of Korea as may be necessary to repel the armed attack and to restore international peace and security in the area."

The Government of India have given the most careful consideration to this resolution of the Security Council in the context of the events in Korea and also of their general foreign policy. They are opposed to any attempt to settle international disputes by resort to aggression.

For this reason, Sir Narsing Rau, on behalf of the Government of India, voted in favour of the first resolution of the Security Council. The halting of aggression and the quick restoration of peaceful conditions are essential prelude to a satisfactory settlement. The Government of India, therefore, also accept the second resolution of the Security Council.

This decision of the Government of India does not, however, involve any modification of their foreign policy.

This policy is based on the promotion of world peace and the development of friendly relations with all countries, it remains an independent policy which will continue to be determined solely by India's ideals and objectives.

The Government of India earnestly hope that even at this stage it may be possible to put an end to the fighting and to settle the dispute by mediation.

Affairs in the Far East had, for some time past, been drifting towards a crisis which is now upon us. Events here had not merited the attention they deserved and were much under-rated in the world Press. Mao Tse-tung's capture of power was described generally as a sort of agrarian revolution having merely an ideological Communist background. This was almost the general view to which Mr. Bevin and Pandit Nehru subscribed which led to a quick recognition of the Communist regime. The fight in Malaya can no longer be said to be one of pure banditry, its political character, importance and magnitude is now fairly clear. In Indonesia, the confederation in power may soon have to measure strength with the extreme Left who are quite strong and consolidated. The Philippines sit on a volcano. The Huks are giving the Government trouble. In Indo-China, the Viet Minh has been under-estimated from the very beginning, and the manner by which the Communists were sought to be countered with the aid of an ex-Emperor tells a sorry tale. Burma had no peace since her freedom, she is torn between three parties, the Communists having a formidable strength. Against this background, Pandit Nehru has just completed a South-East Asian tour. After this tour, he seemed to be prophetic when, in the Calcutta Editors' Conference, as also on some other occasion, he referred to the gathering clouds in the Far East which might bring on another world devastating typhoon.

Will Korea lead to the third World War?—this is the question uppermost in every heart. If it drifts the way of Civil War in Spain where the Fascists won with German help because the Powers aiding the Democrats could not agree among themselves, it will lead to a World War. But if the Korean Civil War follows along the Israel-Arab lines where Powers have not staged a miniature try-out of arms and strategy, it will boil down to a zonal territorial conflict and the World War clouds will melt away.

Weeks, if not days, will decide the issue.

### *Soviet Boycott of U.N.O. Organisations*

Since political power over China went from the hands of the Nationalists to those of the Communists, the Soviet Union and its allies represented in the various organs of the United Nations Organisation, have been consistently boycotting these, specially the Security Council, the highest Executive of these International organisations because China is represented in them by a Nationalist representative. This boycott has been holding up all progressive measures for the solution of the world's many intricate problems; it has been given point to the rising temper of the two groups of world Powers led by the United States and the Soviet Union respectively.

India has been trying to play a lone hand in this affair. She has recognised the Chinese Communist regime, and it has been her attempt to break the present deadlock. It appears now that the deadlock is on the way to a break. Sree H. L. Jerath, Deputy Director General of Post and Telegraph in the Government of India who went to represent his State at the meeting of the Executive and Liaison Commission of the Universal Postal Union reports that this meeting has taken a decision that will have far-reaching consequences. The decision taken is,

"The expulsion of the representative of Nationalist China and the recognition of the Republican delegate as the sole representative of China. This move which was made by Czechoslovakia was seconded by India and it was a bold decision in view of the fact that this was the first agency of the United Nations to recognise Republican China on the grounds that it was the Government in charge of the postal administration of the country."

### *Soviet Union and Peace*

They had a Peace Conference at Vienna (Austria), on June 11 last to popularize the cause of Peace in the world. The following, sent from Vienna on June 15 last, throws light on the mind of a section of the delegates to the Conference with regard to this problem troubling the hearts of the world's more than 225 crores of people and causing headache to the whole body of world statesmen and its thought-leaders :

"Prof. Hans Thirring, Austria's leading atomic scientist, threw down a challenge to Eastern European delegates to secure from their leaders pledges of freedom for their peoples and 'practical proofs of their own humanity' at a session of the Communist-organised peace conference here.

"According to the reports, he faced the Eastern European delegates on the platform and declared : 'You must understand that millions of anxious people know that in the Soviet Union and in the People's Democracies strict military organisations exist and that spokesmen of these countries carry on an uncompromising relentless campaign against the Governments of the rest of the world.

"Further, every first of May, the whole world can view with amazement pictures and reports showing indescribable military parades with the most modern tanks, bombers and frightful flame-throwers and other weapons taking place in Moscow, of all places.

"Is it to be wondered at if the people of the West, intimidated by this sort of sabre-rattling parade, can place little faith in peace offers from the East ?"

Prof. Thirring asked the Soviet Union to give up its permanent veto against the conclusion of an Austrian peace treaty ; this would be a 'splendid practical contribution to the peace idea.'

Prof. Thirring's speech was really directed to the Soviet Union. The delegates from the Soviet-dominated States and from the Soviet Union had to reply, therefore :

Czechoslovakia's Health Minister, Josef Plojhar, after quick consultation with the Russian delegates, declared in reply that neither Russian nor the other East European States would 'make one single step over their own frontiers for an aggressive war.'

Amid cheers, he told the delegates : 'On the basis of our so-called Eastern ideology we are convinced, the new socialist world does not need a war, and will certainly not start a war.'

The Russian delegate, Anatol Cafronov followed him and said : 'The Soviet Army has no aggressive intention.'

### *American Naval Bases in Japan*

The Press and politicians of the Soviet Union and of its allies never tire of propagandising the thesis that "dollar imperialism" is anxious to retain its stranglehold over Japan. As evidence of this intention they cite the delay in General MacArthur's departure from Japan with his occupation forces. The Soviet Press also say that this delay is really caused by the anxiety of the U.S.A. to get from Japan certain naval bases in her mainland as protective measures against the rise of Communism in Japan and as jumping-off grounds for the attack on Communism's homeland.

We have no desire to take part in this controversy. But the following news sent from Japan on June 6 last, puts a different colour to the whole of it :

"Naval bases in Japan are not essential to United States security, Admiral Arthur Radford, C-in-C. of the U. S. Pacific Fleet, told reporters here yesterday. Pearl Harbour and Guam were the main U.S. bases in the Pacific.

The U.S. Navy had during the past war highly developed mobile support groups. Short-based facilities were desirable if they could be obtained and produced, but the Navy could operate with Pearl Harbour and Guam if necessary. Formosa could be made, in an emergency, into 'a very important base' by anyone who held it, the Admiral said. The Russians could turn Formosa into a 'very serious threat' if they wanted to."

The opinion cited above will not, we are afraid, silence the controversialists. But it is necessary to know its various details.

### *China and India*

It was not expected when India accorded recognition to the Mao Tse-tung regime in China, generally known as the Communist regime, that this will receive praise from the United States, from its ruling classes at least. But we were not prepared for the continuous sniping to which our Government is being subjected from American publicmen and publicists. The following sent from New York on June 16 last by the *Press Trust of India* and *Reuter* throws light on their attitude.

The *New York Times*, in a despatch from its Hongkong correspondent reported that India is now the one country outside the Soviet Union and People's Democracies, to get "favoured courtesies" in Peking. The 600-word report was headed: "Chinese Reds give special attention to India;" "Nehru envoy gets favoured courtesies—Communists stress common frontier."

Giving an example of the "special treatment" given to India, the report said, "The official news report describing the massive May Day parade in Peking listed India as the only country except the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies represented on the viewing platform."

The despatch added, that the Chinese Communist Government "had been far more friendly with the Government of Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru than with any other large nation of the non-Communist world."

The report referred to "the warm reception" given to Sardar K. M. Panikkar, India's Ambassador, and said that texts of speeches made on the occasion of the Indian diplomat's presentation of credentials to Mao Tse-tung "were broadcast by the Peking Radio." One week later, Mao gave a State dinner in honour of Sardar Panikkar, a report of which was circulated to the Chinese Press throughout the country by the official news service.

The *New China News Agency* also noted that Sardar Panikkar had separately called on such top Communist leaders as Commander-in-Chief Chu Teh and Liou Shao-chi.

"In his greeting to Sardar Panikkar, Mao spoke of the common frontier between India and China."

### *Dependence on Britain*

We have a certain feeling that the Government of India and its military advisers have been depending too much on British advice, experience and military equipment for the defence of their State. The reason for it is easily understood; our military leaders have learnt their trade at British institutions and under British instruction. They are naturally afraid to go in for other help and advice. And as the Anglo-Saxon Powers have standardized their weapons of war, India has willy-nilly no other choice but to depend on Britain for her military preparations. The constant visits to Britain of India's military leaders is an evidence of this fact. They have, therefore, to draw upon British experience for the organisation of their fighting forces.

We have never been able to understand why an attempt should not be made to throw off this dependence. The sorriest part of the affair is that India has to look as yet to outside Powers for ideas on the latest technique of warfare. And as in the past Britain has been in the habit of saddling India with her unused and unusable equipments, we will not be surprised to hear that she has been doing the same in the matter of military advice and equipments. We have often wondered why the India Government have not tried to exploit German, Japanese and Russian experience in this line. It is not too late to mend. In any case, for obvious reasons, no country should depend entirely on one foreign power in the matter of its defence equipment, technique and plans.

### *Dr. Matthai's Statement*

The resignation of Dr. Matthai and his statement in reply to the Premier's statement, had met with a mixed reception in the country. The newspapers generally

condemned it while the average public received it with acclaim. As the Premier was away in his South-East Asian tour, Maulana Azad, the Education Minister replied in a public statement to Dr. Matthai. This must be considered unfair and not worthy of a Cabinet Minister. The Maulana Azad's action left the other Ministers or any of them to come up in support of Dr. Matthai and thus start a chorus of mutual recrimination. The only person who should make such a reply is the Prime Minister, and nobody else.

*Vigil* made the following comments upon this controversy which deserve attention:

"Last week we said in the Editorial Notes that unless the differences are 'purely personal or relate to top secrets affecting national security,' a Minister who leaves the Cabinet or is made to leave it should take the country into confidence about his point of view. This we hold is the procedure followed in every democratic country. Cabinet Ministers, however chosen, are the representatives of the people. If they leave their posts of responsibility the public has the right to know the reason why. That is the only way to educate voters to take an enlightened interest in their country's affairs. Therefore even when Mr. Neogy resigned we regretted his silence. If he had not been silent there would have been no ugly rumours about officials in the Commerce Department which the Prime Minister thought it necessary to contradict.

"We are therefore glad that Dr. Matthai has made a full statement on the differences that led to his resignation.

"Some papers have called Dr. Matthai's statement unfortunate. It is in a sense unfortunate, but only for him, if he has yet any ambition to join the present Government after a temporary retirement. If a democracy has a permanent Government it may as well dispense with the costly and cumbersome paraphernalia of democracy. The essence of a democracy is a periodically changing Government. How can this change come about unless people are made familiar with differing viewpoints all designed for the good of the country and for its strength? Nobody doubts that both Attlee and Churchill are good British patriots who, above everything else, want to make their country strong and prosperous. They both keep their points of view before the people and leave it to them to decide which policies have their approval.

"The Prime Minister denied that there were fundamental differences between him and Dr. Matthai (once a tower of strength). He laid emphasis on differences regarding approach to the Planning Commission. Dr. Matthai says that the reason given by the Prime Minister does not adequately explain his withdrawal from the Cabinet and he has in detail explained the differences about the Planning Commission which led to his resignation. He has referred to other differences also, namely, his fear that the Trade Pact with Pakistan would inevitably lead to a policy of appeasement, coupled with his suspicion that foreign influences were at work in our counsels to revalue the rupee to the detriment of our economy. He has also complained of extravagance in the

expenditure of public revenues specially in the departments controlled by the Prime Minister. These certainly are no minor differences. If the Prime Minister had not considered them as major, the question of Dr. Matthai's resignation could not have risen. It is widely known that the latter had sent in his resignation last winter, before the budget session. The Prime Minister dissuaded him from pursuing the matter and asked him to carry on through the budget session. The session was over but no change was made. The differences had evidently been squared up and the resignation withdrawn."

We however think that subsequent developments on the Planning Commission's status, power and activities became such that Dr. Matthai considered it wise to protest. The allegation he made against this body is serious. The Planning Commission is an appointive body responsible only to the Prime Minister. The Cabinet is responsible to the Parliament. If the Planning Commission is allowed full voice on all matters of economic policy then the Ministries of Finance, Industry and Supply, Commerce, Food, Agriculture — all become subordinate to it. Dr. Matthai alleged that the Planning Commission decided matters and asked the Cabinet to ditto it. Acceptance of this position means in effect acceptance of the Prime Minister as a Dictator. In vital matters of State policy, the Cabinet will be left to answer criticisms in the Parliament for decisions taken by the Planning Commission.

### *"Trees and Cereals and Cash-crops"*

An India-wide tree planting campaign has been launched for the first week of July. We do not know what experts decided this date at least for Bengal. Here the month of July is the worst one for the planting of trees. Planting is done here either well before the beginning of the monsoons so that the plants can be brought up to a certain stage so as to be able to stand the monsoon and not get drowned and rot, or at the close of it. Nobody plants trees here in the midst of the monsoon which breaks about the 15th of June.

The same confusion exists in the Grow-More-Food and Sow-More-Jute campaigns. In a Press release in May, Sri K. M. Munshi said :

"India is deficit not only in food but also in jute and cotton, and unless we can provide adequate quantities of jute and cotton to our industries, we may have to face a very serious industrial and economic crisis.

"It is, therefore, necessary to have a co-ordinated plan for achieving a three-fold self-sufficiency in food, cotton and jute.

"This can be done by intensifying the efforts in areas suitable for each of these three crops, and by reducing the margin of impact between them to the minimum. For instance, the areas most suitable for food production are the wheat-producing areas of Malwa, the delta systems of South India, the Ganga and Jamuna Canal tracts of Punjab (I) and U.P. and the Banas Kantha District of Bombay.

"As regards jute cultivation, the problem is still simpler because West Bengal and Bihar are the main

areas offering great scope for increasing jute cultivation. It is in these areas that we make an all-out effort to increase production in the short period now left to us in which to reach the target."

Mr. Munshi stressed the importance of the execution of these schemes and confessed that results "have not impressed me as being satisfactory."

"On the side of the administration, there is a lack of enthusiasm, hesitancy and absence of adjustments with the politician: in the public mind, there is a suspicion of the official. This is happily not universal, but we cannot ignore the existence of the unfortunate situation."

Now on the basis of this speech one would imagine that the peasants of West Bengal and Bihar have no reason whatsoever for bothering about the sale of all the jute they might grow. Indeed the road to Eldorado was open to them if they would but grow more jute. But then there is the Indian Jute Mills Association, dominated by its old British bosses, who are aided by a still more ruthless and unscrupulous group, who are of our own nationality, be it said to our sorrow and shame, which has intruded into Indian Industry. The Jute Pact was the result, and now where stands the Indian jute-grower?

### *Kashmir*

Sir Owen Dixon, the arbitrator appointed by the Security Council of the United Nations Organisation, has been in India for more than three weeks. He has been discussing matters with regard to the Kashmir deadlock with the Governments of India and Pakistan. His visit appears to have created fresh problems in this matter and started speculations in favour of various solutions of the Kashmir affair. The Premier of Kashmir, Sheikh Abdullah, is reported to be canvassing support for his scheme of an "Independent Kashmir," to be guaranteed by India and Pakistan and other great Powers. The British Press has stuck to its old plea for the partition of Kashmir.

This plea has gained a new importance by what the Prime Minister of India said at his monthly Press Conference on May 22 last. A correspondent asked him whether or not he would agree to the partition of Kashmir. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is reported to have replied :

"I am not prepared to give any categorical assurance of any kind whatsoever. Ultimately it is the people of Kashmir and not my assurance that will decide the matter."

This refusal to stand by his earlier assurances has emboldened *Time and Tide*, a London paper, to return to the solution of partition of Kashmir. On June 2 last it said that "the chances of settling the Kashmir dispute were better than in the past." It continued as follows :

"But though the new spirit of goodwill is very welcome, it could not in itself be sufficient to provide a basis for a permanent solution of the Kashmir dispute. What is really significant is that



Mr. Nehru has at last admitted that the real answer might lie in partition rather than in a plebiscite, though it is true that he has hedged his concession in by adding that such a division would have to be agreed to by the inhabitants of Kashmir.

"Hitherto the problems have been first to demilitarise the whole area, then to conduct a plebiscite over an impossible terrain, then to get the disputants to agree to the result.

"Partition would by-pass all this and could at the same time, if reasonably contrived, serve the best interests of the population. Fortunately, Sir Owen Dixon has been given fairly broad instructions and has room to manoeuvre. When he visits Srinagar, he will be in a position to decide which course of action gives better hope of ultimate success."

### *Kashmir's Economic Link with India*

An analysis of the economic link between Kashmir on the one hand and India and Pakistan on the other hand shows that Kashmir is more dependent on India than on Pakistan for her economic well-being. This has been revealed in a Srinagar message of the *Hindustan Standard*. The analysis is as follows :

The figures of imports for the years 1944-45, 1945-46 and 1946-47 as maintained by the State Customs Department are Rs. 638.08, Rs. 650.00 and Rs. 759.09 lakhs respectively. Kashmir acceded to India in October 1947, and the raiders' depredations and the general upsetting following these, put the import and export trade completely out of gear. Trade could revive only towards the end of 1948 but the figures since that time are not available.

The source of supply of cotton textiles, leather goods, metals, sugar, tea, stationery, silver bullion, fibrous products, tobacco and woollen piecegoods is in India, and Pakistan cannot obviously claim to supply these commodities as she is herself dependent for them on India and other foreign countries. Spirituous liquors and petroleum products are produced both in India and Pakistan, though in small quantities and it may be assumed that the main source of supply of these commodities to Kashmir are foreign.

With regard to exports, customs duties are levied only on fruits and vegetables, leather goods and seeds exported from the State. The more important things like timber, woollen and pashmina manufactures, silk, embroidery, wood-work, silver-ware and other goods are exempt from export duty. It is estimated that during the years 1944-45, 1945-46 and 1946-47 goods of the value of Rs. 808.61, Rs. 942.84 and Rs. 906.68 lakhs respectively were exported. Timber, the most important item of export, was partly exported as logs and partly as sleepers of Deodar, Fir, Pine and Kail. As such the greatest demand is in the industrial centres of India like Bombay, Calcutta and Kanpur. Fir timber amounting to nearly one-third of the total value of timber exported from Kashmir had its market entirely in India.

Under the head 'minor forest products,' Kashmir exported mostly drugs, turpentine and resin. Almost the entire quantity went to India as the requirements of the territory now consisting of West Pakistan were met by the Jallo Factory. As for the woollen and pashmina manufactures consisting of the famous Kashmiri shawls, carpets, numdas, gubbags and other goods, their main market was India. Some of these also went to foreign countries. These products were collected at Amritsar and from there forwarded to other centres in India. Approximately 10 per cent went to Pakistan. As for silk, India remained the exclusive customer for raw silk and the principal consumer of manufactured silk.

Tourist traffic is one of the principal sources of income both to people and Government of Kashmir, and it is estimated that 10 per cent of the total income from this source may be allocated to Pakistan.

It follows from the foregoing that Pakistan absorbs only a fifth of Kashmir's exports and supplies a little less than a fifth of State's import requirements. In case Kashmir becomes a part of Pakistan, the latter may consume more timber, woollen textiles and also silk cloth. For reasons already given Kashmir fruits will have no market in Pakistan. On this hypothetical basis the value of Kashmir's exports to Pakistan may at the most go up to Rs. 250 lakhs against an average of Rs. 175 lakhs; Rs. 550 lakhs worth of exports will still have to be consumed by India, which is traditionally their natural market.

How would a Kashmiri think regarding the natural attitude of India towards the entry of these exports, in case Pakistan absorbs Kashmir? It would mean the elimination of tourist traffic from India, thus spelling ruin for hundreds of thousands of Kashmiris who depend upon it for their living. A tariff wall would be raised against woollen and silk textiles and pashminas which can enter India duty free. Tariff barriers may also be raised against fruit imports and fruit culture developed and protected in India. The same with forest and other products.

With regard to imports, Pakistan can supply the requirements of Kashmir in some articles of merchandise. On the basis of the estimate given above these are valued at Rs. 100 to 120 lakhs. In case petroleum and petroleum products and some imported stores are supplied through Pakistan, the above figure would go up by another Rs. 60 to Rs. 80 lakhs. Thus the import of Rs. 200 lakhs would probably be the maximum that could be expected in this direction. This would still leave a balance of Rs. 550 lakhs which will have to be utilised for the purchase of import requirements from India. For essential articles like cotton textiles, iron and steel and other metal, sugar, leather manufacture, stationery, rubber goods, drugs and medicines, Kashmir has inevitably to look to India.

The conclusion, therefore, is inescapable that if



Kashmir were not to form a part of the Indian political and economic system, there would be little hope of meeting the requirements of the State from Indian sources. While Indian economy is an indispensable prop to Kashmir's economy, the latter can do without the balance of Pakistan economy.

### *India and U. S. A.*

Mrs. Dorothy Norman, a member of the Executive Committee of the India League of America, who had been touring for about three months through our country gave her impressions of the mind of our people towards her country's political leadership. Speaking at the Willkie Memorial Hall on June 3 last she said that there was in India at the present time a certain psychological "resistance" or sense of suspicion and fear towards America. She was of opinion, however, that this could not be described as an "anti-American" feeling; the more educated the people the more they would be critical and the feeling amongst the people of India took different forms; "while they go to American movies in enormous numbers," the educated Indian could not but be reminded of "foreign dominations" following economic help. Have they not reasons for this cautiousness from their experience of the way in which Pandit Nehru's request for 10-million tons of wheat on a "barter" basis was sabotaged. Since then they have developed this fear about external aid with "strings attached." This was not "false pride." Mrs. Norman thinks, however, that her own people should "take the initiative" so that India's needs may be honourably met, her susceptibilities could be influenced by above-board dealings.

### *Pakistan and U. S. A.*

The *Montreal Star* may be a Canadian paper, but it represents, we think, the feeling of the ruling classes of both Canada and the United States in their reactions to Pandit Nehru's policy of neutrality and Janab Liaquat Ali Khan's effusions with regard to the latter country's "leadership" of the modern world.

To explain this attitude of theirs we quote from the Canadian paper :

"Mr. Nehru proclaimed India's need for peace, but was chary of appearing to make any sort of commitment to help maintain it..... India, he said in effect, had no intention of allying herself openly with any outside Bloc, even if a Bloc designs to check the spread of Soviet influence in a direction which would doom India's independent survival. The Prime Minister of Pakistan, however, shows no hesitance about identifying Pakistan's interests with those of the West to the utmost. In the days ahead, it is particularly necessary that those of us who believe in liberty should draw together..... he has none of Mr. Nehru's apparent belief that by refraining from taking sides, he would be able to play a spectator's role if any open test of strength were ever to occur."

This argument is a variant of the one that says that he who is not with us is against us. And the contrasting attitudes of Pandit Nehru and Janab Liaquat Ali Khan are responsible for the coolness of the Anglo-Saxon Powers towards India. Sreemati Vijayalakshmi Pandit,

India's Ambassador to the United States, has noted this attitude of theirs and her recent protest registered by her with the Foreign Office of the U.S.A. for discrimination between India and Pakistan in the matter of war equipment supplied to the two States is India's reaction to it. The American Foreign office has pleaded that these supplies were all for "defensive" purposes. We may or may not accept the plea. But the following sent from New York on May 25 last puts a new complexion on the whole matter. Mrs. Norman is not alone in feeling that the United States has not been consulting her own interests by antagonising India :

Mr. Harold L. Ickes (Democrat), former Secretary of State, has asked whether Pakistan is passing arms to the Arabs and called for 'an explanation' of the explosion of Pakistan-bound munitions in New Jersey last week.

Addressing an American Zionist Council rally here last night, Mr. Ickes protested against British arms shipments to the Arabs and called Pakistan the 'switch track' through which Arabs received arms in the Palestine fighting two years ago.

"In this connection," Mr. Ickes said, "Americans would like some explanation of the explosion last Friday night. It is pertinent to ask whether Pakistan is procuring for the Arab States munitions of war we would be embarrassed to send directly.

"Were these implements of war, apparently destined for Pakistan, bought with Pakistan money or charged against the credit in this country that has been set up for Pakistan?"

In a joint declaration on arms purchases published by the French Foreign Office previously, the three Governments warned Israel and the Arab States that, if they found any of these countries preparing to violate frontiers or armistice lines, the three countries would take action "both within and without the framework of the U.N."

Officials said that the Secretary of State, Mr. Acheson, the British Foreign Minister, Mr. Bevin, and the French Foreign Minister, M. Schuman, reached the decision to send the Middle East "strictly defensive" military supplies at their recent conference in London.

The three Ministers are understood to have examined the Middle Eastern picture in detail, and to have reached complete agreement on co-ordinating their policies there more closely.

The decision on arms shipments in effect approves Britain's past policy of shipping arms to Egypt and Jordan, with which it has agreements for military aid.

Israel's Government and many American Congressmen have criticized the British for this policy, claiming that the arms were intended for aggression against the new Jewish State.

### *Regrouping of Railways*

After having completed the integration of Indian States, the Government of India have now embarked upon their second big integration venture, viz., the regrouping of the Indian Railways. The memorandum issued in this connection by the Ministry of Railways deserves close attention. The memorandum is reproduced in full here :

"The existing railway administrations have grown up haphazardly owing to historical reasons. The company system had originally been formed more or less on accidental considerations. Often the main consideration was financial. There has been a persistent demand for rationalisation and regrouping of the existing systems. So long as all the major railways had not come under State management this was not possible. The railways of Indian States cutting across the other railway administrations like that of the Nizam's State Railway was another serious obstacle to rationalisation, as also the existence of various small railway administrations owned and controlled by the Rulers of Indian States.

"The Partition of India in August, 1947 involved the breaking up of the old North-Western Railway and the Bengal Assam Railway and India has been left with rumps of those systems in the Eastern Punjab Railway and the Assam Railway which cannot in any case continue as economic and self-sufficient units. The final integration of the Indian States Railways from 1st April 1950 has removed the major obstacle towards regrouping. The time is therefore fully ripe for reorganising the Indian Railways on a national basis.

"The Railway Board have been considering this question for the past many months, and have reached tentative conclusions. They realise, however, that the question is of such great importance that no final decision should be taken without giving the country and all interests concerned in railway transport ample opportunities for consideration and comment. The tentative scheme is therefore being released to the State Governments, the various Chambers of Commerce, the Railway Labour Organisations and the public with the request that their considered views may be sent to the Railway Board before 31st August, 1950.

"The main principles underlying the tentative scheme are fourfold :

- (1) Every railway administration should serve as far as possible a compact region.
- (2) It should be large enough to provide a headquarters organisation of the highest calibre capable of following and assimilating up-to-date improvements in railway techniques and equipped with adequate workshop facilities and statistical, training and research institutions.
- (3) The regrouping should cause the minimum dislocation in the existing arrangements and should be so phased as to prevent any kind of dislocation or even temporary diminution of the quantity or efficiency of railway service.
- (4) While the existing proposals do not indicate the nature of the internal administration of each group, viz., whether it should be on a Divisional or District system, it is not proposed to adopt any dog-

matic attitude in the matter and the vital necessity of causing minimum dislocation will also govern the decision on this important issue.

"The total route mileage of the Indian Railways is of the order of 33,000. It is proposed to divide this into six zones of administration with due regard to the factors mentioned above. The zones proposed will be as follows :

*Zone 1.—Northern Railway :* It will consist of the E. I. Railway between Lucknow-Kanpur and Delhi-Saharanpur, Metre Gauge portion of the B.B. and C.I. Railway between Agra and Kanpur and the O. T. Railway west of Chupra.

*Zone 2.—Western Railway :* It will consist of the Metre Gauge portion of the B. B. and C. I. Railway except Kanpur-Agra section and the States Railways of Sourashtra, Jodhpur, Bikaner, Jaipur, Rajasthan and Kutch. In this zone, consideration has been given to the development needs of the Kandla Port and the business and economic connections of Sourashtra, etc., with Rajasthan.

*Zone 3.—Central Railway :* It will consist of the Broad Gauge section of the B. B. and C. I. Railway, major portion of the G. I. P. Railway, Scindia and Dholpur State Railways. In this zone not only the alternative routes from the major port of Bombay to Northern India, but also the lines of communication between Bombay and the industrial areas around it have been placed under one administration.

*Zone 4.—Southern Railway :* It will consist of the S. I. Railway (both Broad Gauge and Metre Gauge), major portion (Broad Gauge) and entire portion (Metre Gauge) of the M. and S. M. Railway and the entire Mysore State Railway. Both geographically and from the railway operating point of view, grouping together of all the Southern Railways is the ideal arrangement.

*Zone 5.—Eastern Railway :* It will consist of the N. S. Railway, portions of the G. I. P. and M. and S. M. Railways and the B. N. Railway excluding the coalfield area of Bengal and Bihar and Howrah-Kharagpur section.

*Zone 6.—North Eastern Railway :* It will consist of the E. I. Railway east of Lucknow-Kanpur, the coalfield area of Bengal and Bihar at present with B. N. Railway, Howrah-Kharagpur section, O. T. Railway east of Chupra and the Assam Railway including the Assam Rail link and the Darjeeling-Himalayan Railway."

This Memorandum has been well thought out, although short. The first effect of this regrouping will be a reduction in overhead cost. The number of General Managers will be reduced from about a dozen to six, a similar, almost fifty per cent, reduction will also take place in the case of their deputies and their requisite paraphernalia. Consequent upon this arrangement, a number of reversions of officiating personnel

to their substantive ranks will take place. Some vested interests will no doubt be effected, but the over-all result will be good for the nation. The small amount of opposition that has emerged so far, seems to have come from those who are likely to be adversely affected. The difficulties and anomalies that may arise out of the regrouping are however not incapable of solution. When different Railway Companies amalgamated, anomalies arose in respect of length of service, pay and allowances of persons of different railways holding similar posts. Officers with short service periods but confirmed may supersede the unconfirmed officers of a different railway having a longer period of service. The rules for confirmation for different railways were different. Some railways are overcrowded with senior staff leading to a smaller number being confirmed. In the smaller companies, most of the staff are confirmed. If seniority be calculated according to length of service from confirmation, junior personnel from smaller railways may find priority over senior men of bigger companies. So far as we have been able to ascertain, this anomaly has been the main reason for the nervousness that has been caused among the Railway staff as a result of the grouping proposal. This anomaly can be removed in either of the two ways: (a) Confirmation of personnel may be made with retrospective effect taking other factors into account; or (b) *Status quo* as on August 15, 1947 in respect of service may be restored and confirmations made according to rules as from that date. Most of the present changes have taken place in a haphazard fashion since the date of Partition. This must be regularised on a scientific and equitable basis, and the sooner it is done the better.

Other objections offered so far do not bear scrutiny. In an article published in a Calcutta daily, it has been suggested that accidents will increase with increase in the length of the lines. This is not correct, because in that case the smallest Railway, the Assam Railway ought to have been free from accidents, which it is not. The percentage of accidents on this Railway may be seen to be higher than those on other railways that are much bigger.

In fact, this matter of accidents and sabotage calls for quite a separate investigation and memorandum. Cases of sabotage, leading to appalling loss of life and property, have been high-lighted by the recent derailment of the Punjab Mail at Jasidih in Bihar. That this derailment was due to sabotage by miscreants has been proved beyond doubt in our opinion. We publish two pictures of the disaster in this issue's plates, from photos taken on the spot by the staff photographer of the *Hindusthan Standard*. They illustrate the actual spot where coach bolts, fish bolts and fishplates were loosened and removed, by knowing men with proper tools, and the rail-track displaced.

Intelligent but interested men have refrained from other criticisms with the sole observation that time for this regrouping is not ripe. In our opinion, however, the time is not only fully ripe but not even a moment's delay should be brooked in regard to this integration. The integration of the States has enhanced the strength of the Indian Union to a very large extent. Similar integration of the Railways will make India still more strong. Integration of States has taken place amidst the severest post-Partition difficulties, regrouping of railways can certainly be effected right now. We consider it imperative in the face of the threatening third World War.

### *The Schuman Plan*

France's Foreign Minister, M. Schuman has produced a Plan which has shaken the world. A Six-Power Conference is at the present moment busy considering the Plan. The Plan called for pooling of the French and German coal and steel industries. These industries now operate under the kind of artificial conditions which ECA'S Paul Hoffman and other U.S. preachers of "integration" want abolished—reports the *American Time*. The Germans sell their Ruhr coal to French steel-makers at a price up to 30 per cent higher than the coal price for domestic German buyers. The French sell their Lorraine iron ore to German steel-makers at far higher prices than they charge at home. Tariffs, import quotas and Government subsidies further protect the French steel industry from competition by lower-priced German steel, keep prices high, markets divided and output lower than it should be.

The Schuman Plan would establish a single steel and coal market for France and Germany, plus any other European countries that want to join. It would abolish customs duties and discriminatory freight rates on coal and steel. A joint international authority of the member nations would be set up to run the industries, with the specific tasks of (1) modernizing production, (2) supplying coal and steel to France, Germany and other members of the combine on equal terms, (3) developing joint exports to other countries. Unlike most international arrangements existing or proposed these days, the coal-steel authority would have real powers. Its members would be independent personalities able to make binding commitments. There would be no veto—majority rule would prevail. The authority's decision would be enforceable in all member nations. The Plan also calls for a U.N. representative to sit on the new organisation, make periodic reports particularly with respect to protecting its peaceful aims.

Anticipating charges that the proposed coal-steel pool would merely be a vast cartel, the Schuman Plan carefully points out that the new organisation would not, like a cartel, divide markets and keep prices artificially high; on the contrary, it would create a larger market, see to it that member industries produced the most coal and steel at the cheapest possible price. It would in fact enforce competition. Schuman Plan also mentioned the industrial development of Africa; which the new coal-steel combine would get started. The Schuman Plan

says: "A united Europe will not be achieved all at once. . . . It will be formed by concrete measures which first of all create a solidarity in fact. . . . The pooling of coal and steel production . . . will change the destiny of these regions (Lorraine, the Saar and the Ruhr) which have long been devoted to the production of arms to which they themselves were the first to fall constantly victim. . . . It will introduce a broader and deeper community of interest between countries which have long been divided by bloody conflict."

### *European Payments Union*

Agreement has now been reached on most of the outstanding questions affecting the European Payments Union.

The Union which is planned greatly to increase intra-European trade is intended to serve as a clearing house for the settlement of accounts between the members of the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation so that trade and payments inside Western Europe can be conducted on a fully multi-lateral basis to the maximum possible extent. This will enable each country to ignore its balance of payments with each other and to concentrate solely on its balance with the group as a whole.

Mr. Hugh Gaitskell, Minister for Economic Affairs, on his return to London after presiding over a meeting of the Executive Committee of the O.E.E.C. in Paris, stated: "Although there are still a number of points to be settled, the O.E.E.C. Executive Committee has reached an agreement about the recommendations to be made to the Council on pretty well all important issues. Even if there are still some hurdles to face, I believe we are now over all the big jumps."

"From the beginning of these discussions last winter, the British Government has been anxious to see the creation of a new payment system which would help to free the trade of Europe. The proposals now emerging naturally differ a good deal from the British plan put forward a few weeks ago. There has been a lot of give and take and many half-way-house solutions have been adopted but in a matter of this kind where the approach of some countries diverged quite considerably from that of others such a compromise was essential. Without it effective co-operation would be impossible."

"I believe the scheme now in prospect is a practicable one and well-calculated to facilitate the trade of Europe, while holding the balance evenly between the dangers of both inflation and deflation."

The Executive Committee's decision represents the policies of the seven member-countries but the nature of these decisions has not yet been revealed since they have first to be submitted for approval to the Council of the Organisation which is expected to meet early next month.

Unanimous agreement was reached on four main

points discussed at the Paris meeting. These points were: the duration of the Payments Union; the size of credit quotas, the proportion of gold payments and the position of persistent debtors and creditors; objections raised by Belgium to the size of her contribution to the Payments Union Fund; the settlement of existing debts and the use of existing resources when the Payments Union comes into force.

Questions that remain to be settled before the Payments Union can come into operation are stated to be of only minor importance and are expected to raise no difficulty. In the words of the Secretary-General of the O.E.E.C., M. Marjolin, "the agreement reached by the Executive Committee makes it almost certain that the European Payments Union will come into existence when it is required."

Proposals for a European Payments Union were first put forward simultaneously, but independently, by the U. K., the U.S.A. and other Governments last December. We hope that, in case this arrangement materialises in a satisfactory form, the system envisaged will expand to include world trade markets in general without any reservations regarding Asiatic countries.

### *Restraint on Freedom of Press*

We hope the Nehru Government will now review its steps in their campaign against the freedom of Press, the free expression of popular feelings and sentiments. The judgments of the Supreme Court of India in the *Cross Roads* case and in the *Organiser's* case should enable them to do so. The former, a pro-Communist weekly of Bombay was banned by the Madras Government from their Province under Section 9(1)(a) of the Madras Maintenance of Public Order Act of 1949; their Lordships declared this order as *ultra vires*. The latter paper, a pro-Rastriya Swayam Sevak Sangha of Delhi was put under pre-censorship by the Chief Commissioner of Delhi under Section 7(1)(a) of the East Punjab Public Safety Act; their Lordships declared this order as "un-constitutional."

Mr. Justice Patanjali Sastri wrote and delivered the majority judgment of both the cases; the Chief Justice Mr. Harilal Kania, Mr. Justice Mahajan, Mr. Justice Sudhir Ranjan Das and Mr. Justice Bijon Behari Mookherjee concurred with the judgment; Mr. Justice Fazl Ali gave the dissenting judgment in both the cases. In course of his judgment in the former case Mr. Justice Sastri said:

"There is no doubt that freedom of speech and expression includes freedom of propagation of ideas, and that freedom is ensured by the freedom of circulation."

He also remarked that

"Criticism of Government, exciting disaffection or bad feelings towards the Government cannot be regarded as a justifying ground for restricting the freedom of expression and of the Press."

### *Problem of Plenty and Scarcity*

The International Federation of Agricultural Producers had a nine-day Convention at Stockholm, (Sweden), ending on June 9 last. At this Convention a solution of the problem of plenty in some countries and of scarcity in others was accepted on behalf of the Indian delegation. A summary of the news gives us the following information :

India's solution was embodied in a proposal forced through by her chief delegate Mr. Mohan Wahi and his colleagues. Under it, the Federation's "have" member countries are to draw up lists of surplus farm products in their countries and suggest prices and conditions for their sale to the "have-not" countries.

The "have-not" countries are to draw up statements of their food requirements. Then, the member countries of plenty and the member countries of scarcity will negotiate an agreement between themselves for transferring the surpluses to the needy areas. After that they will press their Governments to embody their agreement in international trading agreements. Australia, Canada and the United States are the countries of plenty and India is one of the countries of scarcity. Another Indian proposal accepted by the Convention was for young farmers from the agriculturally more backward countries to receive practical training on modern farms in the agriculturally more progressive countries.

Their training on agricultural land dairy farms will be sponsored by the Federation.

Mr. R. V. Swaminathan, another Indian delegate, gave the Federation facts and figures to illustrate the world's unequal food production and consumption. "The average yield of rice per acre in India is 731 lbs." "But the average yield is 1,005 lbs. in Burma, 1,549 in China, 3,190 in Italy and 1,427 in the United States. The yield of wheat per acre is 636 lbs. in India, and 1,140 in Europe.

"Agriculture in India has been a gamble in monsoon, to the vagaries of which irrigation is the only effective solution.

"The most dominant fact in the world food economy is the maldistribution of production. The continent of Asia, excluding Soviet Russia, maintains more than half of the world's population, with less than one-third of the cultivated land. North America, on the other hand, has more than 21 per cent of the cultivated land with only 8 per cent of the population.

"Consequently, the world is divided into surplus areas and deficit areas. On April 1 this year, the supplies for export and carry over reserves in the United States, Canada, Argentina and Australia amounted to 921,000,000 bushels, 13 per cent greater than in 1949. But in India, the estimated food deficit on the basis of twelve ounces per adult is 28,00,000 tons.

"Therefore, immediate steps should be taken to alleviate the distress of the deficit areas by arranging for an adequate distribution of the available supplies. I have to point out that any slackness, in this effort of equal distribution will drive certain countries into hunger and what a hungry nation would do may better be imagined than described.

"In the equitable distribution of available supplies of the available foodstuffs among the

various countries greater attention must be paid to the price factor. A higher price to an export market is the most short-sighted policy. It deprives the act of assistance of its grace. It engenders bitterness instead of goodwill in the hearts of the deficit nations.

"The distress of the farmers in one country must not be made an opportunity for profiteering by those of another.

"Even if Governments are inclined to make hay while the sun shines the farmers should disavow such policies and persuade their Governments to take long-range views and respect higher ideals. If the I.F.A.P. fail in this hour of trial to rise to the occasion the consequences might turn out to be dreadful.

"No one has the right to expect sober judgment and rational action from a hungry man. The hungry man, as the great Bernard Shaw has said, is the most easily combustible material."

We are glad that an international body has passed such a resolution. But the use of the words "forced through" suggests that the resolution was carried by majority votes, and though another Indian delegate appealed to the world's farmers over the head of their Governments—many of them anxious to use food as an instrument of power-politics—we will continue to hope for the best relying on the ultimate goodness of human nature.

### *Orissa's New Chief Minister*

We cannot say that we understand the various party alignments that have made Sree Nabakrishna Chowdhury, one of the youngest of publicmen in the Province, her Chief Minister. But we wish all success to him and expect that he will be able to fulfil all the ambitions that he gave expression to at a public meeting held at Cuttack on June 5, last. "The Congress Government aimed to circle the State with an electric grid of power production in the south by the Machkund Hydro-electric Project, in the centre by the Thermal Station at Cuttack, and in the north by the Hirakud Project;" this will commit the State to an expenditure of about 60 crores of rupees against its annual income of only about 7 crores.

Evidently this huge amount must come as loan from the Central Government who will either have to advance it from their own funds or from loans taken from the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund. This huge expenditure would have daunted Provinces bigger and wealthier than Orissa is. But the ray of light is that the Oriyas have gained a new self-confidence by the satisfaction of their grievances caused by the dispersal of their people amongst about four Administrations. This has put heart into them and will enable them to put forth the utmost energy for the various projects intended to make their life fuller.

### *Assam*

Babu Sree Prakash on the eve of his departure from Assam as its Governor for New Delhi as the

Commerce Member of the Nehru Government, is reported to have said that Assam was "sitting on the crater of the volcano." He did not elaborate this verdict of his; during the last two years he must have come to know of the many acts of commission and omission of the Gopinath Bardoloi Government as the trustee of the composite life of the Province. This knowledge must have inspired him to utter the quoted words as a warning of a friend. The report of his speech does not enable us to understand the various matters that caused him anxiety, the legacy of separatism connived at and encouraged by his predecessor, the late Sir Akbar Hydari.

His successor Sree Jairamdas Daulatram on taking office uttered almost the same warning at a meeting of the Assam Press Advisory Board on June 8 last. Sree Jairamdas has taken on a bigger job than he is aware of. His reference to "certain hostile forces of international origin" that to make "Assam a back-door entrance" is evidently directed to the Communist Party of India and Burma, who have found in the dissatisfactions of the various elements of Assam's population a play-ground of their disruptionist policies; they have chosen the tribal peoples of Assam specially as their dupes and victims.

His reference to the resettlement problem of refugee and call for "statesmanship of Bengalee and Assamese sections" of the population are well meant but does take us nowhere. His predecessor must have told him of the dangers of the situation caused by the insidious policy of discrimination followed by the Bardoloi Ministry. It will take Sree Daulatram time to pick up the various threads of the rather complicated problem. We will try to indicate these in a few lines.

The world hears much of the new problem created by the refugees in the Province. To appreciate its various factors the ratio of the various peoples, native and resident in Assam must be known. Assam's population is about 80 lakhs; of these about one-third are Bengalees; a little over one-third are Ahoms; the rest are tribals whom Sree Jairamdas has called "the flesh and bone" of India's body-politic. The Bardoloi Ministry have managed to antagonise the two thirds. The Ahoms are spoiling for the adventure of "Atomizing" these two-thirds. This is the seat of disease that Babu Sree Prakash could just control. Sree Jairamdas Daulatram will come face to face with this problem in all its ugliness. If he cannot persuade the Bardoloi Ministry to see reason and if the Nehru Government do not take a definite stand against its separatist policy, the volcano to which Babu Sree Prakash had referred must burst out. There is yet time to halt this evil force.

### *Prohibition*

A Bombay weekly reported on June 7 that India's new Finance Minister, Mr. Deshmukh was anxious to

check the growing tendency in several States to go ahead dogmatically with bankrupt economic policies and fritter away precious revenues, in pursuit of out-dated moral fads. It said that as Governor of Reserve Bank of India and later as the principal Economic Adviser to the Government of India, Mr. Deshmukh opposed vehemently, for instance, "the mad venture of Prohibition." When Madras and Bombay States decided to enforce total prohibition, he told the Government of India bluntly, according to this weekly, that viewed from any sensible angle, it was nothing short of economic suicide. His argument was that if the Congress Ministries thought through Prohibition they were doing good to the poor, they were very much mistaken; on the other hand, they could have done much more good to the very same poorer classes if the vast revenues they were throwing away in the name of Prohibition were utilised in some of the more urgent welfare schemes. Article 360 of the New Constitution relating to financial emergency confirms ample powers on the Centre to enforce a uniform economic policy throughout the country. The Centre need no longer appeal to the good sense of the States; it can very well dictate the over-all policy. Even if for political reasons the Centre does not desire to resort to such drastic course, the setting-up of the Planning Commission has armed it with yet another powerful weapon to deal with truculent States.

Now that all the States have agreed to fall in line with the Planning Commission and set up regional commission to assist the Central body, no State can hereafter go ahead with its economic or fiscal plans without the Commission's previous approval. Being an expert body not concerned with politics, the Planning Commission will not approve of any scheme unless it is convinced that it is in the best interests of the country as a whole.

In other words, if the Planning Commission as it is constituted today was in existence last year, the Bombay Government, for example, would not have been able to flout the Prime Minister's appeal and go ahead with Prohibition nor could have Madhya Bharat indulged in those transactions in regard to newsprint mills, etc.

The Finance Minister is naturally anxious to take full advantage of this new position and utilise the opportunity to tighten over-all Central control in vital economic matters. In his view, the Planning Commission is a potent weapon in the hands of the Centre and that is why he proposes to retain his membership of that body, so that he could always utilise it to press the Centre's viewpoint.

Left to himself, he would not hesitate to utilise the Planning Commission to compel the States, notably Bombay and Madras, to abandon prohibition and utilise the large excise revenues for better purposes.

But for political reasons, in view of the impending general elections next year, the Congress leadership may not approve of such a step at this stage. So the Finance Minister and the Planning Commission will confine themselves for the present to at least preventing the extension of Prohibition in other States.

On June 16, a New Delhi message stated that the Indian Government's new import policy for the second half of the current year permitted established importers ale, beer and wines to import 10 per cent of their "basic imports." Brandy and whisky may be imported up to 50 per cent. Fixation of percentages instead of monetary ceilings, as in the previous six months, will have the effect of increasing supplies.

This new import policy may be considered to be one step forward towards the prohibition of Prohibition.

Prohibition was introduced with full knowledge of the loss that the State Exchequer would be called upon to bear. It was done with the object of implementing a policy which Congress had championed for a long time. There were two arguments against it, —one anti-school said that the financial loss consequent upon prohibition would be needless and heavy; the other said that it would give rise to wholesale smuggling which it would be impossible to control. Prohibition was however launched in full knowledge of these two opposing views. It will be unfortunate if a conflict arises between the Centre and the States over this issue as seems likely due to the present Finance Minister's policy.

### *South Africa's Racial Policy*

Mr. Alec Reid in a series of special articles in the Birla group of papers has been describing the various forces that have worked to consolidate the racial policy of the Government of South Africa, representing only 30 lakhs of her white population dominating over the more than 60 lakhs of non-white peoples. The Malan Government has requisitioned the religion of Christ and the Old Testament to advance their policy. We will allow Mr. Alec Reid to describe how this trick has been done.

"To fully appreciate the depth to which these sorts of ideals have sunk into the Afrikaner mind, one must turn to probably their greatest inspiration—the Dutch Reformed Church, which is the principal religious institution in South Africa today. It is interesting to recall that before Dr. Malan took up his political career, he was a preacher in that church.

Basing their teachings mainly on the Old Testament, the leaders of the Dutch Reformed Church go back to Noah, who after the Flood directed his sons, Shem, Ham and Japheth to various parts of the world; and Ham, we are told, became the ancestor of the people of Africa. And they were destined to be the everlasting servants of their white masters. Putting forward the Biblical testimony, it is therefore argued that the main-

tenance of a white and 'Christian civilisation' in Africa is correct. Not so long ago in a court case which involved the Dutch Reformed Church their legal representative actually put forward the argument that Noah was the first believer in *Apartheid*."

And so Malan and his followers are loyal supporters of the Church. In March, 1947, that body held a conference in Pretoria on the question of "Our Church and the Colour Question." And in the resolutions that were adopted was the following:

"The findings of the United Nations with regard to South African race, relations and conditions rest largely on ignorance and prejudice . . . The Holy Scripture upholds the existence of separate nations and races and condemns such mixture between nations and races as can harm the Christian religion and civilisation. The conference pronounces its conviction that the Church's policy of racial segregation concurs with the Scriptures and considers that this is specially applicable to conditions in South Africa, where there exists a vast 'heathendom' as against a small 'Christendom' and where Europeans and non-Europeans are far apart in cultural and other living spheres."

### *A Poem by the Nizam*

Northern India and Western India papers have published a poem by the Nizam to commemorate the Indian Republic Day on January 26, 1951. It has been rendered into English from Persian by Mir Nizama Zung, ex-member of the Nizam's Executive Council. We know that the Nizam of Hyderabad, Mir Osman Ali Khan, has made a name as a poet.

What splendour for our eyes—auspicious, fair!  
What fragrance wafted on the morning air!  
The tidings that from Delhi's walls rang wide,  
Brought solace to all hearts, and joy and pride,  
To hearts released from bonds of caste and race—  
Yea, hearts that only bend before God's grace.  
How wondrous is the bond of love! No heart  
Disowns the spell it works by mystic art.  
'Karbala's martyrdom'—Love's glorious meed—  
Proclaims what blessings crown the pure heart's  
creed.

'Tis not the throned seat, the waving plume;  
The heart, the throne that golden deeds illumine.  
The feast's prepared, the sparkling bowl o'erflows!  
What joyous strains towards the zephyr blows!  
The new dawn's greetings, 'Osman,' rich and strange;  
And the four quarters hail the promised change!

### *Steamer Service between Calcutta and Banaras*

The following appears in the *Leader* of Allahabad from its Lucknow correspondent, dated June 5:

"It is learnt from an authoritative source that the Government of India are investigating the possibility of introducing steamer service on Ganga between Calcutta and Banaras. The scheme now under the consideration of the Government contemplates reviving the Calcutta-Banaras water highway which used to be the main means of passenger and goods traffic about 70 years ago. This scheme also envisages rehabilitation of certain number of refugees along the river bank. It is stated that refugee *bastis* can be created at every five miles of this bank.



Sites along Ganga could not yet be tapped for refugees because they are mostly cut off from communication lines. Once this regular steamer service is available, that impediment will disappear. The projected scheme can also galvanise the trade activity in the towns situated on the banks of Ganga. The revival of a water highway communication will also relieve pressure on railways. If the scheme passes the test of investigation, Government of India would seek the co-operation of some of the States. The river-bed would have to be made deeper at certain places in order to make water navigable. The idea is to rehabilitate refugees of East Bengal along the river bank. Pressure of about 25 lakhs of refugees now in West Bengal, Assam and Orissa is straining the economy of these States. The Government of India had asked the U.P. Government to take in five lakh Bengal refugees for rehabilitation in U. P. But the U.P. Government has expressed its inability in view of the fact that its hands were already full with West Pakistan refugees."

The project, if given shape to, will benefit all the three provinces—Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal. The settlement of East Bengal refugees is a minor point. The economic gain to Calcutta should be the greatest incentive to the West Bengal Government to actively participate in influencing the Central Government to finalize it with their blessings. For, without the Centre's guidance in the matter the three Provinces will be thinking more of their particular interests than of the far-reaching consequences of this project. The West Bengal Government has a scheme for a barrage on the Ganges near the area from which flows the river as the Hooghly. This scheme may be dove-tailed into the project referred to above in the Lucknow message.

### *National Income of India (1946-47)*

A brochure entitled "The National Income of the Indian Union Provinces (1946-47)," published by the Economic Adviser to the Government of India, gives in broad outline the net national income produced within the country at "factor cost." The Press has published a summary of it, which will be found interesting. We print it below :

"The total net national income in 1946-47, according to the brochure, stood at Rs. 5,580 crores. This figure is for the whole of the Indian Union Provinces as constituted after partition and does not include the States merged into them subsequently.

Provisional estimates for 1948-49 place the national income at about Rs. 6,968 crores and the per capita income at Rs. 272. Taking into account the number of gainfully employed, the national income of Indian States is estimated at one-third of that of the Indian Union Provinces.

There has been an increase under the head agriculture, animal husbandry, forestry and mining works from Rs. 2,009 crores in 1945-46 to Rs. 2,398 crores in 1946-47. Agriculture alone fetched a net income of Rs. 1,770 crores in 1946-47 as compared with Rs. 1,495 crores in the previous year.

The income of urban areas works out to Rs. 2,107 crores for a working population of 18.8 million as compared with Rs. 3,483 crores in rural areas for a working

population of 87.1 million. Thus the income per earner for urban and rural populations for the year 46-47 is estimated at Rs. 1,121 and Rs. 401 respectively.

The per capita national income of India rose to Rs. 228 in 1946-47 from Rs. 204 in the previous year alongside the general price levels which went up by about 12.5 per cent."

This is disclosed in a brochure, "The National Income of the Indian Union Provinces 1946-47," just published by the Economic Adviser to the Government of India, giving in broad outline the net national income produced within the country at factor cost.

### *Damodar Valley Project*

Sree Kumud Bhusan Roy, a retired Engineer with experience of railway building and of experience of River Training in India, has sent us a pamphlet entitled "The Damodar Valley Corporation—will it achieve its aims?" In this he has brought a heavy charge against the Damodar Valley scheme as it has "departed from the Tennessee Valley Authority pattern by its proposal to use Damodar water in the irrigation canals," as he is afraid that in consequence "the lower Damodar will deteriorate and die." He pleads that his pamphlet is intended "to place before the public and the authorities, facts to convince them that certain modifications are necessary in the Damodar Valley Scheme without which it will not be able to achieve any of its five objects." We are not competent enough to judge the intricacies of the controversy raised by him. But we are vastly interested in the objectives aimed at by the Project. These are : (1) control of floods; (2) power generation; (3) irrigation; (4) navigation; and (5) improvement of the port of Calcutta. If as Sree Kumud Bhusan Roy apprehends there "be not enough water to meet all these needs," the port of Calcutta will be in danger if the D.V.A. authorities do not realise the implication in full. However, the project is as yet in the constructive stage.

### *France's Modernisation*

*News From France*, a Bulletin published by the Information Section of the French Embassy at New Delhi, in a recent issue has summarised the report of the General Commission of France's Modernisation and Equipment Plan dealing with the first three years of the Plan (1947-49) and with the remaining objectives that must be attained to ensure a favourable balance of payments in 1952 and a continuing development of national production. M. Jean Monnet, Commissioner-General of the Plan, has written a general statement of the main points of this report. We publish the following introductory lines with a view to enable our readers to understand how France has battled with misfortunes and come out almost successful, and why our country more fortunately placed has not been able to remove the people's discontents. The contrast should shame our boosted planners, and turn their minds for once to their own incapacity and weaknesses.

"The Modernization and Equipment Plan adopted by the French Government on January 3, 1946, has been financed with funds appropriated annually by Parliament and, since 1948, with additional funds obtained from the



unblocking of Marshall Plan counterpart francs. One of its assets has been its method of joint action by Government and private enterprise, a method which made the Plan an instrument for collective achievements rather than an instrument of Government planning as such. The Plan can, therefore, be considered entirely apart from any controversy between liberalism and "dirigisme," or planned economy.

Less than four years after the end of war, national output, with an increase of more than one-third since 1946, has nearly reached the maximum (1929) level for industry and the average (1934-38) level for agriculture. After the First World War it took France six years to reach the maximum pre-war production level. This rapid recovery was achieved partly by an increase in man-power (300,000 additional workers) and an increase in working hours (45 hours a week, against 39 in 1938). With the exception of limited (partial or local) unemployment in certain industries (textiles, leather, building and public works) it can be said that there is full employment. At the same time production per man-hour, in 1949, reached the 1929 level."

### *Servants of India Society*

This institution associated with the Late Gopal Krishna Gokhale has completed the forty-fifth year of its inspiring career. The founder and first member wanted to "spiritualise" politics, to train up Indians to approach politics with the spirit of a religious duty. Since 1905 it has been quietly doing its duty in the midst of indifference and want of appreciation from the general public. One reason of its failure to make the required appeal does not exist today; the Society stood for "Colonial Self-Government" which later came to be known as "Dominion Status." Pandit Nehru by agreeing to remain within the British Commonwealth has really underlined this ideal of association with Britain which was the inspiration of the Liberal Party in India.

Pandit Hriday Nath Kunzru, the present President of the Society, is a valued member of the Indian Parliament and his criticism of men and measures in India informed as it is by knowledge and a spirit of sweet reasonableness carries great weight with the public.

The report of the Society for the year (1949-50) is a story of constructive activities that will help rebuild the India of our dreams and aspirations.

We pray for the Society a more successful career of national service.

### *Indian Shipping*

The new Commerce Minister of the Central Government of India, Babu Sree Prakash, during his recent visit to Bombay met the members of the Indian Ship-owners Association on June 20 last and asked them to prepare a memorandum on the present condition of the Indian shipping industry, and suggest ways and means of developing it. Mr. G. T. Kamdar, Vice-President of the Association in his speech welcoming the new Minister, harped

on the plea that Indian capital was proverbially "shy." This plea ought by this time to have been discredited; it would be truer to say that Indian capitalists are not prepared to risk, to face competition from the dominant European interests that have entrenched themselves in the Shipping Industry of India.

This is the "psychological" factor that really stands in the way of Indian Shipping Industry making its progress. Hitherto the alien States in India have treated the industry as a step-mother; that plea is no longer present. And we are sure that the Government of free India will do its best to help the industry with subsidies and some sort of protection in the coastal trade.

The Shipping Policy Committee, appointed by the Government, have recommended a target of two million tons to be fulfilled within the next five years. But that can be hit when "the psychological situation is reached and the atmosphere of mutual suspicion is eliminated and some serious and earnest effort at co-operation will begin," to use the words of Babu Sree Prakash. This is a mild criticism of the spirit of grab that has been characterising Indian capitalists. The way in which they have exploited the country's difficulties is notorious. After this experience we can hardly expect any better result from Babu Sree Prakash's appeal to the Indian shippers.

It is because the Nehru Government is not able to make up its mind with regard to Nationalisation that all this uncertainty about the bigger problem of better and fuller life in India is being halted in its solution.

### *Vanaspati Prohibition Bill*

Sree Kishorlal Mushruwala, Editor of the *Harijan*, has addressed us a communication on the Bill introduced in the Indian Parliament by Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava. He has criticised rather mildly the comments made by certain Ministers of the different States of the Indian Union obliquely supporting the propaganda of the Vanaspati industrialists and capitalists who advertised their opinions as the last word in this controversy.

The Vanaspati industry appears to be a very profitable one, and about Rs. 20 crores have been sunk in it. With the help of this vast resources the industry has been filling the Indian Press with advertisements in support of their claims as almost a substitute for pure oil and pure ghee. They appear to have been able to persuade most of the scientists of the country in support of their cause.

But we are surprised to see that Dr. Shantiswarup Bhatnagar has been quoted as certifying the adequacy of Vanaspati as an element in human food. Sree Kishorlal has been pained that a high officer of the Government, as Dr. Bhatnagar is, should have lent his voice to the propaganda of the Vanaspati people and he has drawn attention to the fact that while Dr. Bhatnagar had been asked to suggest a light colouring matter to distinguish Vanaspati from ghee, he went out of his to give a certificate to the conductors of the industry! He has called upon the people — constructive Sanghas, public institutions, such as Municipalities and Panchayats—to deliberate upon this matter and forward their considered opinion before

August 31, 1950, to the Food Minister of the Central Government and the Speaker of the Indian Parliament. If they agree with the prohibition policy suggested in Pandit Bhargava's Bill, they may state it in the following terms :

"In the opinion of....., the hydrogenation of edible oils and trading in hydrogenated oils should be prohibited at an early date; and so long as this has not been done, all these hydrogenated oils should be coloured, so that it may become impossible to deceive the public by mixing it with pure ghee."

### Sugar

West Bengal is not a major sugar-producing province. We just nurse our resentment at the profiteering of the sugar mills of Uttar Pradesh and of Bihar. We do not really understand the various factors that have created this sugar problem. The following appreciation of these, sent by the correspondent of the *Bombay Chronicle* on May 25 last from Allahabad, enables us to present our readers with a factual picture of the situation.

The sugar season is at an end, and a general survey can be made of the production figures and their reactions on the consumer's purse.

To put it modestly, as undermentioned figures will bear out, by the time last season's *gur*, *khand-sari* and black-market-driven sugar are sold out, the consumer would have been easily relieved of an amount between Rs. 80 crores and 100 crores, which could have been his but for his Government's asking.

During the last season, expert statisticians claim, 30 lakh tons of *gur* and 2½ lakh tons of *khandsari* were made in this country as opposed to the normal 15 lakh ton *gur* and one lakh ton *khandsari*. The prices at which these are being sold are Rs. 26 and Rs. 55 a maund respectively for *gur* and *khandsari*, when their normal prices were Rs. 12 and Rs. 26 in previous years.

The loss to the consumer's purse on these two counts is, thus Rs. 64 and 65 crores. No reliable figure can be arrived at in respect of 'black' sugar but these three together will carry the figure to beyond a sum of Rs. 140 crores to which extent the consumer, mostly urban, stands cheated. Had half of the sugarcane diverted to *gur* and *khandsari* been crushed for manufacture of sugar, to be sold at controlled price, the consumer could have been benefited to an extent of many crores of rupees.

*Gur* and *khandsari* prices have risen for a very definite reason. The manufacturers of these commodities knew that to the extent sugarcane was diverted to them, sugar production would be lessened and demand for their own products increased. Taking advantage of this situation, they kept the prices high, and the consumer was forced to pay it.

The U. P. Government have a great deal of responsibility for this fraud on the Indian consumer. In spite of repeated warnings in the Press and from their own officers in the beginning of the sugarcane season, they did not control the movement of cane to *gur* and *khandsari* industry. In consequence sugar mills were starved of cane and the production, it is feared, will touch a new ebb.

### Add to Sugar

The latest position with regard to this scandal is the appointment of an Enquiry Committee of one member, Sree Ganganath Jha, retired Judge of the Allahabad High Court, to go through the charges of "hoarding, black-marketing, smuggling into Pakistan of sugar intended for home consumption, and violations of freezing orders of the Uttar Pradesh and the Central Governments."

Announcing this decision the Ministry of Agriculture indicated the purpose of the enquiry : "On the report of the Tariff Board in the sugar industry, the Government of India had stated in a resolution dated March 6, 1950, that the question whether any further inquiry into the sugar crisis was necessary and if so, what its scope should be, was engaging their attention and a decision would be taken shortly. The Government have now completed their examination of the Tariff Board report and having regard to the assurance given to Parliament that an inquiry will be made about such aspects of the sugar crisis as were not fully covered by the Tariff Board, they have decided that the inquiry should be held into the following matters of which items 1 and 2 were recommended by the Tariff Board themselves for further investigation :

(1) The suggestion that wagon supply to the sugar factories for movement of sugar during the season 1948-49 was excessive;

(2) the allegation that sugar intended for consumption in India was in fact moved into Pakistan on an appreciable scale during 1949;

(3) the allegation that several factories despatched sugar in breach of the Freezing Order of the U.P. Government on August 26, 1949 and of the Central Government on September 2, 1949;

(4) the allegation that many factories or their sales agents charged heavy premia over the fixed price during July-August 1949;

(5) the circumstances under which the proposal for export of 50,000 tons of sugar was made in May-June, 1949 by spokesmen of the Industry and the circumstances under which the proposal was dropped;

(6) the allegation that substantial stocks of sugar were moved out by the factories to their own godowns before the crisis, that large stocks were moved by the factories and trade from the Bihar factories during the interval between the U. P. and the Central Governments' Freezing Orders and that in July-August 1949, considerable movement of sugar by factories and trade took place in various directions to facilitate the sale at exorbitant prices of sugar purchased at high premia and,

(7) any other matter which may be germane to or incidental to these matters, or to any finding of the Tariff Board on the sugar crisis.

The Government of India trust that the Sugar Industry, the trade and the general public will co-operate to facilitate the early completion of the inquiry.

### *Palm-Gur Industry in Bombay*

The West Bengal Government has for about the last three years been keeping up a training scheme for the wider and more scientific organisation of the Palm-gur Industry in the Province. We seldom have reports of the progress of this work, of the number of trainees in villages that the official organisers have been able to train up. The possibilities of this industry is vast, considering the crores of palm trees in the country, we have seen an estimate that said that there were 5 crores in India and that the income from every tree tapped is about more than 200 rupees during the season, March to June.

In Bombay they have been going about the business in a more systematic way, as the following from the *Harijan* of June 17 goes to show. It appeared over the name of Krishnadas Shah, Honorary Director, Government Nira Plan: "For the last three or four years, the Government of Bombay has been working the *nira* plan under which *nira* and *gur* are produced from palm trees. One of the objects of organizing this industry is to find employment for toddy-tappers who have been thrown out of employment on account of the Prohibition policy.

It should be noted that though the *nira* work is carried on under the auspices and with the aid of the Government, it is an independent department, wholly under the management of social workers. The Excise and the Prohibition departments give their co-operation to it, but do not interfere in its work. As the work is carried on through social workers, the administrative charges, etc., are also very low.

Under this scheme, the District organizers and Centre inspectors are honorary voluntary workers. Many of them are Congress and constructive workers. Workers on salary basis are selected after a thorough test. But since the work is expanding, there will be need for more honest workers.

The field offers a unique opportunity to those who are desirous of engaging themselves in constructive activities. The worker is allowed plenty of freedom to develop the work to the extent of his capacity. They can work as honorary or remunerated workers as they wish.

The department intends to open a camp after June 1950, for training intending and untrained workers. Those who are recipients of salaries will continue to receive them during the period of training."

We would commend this plan to all Provincial Governments that are short of gur and sugar like West Bengal. We think the possibilities of the wild date palm are enormous, if an organised attempt is made to utilize it.

### *A Forgotten Fighter for Freedom*

The *Organiser* of New Delhi has been publishing a series of articles on the life and times of Basudeo Balawant Phadke and his unsuccessful attempt to drive the alien authority from India during the seventies of the last century. The writer whose pen-name is "Kaushik" has done well in bringing out this forgotten chapter of India's struggle for freedom. He

shows Basudeo Phadke as a child of that age responding to the call of the new enlightenment that started with the introduction of British methods of education and exploitation which disrupted India's society. In Maharashtra, Mahadeo Govind Ranade was the symbol of this awakening of whom Lokamanya Tilak wrote, "When Maharashtra was lying passive like a cool iron ball, Mahadeo Rao infused life into it;" he started the 'Sarvajanik Sabha' in 1870 which preached national self-sufficiency in every department of Indian life. He was in British service at that time as a Subordinate Judge but he managed to pilot organisations, seemingly innocent, which were intended to inspire the youth with national pride, love of country, ambition for service and sacrifice for the motherland.

He delivered lectures on subjects like the "State of the Nation" and "Responsibilities and duties of citizens." These lectures were attended by the youth of Maharashtra of which Basudeo Phadke was one; they were inspired to take the vow of *Swadeshi* and boycott of foreign goods.

The upholders of foreign interests recognised the significance of this phenomenon. The *Bombay Gazette* was found observing on June 26, 1879, "There is the section in Poona, of Brahmins bound themselves by a vow never to purchase or use articles of British produce. Basudeo Balwant Phadke was one of these. And those who knew him in the Finance Office say that, he religiously kept his vow."

Mahadeo Ranade was the writer of the epoch-making book *The Rise of the Marattha Power*; it recalled Marattha youth to realise the greatness of their past and of their fall. It was in this climate of opinion that Basudeo Phadke grew up; and "Kausk" shows us how he responded to this challenge to the self-respect of his nation. He left Government service and organised youth and the masses of Maharashtra for an armed revolt against British authority. He proceeded to the hills and valleys of Maharashtra which were inhabited by a sturdy tribe known as Ramoshis (Ram-vanshis). It was this tribe that supplied recruits to his unsuccessful *emeute*.

British historians have termed these as vagrants. The *London Times*, however, recognised the portent in the following words:

"—emboldened by casual success (the looters) threatened even high roads near Poona, the capital, and issued a proclamation in the name of a Brahmin leader declaring that their proceedings were really against the Government. Government issued proclamations for the arrest of and information about Wasudeo. Wasudeo in his turn announced rewards for the heads of the Governor of Bombay and the Collector of Poona; and assumed the title of the Chief Minister of the Peshwas. . . . The Intelligence Department of the dacoits seems to have been efficient."

Maharashtra, however, has not forgotten Basudeo as the history of the last seventy years shows.

### *Sahajananda Saraswati*

The death of Sahajananda Saraswati on the 28th June last removes a dynamic personality from India's public life. Born in Bihar, he came to occupy a distinct place in our country's many-sided activities for fuller life as an organiser of the Kisan Movement. He had become a *Sannyasi* in the authentic Indian traditions. But the discontents of the times in India drew him into the Congress movement in its struggles for national self-respect which is *Swaraj*; he responded to this call and as Gandhiji's Non-Co-operation had stirred the placid waters of Indian life and moved the masses, the vast majority of them peasants, Sahajananda chose their grievance as his special work within the Congress.

But this traditionalist in personal life was a rebel by nature. With Rahula Sankrityayana the Buddhist monk as his source of inspiration he organised and launched the most formidable agrarian movement of those days. The Kisan movement was his greatest achievement and even today his work in Bihar remains a testimony to his qualities as a fighter and a leader. This caused a shift in his attitude to the Congress. But he joined the "Quit India" movement of 1942. Since then he has been with the Leftist parties.

To the memory of this service we pay our homage.

### *Devadatta Bhandarkar*

Devadatta Bhandarkar died at the age of 75 on May 30, last. We tender our sympathy to his family.

Son of the great Maharashtra Savant Ram Krishna Gopal Bhandarkar, founder of the Bhandarkar Research Institute for Indology at Poona, Devadatta inherited traditions of scholarship that made him Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History in the University of Calcutta in 1917. He held the post for 20 years during which his reputation as a Research worker spread far and wide, and he identified himself with the cultural life of Bengal. The most notable among the publications written by him were: *Some Aspects of Ancient Hindoo Polity*, *Origin of the Saka Era*, *Gurjars*, *Foreign Elements in the Hindoo Population*, *Asoka*.

### *Lord Wavell*

The death of Lord Wavell, the last but one British Governor-General of India, at the age of 64, recalls the last days of a decadent administration breaking down under the weight of its own acts of omission and commission. He came to India at the height of the Bengal Famine in September-October 1943, moved relief measures with military precision and dispatch, and thus gained a name as an organiser of peace as he had been an organiser of war.

During the Cabinet Mission days he was taken in as one of its members, and had often to correspond with leaders of the Congress, the Muslim League and the Princely Order, in course of which he made elucidations and promises that were found to be conflicting and contradictory.

### *Panchanan Neogi*

The death of this Bengali chemist is a distinct loss to our Province. He had passed his most active days as a Professor in Government colleges, and had a reputation as a successful teacher of youth. But we think that his best work was done as a social worker after his retirement. He had been for years the Secretary of the Sarojinalini Memorial Association and its various activities. This organisation was started by the Late Gurusaday Dutt in memory of his wife who had been a pioneer of extended female education in Bengal in response to the breakdown of our joint family system.

Our sympathy goes to his bereaved family.

### *Pandurang Sadashiv Sane*

The death of this Marhatti Socialist thought-leader removes a notable figure from the field of scholarship in India. He has died untimely at the age of 45 only. He was popularly known as "Guruji" Sane, testifying to how people looked upon him. He was a sincere Congress worker, having taken part in almost all the movements of national liberation initiated by Gandhiji. During his latter days he appears to have drifted away from the ways of the Congress and adopted the advance of socialism as part of his socio-political activities. He was, moreover, more of a scholar and the country looked forward to him as one of its coming man. He has gone to his rest. May his soul rest in peace!

### *Herambalal Gupta*

The death at Mexico City at the age of 69 of this Bengali revolutionary snaps another link with the days when Bengal was making history in India. Son of the distinguished scholar, Umesh Chandra Gupta, he was a student of the Bangabashi College when in 1905 he went to the United States for higher studies; he graduated from the Boston University. During World War I he took an active part in organising revolt in India. Hardayal, Bhupendra Nath Dutta, Tarak Nath Das were the leading lights of this movement in the United States; the Ghadr Party was its spear-head.

These activities made him a *persona non grata* a man beyond grace, with the alien State authority in India; he had, therefore, had to pass his days as an exile. He settled in Mexico where he worked for years as Professor of English at the National University. May his soul rest in peace !

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## MORE LIGHT ON THE NEHRU-LIAQUAT ALI PACT Dr. John Matthai Administers Its "Coup de Grace"

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"Was the hope drunk  
Wherein you dress'd yourself? hath it slept since?  
And wakes it now, to look so green and pale  
At what it did so freely?"

—LADY MACBETH

"Two persons with gun-shot wounds, Dr. Kuladhar Nag and his daughter, were among the refugees who arrived in Calcutta by train from East Bengal yesterday. It was learnt on enquiry that they were wounded when Dr. Nag's house in Bajitpur, Faridpur district, was raided by a gang of dacoits last week."—A P. T. I. message, Calcutta, June 8, 1950.

It must, in all fairness, be conceded that the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact still holds the centre of the political stage in our "vast sub-continent", even Pandit Nehru's Indonesian tour and that other itinerary of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan to the Antipodes not being able to overshadow it in importance. There is no suggestion here, let me explain, that it is already vying with Cleopatra's beauty in that matter of age not withering or custom staling it. Poetic licence has no place in political articles, unless, indeed, they are written by Congressmen, their *jo-hukums*, and such other wild-fowl; and this happens to be a political article written by a Liberal of the old school, a Liberal "to the-manner born," a Liberal back, belly and sides. So I am bound to confess that, in spite of its association with two world-renowned figures, the Pact remains of the earth earthy and, in consequence, essentially ephemeral in character. "Diuturnity," as Sir Thomas Browne has put it in imperishable language, "is a dream and folly of expectation. There is nothing strictly immortal but immortality."

### ALL IN THE NAME OF THE "FATHER OF THE NATION"

Still, among mortal things the Pact is assured of a modicum of longevity—as how should it fail to be, with the distinguished Nawabzada as one of its signatories? And the crux of the matter is this. Since the publication of my last article on the subject in these columns more facts have come to light, and they only tend to confirm the doleful thesis that I ventured to put forward there: namely, that the Pact in question (as, indeed, might have been expected by anyone less given to floundering in the mire of rank communalism than our friends of the Congress persuasion) was true to type in that it was one more "let-down" for the poor Hindus, and one more "let-up", if I may say so, for the consistently fortunate Muslims. It was, in short, a further concession (the umpteenth of its kind) to

Muslim intransigence: all, let us remind ourselves, in the august names of brotherhood and amity and the following in the illustrious footsteps of the "Father of the Nation" and the ushering in of the era of Sarvodaya "and no d—d nonsense", *et hoc genus omne*. Nearly three months have elapsed since the signing of the Pact, a period of time during which, if they had so wished (or, rather, if they had had the necessary data), they ("the powers that be") could have pointed to the glorious success of this latest experiment in their famous "appeasement" policy.

### "WAS THE HOPE DRUNK?"

I am not, by any means, suggesting, or faintly stirring the air in the neighbourhood of suggesting that they have been routed out of the field altogether. That day, unfortunately, has yet to dawn, though about the dawning of it there can, at this juncture, be no doubt whatsoever even in their own minds, warped as they might be by too much wishful thinking and a systematic pandering to Exhibitionism of a peculiarly noxious nature. Nonetheless, signs have not been wanting, of late, that the voices that had, in the not so remote past, acclaimed the Pact in accents that reverberated down "... the ringing plains of windy Troy," that had bidden fair to shake "the topless towers of Ilium" to their very foundations, are muted now, if not altogether silent. The hope, it is now pellucidly clear, had been drunk—in the immortal words of Lady Macbeth—wherein the Congress leaders had originally dressed their thoughts. It had slept since and, at the moment of going to press, has woken—"to look so green and pale at what it had done so freely." It has ever been like that—with the Pacts and Protocols into which the Congress has entered with its loving neighbour, Pakistan, a neighbour so loving, indeed, that, while negotiating these Pacts and Protocols, it has an eye cocked (eminently practical as it always has been in its dealings with India) at American ammunitions and war paraphernalia in general! But of that anon.

## THE CHORUS OF APPROVAL DYING DOWN

Any impartial observer would have noted by now that the first fine careless rapture over the Pact has given place to a more realistic appreciation of its dire implications. It can no longer be said of the ranks of its defenders that

"The stubborn spearmen still made good  
The dark impenetrable wood,  
Each stepping where his foeman stood  
The instant that he fell."

Those ranks are not now so serried as all that. The gaps are rapidly widening with the passing of days, and by far the biggest calamity that has as yet befallen them has been the significant statement of Dr. Jahn Matthai in reply to the one made, *a propos de boîtes*, by the Prime Minister at Trivandrum that the resignation of the former was due *solely* to his differences with the Cabinet over the creation of the Planning Commission. The secret of all good prose is omission, as R. L. Stevenson recognised long ago, and our beloved Panditji, though not (as we know to our cost) usually noted for his under-statements of facts (or fancies), was, in this particular instance, guilty of a distinct suppression of relevant details.

Dr. Matthai, a normally reticent person, was, therefore, impelled to come out into the open and to make a clean breast of the doings behind closed doors at recent Cabinet meetings. His relation of events does not, I need hardly point out, redound to the glory either of Pandit Nehru or of the Cabinet as a whole. Naturally enough, there was a flutter in certain dovecots, a flutter that could be heard miles away, and Maulana Abul Kalam Azad had to enter the fray hurriedly to rebut Dr. Matthai's more serious allegations. The Maulana Saheb, however, might, in the vulgar phrase, have saved his breath to cool his porridge: his painstaking rebuttal is not calculated to convince anyone excepting, of course, the already converted.

## DR. MATTHAI POUNCES UPON THE PACT

I am not here concerned with the controversy between Pandit Nehru and Dr. Matthai in its entirety. It has quite a few features that make an instant appeal to the habitual writer on politics, but, for the present, they need not detain us. The sting of Dr. Matthai's statement is in the tail and we have to do only with that here. While pointing out that the differences between himself and the Prime Minister were not, as had been alleged by the latter at Trivandrum, confined to the creation of the Planning Commission, he was compelled to give "a local habitation and a name" to the rest of those differences; and a stage arrived when, in the process of narrating them, he had, willy-nilly, to mention the Delhi Pact, and to mention it in terms the reverse of flattering.

It now transpires that, like Dr. Mookerjee and Mr. Neogy, he had also all along been opposed to the Pact, and that his opposition to it had at least as much to do with his eventual resignation (or was it dismissal?) as his opposition to the creation of the Planning Commission. This revelation is most opportune and we ought to be indebted to that inadvertent remark made by Pandit Nehru at Trivandrum for it. Dr. Matthai, as everyone knows, is not a Hindu, and, as such, his scathing denunciation of the Pact ought to be an eye-opener to those who have been extolling it to the skies—doubtless in the (vain) hope of extricating our beloved Prime Minister from a major political blunder: one in a long chain of major political blunders, beginning from his hasty and cloth-headed acceptance of the infamous "June 3 Plan."

## DR. MATTHAI'S DENUNCIATION OF THE PACT

I shall now quote Dr. Matthai's own words. Dewan Chimanlal, among others, will do well to listen to them. It has become quite a fashion for Hindu Congressmen to be curiously apathetic to Hindu interests—all in the name of their much-vaunted "secularism." It is a significant commentary on this singular state of affairs that it should have fallen to the lot of a *Christian* to come to the rescue of those same Hindu interests which have been so very unsafe in the hands of Hindu Congressmen ever since this bug of "secularism" bit them—in the more vulnerable places of their flesh. These are Dr. Matthai's *ipsissima verba*:

"I must also point out, since the controversy has been forced upon me, that I was one of the members of the Cabinet who regarded with grave misgivings the conclusion of the recent Indo-Pakistan Pact and anticipated the gradual disillusionment that recent developments have produced. In spite of it, I accepted the position that, having committed ourselves to the Pact, we should give it a fair and honest trial. A policy of appeasement in these circumstances is, therefore, inevitable."

Mark, however, the sequel:

"But, under the guise of appeasement, it is extremely important that we should be careful not to barter away vital national interests. It is right in a great cause for individuals to sacrifice their personal interests. But a Government is in the position of a trustee for millions of human beings and has no right to sacrifice without adequate consideration and sufficient justification the interests of those who are committed to its authority."

## ALL HONOUR TO DR. MATTHAI!

After this, the least that Hindu Congressmen can do is to hang down their heads in shame for having left to a non-Hindu like Dr. Matthai to champion the Hindu cause and to save something for it from

the general wreck caused by their own culpable neglect. The whole statement is an object-lesson to politicians that, ever since the Gandhian irruption into the arena of Indian politics, have been gradually educating themselves out of a proper love for members of their own community and, by way of adding insult to injury, calling it patriotism of the highest order. All honour to the outgoing Finance Minister for thus venturing to come to the rescue of a community which, in the considered judgment of our revered Congress leaders, is less than the dust beneath their chariot-wheels.

#### A QUESTION

A question, however, remains to be asked of Dr. Matthai—of course, with the utmost respect. Holding the same views as Dr. Mookerjee and Mr. Neogy on the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact as, according to his own testimony, he has been doing all along, would it not, I ask with becoming humility, have helped the cause he has so much at heart better if he had chosen to resign at the same instant as the other two instead of at a later date and after (as it has turned out) the washing of so much dirty linen in public? To be sure, the responsibility for such washing cannot, in fairness, be laid at his door, because the work had been started, in right earnest, by no less a personage than the Prime Minister himself at Trivandrum for no ascertainable reason. "Not presuming to dictate," I do feel that if Dr. Matthai had elected to stand shoulder to shoulder with those two aforementioned eminent colleagues of his at the critical juncture of their resignations he would have done a greater service to the country than he has done now—invaluable as that is anyhow. I am so happy at Dr. Matthai's valiant espousal of the Hindu cause—and at a moment, too, when, thanks to the Congress, it could not have sunk lower in the mire of degradation—that it was with considerable reluctance that I decided to enter this slight caveat against him: I can but trust that he will not take it ill. For the rest, I renew my thanks to him on behalf of my fellow-countrymen. May he be spared for long to serve his Motherland is my earnest prayer to the Almighty!

#### SOME DIRTY WORK AT THE CROSS-ROADS

The matter, however, does not stop here. Dr. Matthai's resignation does not seem to have been such a simple affair as it undoubtedly looked at first sight. There appears to have been a lot of dirty work at the cross-roads, and his leaving the Government might well have partaken more of the nature of an ignominious dismissal than of a self-respecting resignation.

Pandit Nehru, it will be remembered, confided to his audience at Trivandrum that the sole cause of

Dr. Matthai's resignation from the Cabinet was the creation of the Planning Commission. Since then the higher criticism has been assiduously at work over this unsavoury episode and has already produced some quite interesting results: the most salient of them being this one—namely, that not only was the creation of the Planning Commission *not* the sole cause of that resignation, nor yet the immediate cause, but that the credit for it indisputably goes to the Delhi Pact, all roads, presumably, leading to Rome. The villain of the piece was this and none other; and no wonder either, for it easily bears away the bell in this matter. "At the beginning was the Word," we have been told, and at the beginning of all these resignations was the Delhi Pact, the *fons et origo* of the more recent and the more pronounced Cabinet dissensions; and behind that there is another story. It would appear that Dr. Matthai's resentment at the Delhi Pact was no mere flash in the pan, was not the solitary instance of his disapproval of such ill-considered transactions: he had been opposed to the Congress policy of *ad lib.* appeasement of the intransigent Muslim minority right from the start of this unholy growth on our body politic. At this point one remark of mine may not, I suggest, come amiss. The Congress at one time had also been opposed to this short-sighted pandering to Muslim intransigence, though, after developing an unaccountable taste for it, it began calling the poor Hindu Mahasabhaite rank communalists—offence, evidently, being the proper form of defence. I hope our revered Congress leaders will not similarly call Dr. Matthai a Hindu Mahasabhaite and a rank communalist and take him to task for not being sufficiently "broad-minded" and for lacking in the requisite "international outlook." It is so easy (is it not?) to fall foul of people when our case is inherently unsound!

#### THE PANDIT WALKS INTO THE SPIDER'S PARLOUR

In this connection the despatch of the Special Correspondent of *The Times of India* from New Delhi, dated June 5, is extremely revealing. Dr. Matthai had been (so we are informed) consistently doubting the wisdom of the Congress's policy towards Pakistan. The despatch runs:

"The immediate cause of Dr. Matthai's resignation was the Nehru-Liaquat Pact. Dr. Matthai is reported to have expressed grave misgivings about the outcome of the Pact. He found himself—although he was neither a Congressman nor a Hindu—responding to the statement of Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee in Parliament. From the economic point of view, Pakistan was finding herself on the verge of collapse and was, therefore, anxious to come to a settlement with India, sending out all the Hindus from East Bengal as well as all the Muslims who had recently left the Indian Union. Dr. Matthai was believed to take the view that Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan wished, for political

reasons, to enter into this Pact on the eve of his visit to the U.S.A. Dr. Matthai thought that Pandit Nehru had fallen into the trap set by the Prime Minister of Pakistan."

#### A STRIKING CONTRAST

Public memory, it is true, is notoriously short, but I hope it is not so short that the offer to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan by Pandit Nehru some time ago of a sort of *permanent* mutual non-aggression pact and its contemptuous rejection by the Nawabzada have already become matters of ancient history. The Pact that subsequently eventuated between the two, though its object, in essence, is the same as that of the originally projected Pact, is not quite that Pact, being more limited in scope and in duration. Still, it can be considered as a miniature edition of it. The question now arises as to why the Nawabzada, who had been so very reluctant to sign the first pact, was in such a tarnation hurry to sign the second. It cannot be that the Pakistan Prime Minister who, at the time the first pact was mooted, had behaved like the deaf adder of Scripture which, as my readers are doubtless aware, the more one piped the less it danced, was suddenly, like Paul of Tarsus on his way to Damascus, smitten by a dazzling light at the time of the proposal of the second pact and so hastened to lend his support to it. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan is a hard-headed politician and, therefore, the idea that, at a moment's notice, as it were, he would have become a victim of sentimental tantrums, in the manner of some other Prime Ministers whom I can name, can be dismissed at once from our minds. If, after looking askance at the original offer, old Liaquat so far staged a climb-down, a couple of months hence, as to consider the feasibility of sitting at a round table, along with Pandit Nehru, with a view to evolving a formula, there must have been a cogent reason for it; and that reason must be found in the fact that his visit to America was approaching and that he persuaded himself, or was persuaded by a third party, that it would be a distinct feather in his cap if, on the eve of his visit, he could bring about some diplomatic triumph on the Indian front that would appeal irresistibly to the American citizen. This supposition of mine has received corroboration from many quarters; and below is a quotation from one of them.

#### LIAQUAT'S AMERICAN VISIT

That very well-known President of the India League of America, Mr. J. J. Singh, writing a strictly factual report of the Pakistan Prime Minister's visit to the United States in the *Indian News Chronicle* of June 9, has this to say, among other things:

"This brief and incomplete analysis of Liaquat Ali's visit to the United States would be even more incomplete if I did not add that perhaps the

Prime Minister of Pakistan would not have received such a favourable and friendly reception in this country if the Minorities Agreement had not been reached between him and Prime Minister Nehru."

My readers may remember that, in my last article in these columns, I referred to the report of the American Correspondent of *The New York Times* in Karachi to the effect that the aforementioned Minorities Pact would not have seen the light of day but for the indefatigable efforts, behind the scenes, of the two American Ambassadors in this "vast sub-continent." In that report we were led to believe that it was that American intervention, and that alone, that brought about the settlement in question. I added that this report was not contradicted by the authorities over here. If we read between the lines of Mr. J. J. Singh's article in the *Indian News Chronicle* we shall have to admit to ourselves that there is a good deal to be said for that story put about by Mr. C. L. Sulzberger, the American Correspondent of *The New York Times* in the Pakistan capital. This is the concluding portion of Mr. Singh's article:

#### MR. J. J. SINGH'S VIEW

Mr. Singh continues:

"From the very day, in the first week of April, when Liaquat Ali Khan went to New Delhi, the American press started giving prominence to the New Delhi conference. Almost to the last day that Liaquat Ali Khan left Karachi for the United States, news-stories appeared almost every day about the improvement in Indo-Pakistan relations. Practically all the important newspapers highly commended the signing of the Minorities Pact in their editorials and paid tribute to the farsightedness and statesmanship of the two Prime Ministers."

And this is the concluding portion of his article, which carries its own moral:

"Thus, suddenly, the Prime Minister of Pakistan began to be talked of, in the United States, as a great statesman. And as Americans are most anxious that peace should prevail on the sub-continent of India and Pakistan, they opened their arms to Liaquat Ali Khan as one of the great men of that sub-continent who had so recently helped to avert a catastrophe."

#### SUPERB STRATEGY

It is becoming more and more clear, with the passing of days, that there is more in the Delhi Pact than meets the eye and that it was a piece of superb strategy on the part of the Nawabzada. It won for him immense good-will from Americans; and, at the same time, it secured for him peace on his eastern frontier—especially during the period of his absence from Pakistan. He not only did not lose anything by the Pact: he gained everything from it—moral kudos as well as material victories. The Delhi Pact



was followed by the Trade Pact between the two countries at Karachi, and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan had no more worlds to conquer. Pakistan was on the verge of economic collapse, as Dr. Matthai has pointed out in his statement in reply to Pandit Nehru, and both the Pacts were calculated to avert that collapse. India's boycott of Pakistan jute and her stopping of coal supplies to her neighbour had virtually brought that "largest Muslim State in the world" to its knees. That was one reason for the recent persecution of Hindus in East Bengal: there was not a little method in that religious madness. By driving out a large portion of its population—on whatever grounds—it contrived to have fewer responsibilities, and to that extent could be said to be in clover. The Delhi Pact came in handy in this way — namely, that Pakistan knew that while, as a result of it, *very few* Hindus would return to East Bengal, vast numbers of Muslims (that had migrated from West Bengal recently) would cheerfully make a trek back to their homes; so that, on a final reckoning, it would be seen that its initial objective of expelling quite a huge proportion of its minority community was still gained, and *gained without any moral obloquy attached to it*. The Karachi Trade Pact was a virtual signing by India on the dotted line, and, by that means, the time-honoured *one-way* traffic between the two sundered halves of our beloved Motherland became one hundred per cent complete. Pandit Nehru is no match for Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan so far as political legerdemain is concerned, and has always been trounced by the latter in a battle of sheer wits; and, backed by American intrigue, the Nawabzada's chances of success over the Pandit are, needless to say, doubly assured.

#### THAT EXPLOSION IN SOUTH AMBOY

I made a passing reference, at the beginning of my article, to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan's purchase of vast quantities of ammunition in America the while lulling our gullible "secular" politicians to sleep by entering into pacts and protocols with India. As a result of his visit to the United States that purchasing received a by no means negligible impetus, and ammunition was sent post-haste to South Amboy for being loaded into ships bound for Karachi. But, as everyone knows, the best-laid schemes of mice and men "oft gang a-gley," and all that ammunition went up in a holocaust before the ships ever started for Karachi. It was only then, however, that this whole question of Pakistan's purchases of war materials from "God's own country" began to be high-lighted. Coupled with the portentous wink dropped by its Prime Minister that his country feared aggression *only* from the side of India, this purchasing of arms and ammunition by our

loying neighbour has naturally given us all "furiously to think." "What price Pacts and Protocols?" is the question that comes uppermost to our lips. It was only a fortnight or so after his signing of the Delhi Pact, that Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan had the impudence to tell his American audience that India, *and India alone*, was Pakistan's potential aggressor; and, on top of that, came his fervent appeal to his hosts to furnish him with every kind of war equipment and that, too, in record time. The first person to have violated the Delhi Pact was one of its own signatories; but when the attention of its other signatory was drawn to it he simply pooh-poohed it! If this sort of thing can be done in the green leaf, we are asking ourselves, what cannot be done in the dry?

#### MR. RASHDI GETS IT IN THE NECK

Before concluding my article I should like to refer to a few matters, leaving my readers to draw their own conclusions from them. Recently some members of the Pakistan Newspaper Editors' Conference took the drastic step of resigning from that august body by way of a strong protest against certain conciliatory speeches of its President, Mr. Rashdi, while he was on a "Good-will Mission" in India. Mr. Rashdi, it will be remembered, had had the courage to admit that the reports of Hindu hooliganism in West Bengal had been considerably exaggerated in the Pakistan press and that Muslims were receiving excellent treatment, indeed, in our country. For reasons into which we need not probe these highly unexceptionable sentiments offended the *amour propre* of some of his colleagues and they resigned in a huff from the P. N. E. C. Mr. Rashdi had also said that there was, after all, not so much difference between the cultures of the two countries as he had originally been led to suppose. This statement also was not relished by the resigning members. My only comment on this must be that there is no accounting for tastes!

#### DR. MALIK'S EXHORTATION

The other day Dr. Malik, Pakistan's Minister for Minorities, had occasion to indulge in a heart-to-heart talk with the bigoted section of Maulvis. He exhorted them to search their hearts and see whether they could claim to have done their duty towards their Hindu brethren. This exhortation was to the purpose not only in view of the past exodus of the Hindus from East Bengal but also because there has been no substantial diminution in that exodus even after the signing of the Agreement. And about this something has to be said. The "inspired" propaganda of the Government over here that there has been a substantial diminution in that exodus simply does not hold water. And, as for that other "inspired" propaganda

that quite a large number of Hindus have gone back to their homes in East Bengal, it is equally without foundation. Many of those who *had* thus gone back have, since, returned, after discovering that all the talk about their properties being restored to them was just so much poppycock. Some have gone back because they found the conditions of the refugees here unbearable. Viewed in whatever light not many Hindus will ever return to East Bengal: on the other hand, those still remaining there will gradually trek back to the west.

#### THE PACT IS A FAILURE

Our Government will do well to peruse the following excerpt from the statement recently issued by Messrs. N. C. Chatterjee, Meghnad Saha, Makhanlal Sen and Charu Chandra Roy :

We would appeal to the Government of India to face the stark realities of the situation however unpleasant. In spite of cordiality at the top level, there has occurred a large number of incidents of oppression on the minority community in the various parts of East Bengal since the Agreement was signed in Delhi. Dr. Mookerjee has publicly announced a list of over 500 such incidents which have occurred during the period April 9 to April 30, as illustrative of the insecure condition still prevailing in East Bengal. They have not yet been contradicted. The victims were all non-Muslims and unfortunately they were spread over various districts—Dacca, Faridpur, Barisal, Khulna, Jessore, Mymensingh, Tippera, Kustia, Chittagong and Sylhet.

The Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact, in a nutshell, is a miserable failure from India's point of view and a magnificent success from Pakistan's point of view: that is the Law and most of the Prophets.

—:O:—

## THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS IN INDIA

By MRITYUNJOY BANERJEE, M.A.

THE term 'Balance of Payments' is most commonly but inappropriately used to indicate the general balance of transactions during a given period out of which international monetary obligations or claims arise and the payments made or received in settlement of these obligations or claims. Adam Smith described this as the 'state of debt and credit.' Goschen proposed to call it 'the balance of indebtedness.' In recent years a Sub-Committee of Statistical Experts of the League of Nations has suggested the more comprehensive and appropriate term 'International Transactions Account.' Among the transactions *current items* such as merchandise exported or imported, movements of gold, services in shipping, banking and insurance, tourists' expenditure, diplomatic and consular expenditure, immigrants' remittances, interest and dividends, and *capital items* like (a) long-term investments in foreign lands or foreign investments in homelands, amortisation of inter-governmental debts, sale of existing domestic securities to foreign nationals or purchase of foreign securities issued abroad, and (b) short-term changes in short-term assets and liabilities, particularly, in foreign exchange holdings of the National Central Bank and changes in gold holdings. It may

be seen that the last item under capital (b) (short-term) is the balancing item and can be truly called the Balance of Payments.

In other advanced countries a study of this question has received a remarkable amount of attention since World War I. In U.S.A. very detailed estimates have been compiled since 1919. In 1923-24 official estimates of the Balance of Payments were prepared by as many as 15 countries. The items included in them varied considerably from each other. Through the efforts of the League of Nations a good deal of progress has been achieved towards uniformity in the method of presentation of such accounts. A resolution was passed stressing such uniformity by the League Assembly as early as 1922. In 1947 the International Monetary Fund recommended a new and more elaborate schedule for recording international transactions by its members.

#### PRE-WAR BALANCE OF PAYMENTS IN INDIA

In India the first officially recognised compilations of Balance of Payments relate to the period 1923-24 to 1938-39 and were made according to the standard form laid down by the League of Nations for its member countries. These are shown below :

# THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS IN INDIA

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(In crores of rupees)

	CURRENT ACCOUNT					CAPITAL ACCOUNT			Errors and omissions*
	Merchan- dise	Interest and dividends	Goods, services and gold Other services	Gold	Total	Known capital items Long-term	Short-term	Total	
Balance for—									
1923-24	+110.52	-32.37	-43.30	-29.21	+ 5.65	+22.10	- 1.05	+21.05	-26.70
1924-25	+117.66	-31.78	-33.37	-73.83	-21.37	-12.25	- 0.09	-12.28	+33.65
1925-26	+119.05	-28.99	-36.48	-34.86	+18.72	-16.53	+ 0.33	-16.20	- 2.52
1926-27	+ 35.10	-29.78	-34.72	-19.40	-48.80	+38.38	- 0.05	+38.33	+10.47
1927-28	+ 51.34	-31.44	-34.70	-18.10	-32.90	+14.68	- 6.55	+ 8.13	+24.77
1928-29	+ 66.50	-32.47	-31.22	-21.20	-18.39	+ 0.52	+ 0.71	+ 1.23	+17.16
1929-30	+ 53.81	-31.60	-18.01	-14.22	-10.02	+13.32	+ 4.12	+17.44	- 7.42
1930-31	+ 37.13	-33.58	-15.91	-12.76	-25.12	+43.22	- 5.33	+37.89	-12.77
1931-32	+ 22.26	-34.76	-17.94	+57.97	+27.52	+11.76	- 8.68	+ 3.08	-30.61
1932-33	- 5.47	-34.41	-16.16	+65.52	+ 9.48	- 6.50	- 8.15	-14.65	+ 5.17
1933-34	+ 27.09	-33.92	-12.19	+57.05	+38.03	-21.55	- 9.62	-31.17	- 6.86
1934-35	+ 11.26	-32.51	-13.94	+52.54	+17.35	- 8.67	-10.56	-19.23	+ 1.88
1935-36	+ 19.38	-32.02	-15.97	+37.36	+ 8.75	..	..	-12.11	+ 3.33
1936-37—									
Credit	217.54	0.62	10.10	29.45	257.71	..	..	0.32	258.03
Debit	160.81	33.00	28.41	1.61	223.83	..	..	33.68	257.51
Balance	+ 56.73	-32.38	-18.31	+27.84	+ 33.88	..	..	-33.36	- 0.52
1937-38—									
Credit	205.02	0.83	10.09	17.89	233.83	..	..	16.94	250.77
Debit	205.04	31.00	28.22	1.56	265.82	..	..	11.64	277.46
Balance	- 0.02	-30.17	-18.18	+16.33	-31.99	..	..	+ 5.30	+ 26.69
1938-39—									
**Credit	185.50	0.88	11.27	13.80	211.45	..	..	12.97	224.42
	(185. 8)			(23. 3)	(221. 3)	..	..	(14. 3)	(235.6)
		(12.2)							
Debit	179.86	28.00	30.42	0.75	239.03	..	..	10.84	249.87
	(178. 6)			(—)	(237. 0)	..	..	(10. 7)	(247.7)
		(58.6)							
Balance	+ 5.64	-27.12	-19.15	+13.05	- 27.58	..	..	+ 2.13	+ 25.45
	(+ 7. 2)			(+23. 3)	(- 15. 7)	..	..	(+ 3. 6)	(- 12.1)
		(-46.4)							

\* The balances in this column are due to unrecorded (private) capital transactions and possible errors and omissions in the account for goods, services and gold.

\*\* Revised figures, recently published by the International Monetary Fund are given in brackets. Source : League of Nations publications on Balance of Payments.

## POST-WAR BALANCE OF PAYMENTS IN INDIA

The post-war Balance of payments has been Department of Research and Statistics, Reserve Bank compiled by the Balance of Payments Division of the of India. It is reproduced below :

Item	1946*				1947*				1948(a)			
	Receipts	Payments	Net		Receipts	Payments	Net		Receipts	Payments	Net	
<b>A. Current Account—</b>												
1.(I) Merchandise (including silver)												
(Exports f.o.b., Imports c.i.f.)												
(a) Private	336.0	280.6	+ 55.4		450.9	427.8	+ 23.1		433.7	352.4	+ 81.3	
(b) Government	1.5	108.1	- 106.6		2.8	106.9	- 104.1		—	184.0	- 184.0	
2. Gold (non-monetary)	0.9	1.7	- 0.8		1.0	15.1	- 14.1		—	0.1	- 0.1	
3. Services :												
(a) Private**	22.6	49.2	- 26.6		31.9	65.6	- 33.7		44.6	62.7	- 18.1	
(b) Government	96.0	53.8	+ 42.2		31.7	52.4	- 20.7		24.6	45.0	- 20.4	
4. Unilateral Transfers (II)	..	..	..		..	4.5	- 4.5		16.0	5.8	+ 10.2	
5. Unclassified	..	..	..		..	..	..		23.2	14.6	+ 8.6	
<b>B. Capital Account—</b>												
6. Change in the Assets of the Banking System (III)	56.9	..	+ 56.9		107.5	..	+ 107.5		327.0	..	+ 327.0	
7. Change in the Liabilities of the Banking System (IV)	5.8	..	+ 5.8		4.7	..	+ 4.7		12.0	..	+ 12.0	
8. Identified Security Transactions (V)	..	6.5	- 6.5		10.6	12.3	- 1.7		8.3	7.1	+ 1.3	
9. Contractual Transactions of the Government : (a) Purchase of Dollars from the I.M.F.	..	..	..		..	..	..		..	..	..	
(b) Others (VI)	..	17.8	- 17.8		..	..	..		22.8	..	+ 22.8	
10. Private Capital Remittances (VII)	..	..	..		20.3	9.9	10.5		1.4	224.0	- 222.6	
11. Miscellaneous	..	9.3	- 9.3		..	64.4	64.4		18.0	34.4	- 16.4	
<b>C. Errors and Omissions</b>												
	7.1	..	+ 7.1		97.5	..	+ 97.5		..	1.5	- 1.5	
	526.9	526.9	..		758.9	758.9	..		931.6	931.6	..	

A dash (—) has been used to indicate either that a figure is zero or less than half the final digit shown, or that the item called for does not exist. The non-availability of data is indicated by dots (..).

\* The data for 1946 and 1947 relate to pre-partition India, while those for 1948 relate only to the Indian Union and also exclude the Union's exchange transactions with Pakistan.

(a) The figures for this year exclude transactions in merchandise under Government barter deals.

(I) Includes Rs. 60 crores paid for stores to the United Kingdom according to the terms of the Indo-U. K. Financial Agreement of July 1948.

\*\* Covers foreign travel, transportation, insurance investment income and other miscellaneous services.

(II) Mainly migrants' remittances.

(III) Includes the change in the sterling assets held by the Reserve Bank of India ; of this the amount transferred to Pakistan in 1948 has, however, not been shown.

(IV) In addition to the liabilities of authorised dealers in foreign exchange, this item includes the foreign liabilities of the Reserve Bank representing balances in the current accounts kept by certain foreign institutions with the Bank.

(V) Include repatriation of sterling debt movements in rupee securities held by the Reserve Bank on account of foreigners' rupee securities encased for payment in London re-transferred to India, amortization payments and certain other contractual payments.

(VI) Cover the transfer of amounts between the Governments of India and Burma, the transactions relating to the loan granted to Siam, subscriptions paid to the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank, and the recent acquisition of the pensions annuity by the Government of India.

(VII) Include such items as savings remittances, distribution of capital under trust, repayment of funds, and surplus funds of insurance companies.

This latter compilation, it has been admitted, follows no established pattern and the form has been dictated by the available material. The categories have been adapted to fit the available data instead of the data being made to fit the categories. Besides, there are certain discrepancies in the figures. First, the data for 1946 and 1947 relate to undivided India; while for 1948 they relate to the Indian Union but exclude its exchange transactions with Pakistan. Secondly, the source of the first two is the Customs Returns and of the third the Exchange Control Department. Thirdly, the Capital Account which presents more precise figures is not complete for any of the three years. Apart from these limitations, the figures can be said to present a rough picture of how India has been balancing its international accounts since the end of the war.

#### FEATURES OF THE PRE-WAR BALANCE

It appears from the above statements that India's pre-war balance of payments had three characteristics worth noting. First, her balance on merchandise account had been very much fluctuating. It was fairly high after World War I, but as India has been chiefly an exporter of primary products, it dwindled after the depression so much so that it was negative in 1932-33. Secondly, as a debtor and dependent country its net annual payment for interest and dividends and for services was quite high throughout. Thirdly, gold movements played a prominent part in balancing India's external accounts from year to year. Thus as a rule she imported gold in times of prosperity and exported it when adverse conditions made it necessary. The Balance of Payments shows her adversity and distress as a result of the depression. But there is one good feature about it, viz., that her balance on merchandise account, that is, her visible balance of trade had on the whole been favourable in the inter-war period.

#### FEATURES OF THE POST-WAR BALANCE

By the end of the last War, most of the previously depressing factors in India's Balance of Payments had disappeared and the position, to start with, was much stronger from this standpoint. Prices of primary products, her staple export, had risen to great heights. Having repaid most of her sterling debts on official account, she has accumulated a pile of sterling assets. The net payment on service items has also diminished. Further, various internal and external factors had reduced the volume of gold movements. But several post-war developments have weakened the position in many ways. First, due to increase in population and inability of home production to cope with it, the slow recovery of Burma and Siam, our main sup-

pliers so long, India had become vitally dependent on foreign countries for her requirements of food. Before 1939 her net imports of food did not exceed 0.5 million ton per annum, but this figure after the War increased to five or six times. Secondly, there is a large accumulated demand in industries for machinery for replacement and development purposes—both of which had to be postponed during the War. On top of these came Partition of the country which has taken away not only the important surplus food-producing areas but also jute and cotton-growing regions, the mainstay of our export trade. It has affected both the blades of the scissors, increasing our food deficit and the need for import on the one hand and reducing our exportable surplus on the other. The result has been that the balance of trade in merchandise has been negative throughout the post-war period. Of course, considering private trade in merchandise separately, there was large favourable balance of Rs. 55.4 crores in 1946, followed by one of Rs. 23 crores in 1947 and Rs. 81.3 crores in 1948. But imports on Government account were particularly heavy, the chief item being foodgrains. Imports of rice and wheat alone were valued at Rs. 60 crores in 1946 which increased sharply to Rs. 102 crores in 1948. This is the main reason why the deficit in Government account in 1948 was so high as Rs. 184 crores. It may be recalled figures for 1948 relate to the Indian Union. In respect of gold as well, India has been a net importer. The sudden increase in the negative balance under gold in 1947 was due both to the favourable prices ruling in India and to the Government of India's inclination to allow liberal imports of gold as a counter-inflationary measure. Coming to service items, it may be seen that Government receipts fell much after 1946 because the United Kingdom then ceased to pay anything to the Government of India for the latter's military expenditure. The Capital Account shows the manner in which the deficits on Current Account have been met. The foreign assets of the Banking system, including the sterling assets of the Reserve Bank of India fell by Rs. 56.9 crores in 1946, Rs. 107.5 crores in 1947 and Rs. 327.0 crores in 1948. The high figure for 1948 is explained by the fact that Rs. 224 crores had to be paid to the United Kingdom Government for the purchase of an annuity to meet the annual pension charges due to British nationals by the Indian Union, Rs. 60 crores for the purchase of stores from the United Kingdom under the terms of the Financial Agreement of July, 1948, and large transfers had to be made to Pakistan according to the terms of Partition.

The progressive deficit on Current Account in the Balance of Payments arising mainly from the growing adverse Balance of trade constitutes the greatest



ing India but excluding Pakistan. India had to meet her hard currency deficit partly out of the convertible sterling and partly by purchasing dollars worth Rs. 22.8 crores from the International Monetary Fund. But this is a temporary expedient to which resource cannot be had frequently.

#### EFFECTS OF DEVALUATION ON THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

Some of the repercussions of devaluation of currency on the Balance of Payments may be analysed. Our imports from Dollar areas cost us more in rupees by about a third. This increase in prices of imported goods would have normally, according to the classic law of demand, checked the volume of our imports. But the nature of imported goods is such that most of them cannot be dispensed with except at the cost of our lives or future development. True it is that we have already imported our food requirements from these areas for 1949. This may give us temporary relief. But we will need to import food in 1950, 1951 and even after that because so many practical difficulties make us doubt our abilities to be self-sufficient in food even after 1951. Our exports to dollar areas will increase, because the dollar will now be more attractive than the rupee or sterling. But this depends on our export potential and the propensity to import of the dollar areas themselves. Both these factors are limited in scope. If we are to repay our loans to the International Monetary Fund in dollars, we will have to pay more in rupees. And our sterling balances will also depreciate in terms of the dollar. The Eastern Economist has calculated that devaluation will mean a net loss of Rs. 28 crores in 1950 in our Balance of Payments. Although it is difficult to predict the loss with mathematical precision, it is certain that devaluation will effect our Balance of Payments. Devaluation is itself a symptom of weakness in the position of the latter. This

requires our attention to be focussed more urgently on the more deep-rooted causes of such weakness.

#### CONCLUSION

Restoration of our Balance of *Payments* or strictly speaking, to convert it into a Balance of *Receipts* is, therefore, our immediate task. Increase in exports and a reduction in imports are the only means of achieving this objective. It is a healthy sign that our national Government, though late, have realised the gravity of the situation. They appointed an Export Promotion Committee in July last and have agreed to implement their recommendations submitted recently. Some of these such as increasing importance to exportable and other cash crops, curbing speculative activity in and hoarding of exportable commodities, standardisation and quality control of goods for export purposes, abolition of sales tax over exports, refund of import duty on goods re-exported and of income-tax on a percentage of profits from the export trade are full of immense potentialities. The whole country should be export-conscious. Our industry and agriculture should be export-minded and export-worthy as well. The high level of prices is having an adverse effect on the export of commodities like oilseeds, cotton textiles, jute manufactures, sugar. The need of bringing about a fall in prices also receives an added emphasis. On the import side, the principal item is foodgrains. The Food Commissioner for India recently outlined a plan for increasing food production by 44 lakh tons by the end of 1951. It aims at self-sufficiency in food after 1951. The nation's attention was drawn to the food problem by our illustrious Prime Minister. In an impassioned broadcast appeal he has called upon every Indian to fight like a determined soldier on the food front. Nationwide concerted effort is bound to have some effect. Happily the food plan also lays stress on austerity and prevention of waste and increasing reliance on subsidiary food.



# THE KASHMIR ISSUE AND THE UNITED NATIONS

By TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.,

Professor of Public Affairs, New York University; Lecturer on History and Civilization of India  
and World Politics, Columbia University

THE peace of the world depends in a very great degree on co-operation between the United States and the democratic forces of Asia. Since India's attainment of sovereign status, she has assumed the leadership of the peoples of Asia by championing their right to freedom and independence. Although it is generally assumed that India will remain neutral in the rivalry between the power blocs, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru has made it clear that India's position is not isolationist and that she will always uphold the cause of justice and freedom and side against tyranny.

In this evolving co-operation between India and the free world the Kashmir issue contains within itself grave potentialities. The continuance of conflict between Pakistan and India over Kashmir not only will weaken India and Pakistan but also might develop into a serious threat to world peace. A detailed presentation of the history of this conflict, and the issues at stake, should therefore be useful to students of international affairs.

## I

The area of the state of Kashmir is 84,471 square miles the largest of all Indian Princely States. It is bounded on the north by Afghanistan, China and Russia; on the West and South by Pakistan, and extreme south-east and east by India. This geographical position of Kashmir has a tremendous strategic significance for the defense of India. According to the census of 1941, the State of Jammu and Kashmir had a population of 4,021,616; of whom 77.11 per cent was Moslem, 20 per cent Hindu, 1.6 per cent Sikh, the rest comprising Buddhist and other religious faiths. The State was ruled autocratically by a Hindu Maharajah, Sir Hari Singh, assisted by ministers, without any popular representation.<sup>2</sup>

On June 3, 1947, the British government announced its plan for partition of India, proclaiming that, with the transfer of power from the Crown to the two future dominions, the paramountcy of the Crown over the Indian States would cease to exist. By the Independence of India Act, on August 15, 1947, India and Pakistan came into existence as *dominions* within the British Commonwealth. By the same Act it was provided that the Princely States of India, which did not enjoy sovereign rights, were freed from the suzerainty of His Majesty while keeping alive any agreements relating to customs, transit and communications, posts and telegraphs, and other similar matters. But in one of the Cabinet Mission's statements in 1946, it was

stated that when paramountcy or suzerainty lapsed, the Indian States could either accede or seek some other form of relationship.<sup>3</sup> The government of Kashmir, headed by the Hindu Maharajah, the official Chief Executive of the State, was undecided about acceding to either of the dominions. On behalf of the State of Kashmir, he sent telegrams to India and Pakistan, asking them to enter into a Standstill Agreement with Kashmir.

The Standstill Agreement included provisions according to which certain services in the State of Jammu and Kashmir, such as posts, telegraphs and railways, which had, prior to August 15, 1947, been administered by India, were henceforth to be administered by Pakistan, as these services formed part of the administrative machinery of Pakistan.

Between August 15 and the end of October 1947, Pakistan, in its determination to force the accession of Kashmir, used every kind of pressure, including blockade, on the government of Jammu and Kashmir. Essential supplies, which had to reach Kashmir through Pakistan, were prevented from reaching that state and considerable pressure was brought to bear on Kashmir to accede to Pakistan. In October 1947, Moslem tribesmen from the frontiers of Kashmir, and some from the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan, invaded Kashmir. These invaders, commonly classed as raiders, were equipped with arms and ammunition from Pakistan by Pakistani officials as well as nationals and by some of the local Moslem population of Kashmir, fired with Pan-Islamic zeal. The story of the advance of the invaders into Kashmir is a bloody one of pillage, destruction, rape and abduction of women and children, and massacre of the civil population—specially Hindus—who tried to defend their hearth and home.

## II

What was the internal situation of the state of

<sup>2</sup> All but three Princely States signed the instruments of accession and they became parts of either India or Pakistan. The states which did not accede to either of the dominions were Hyderabad, Junagadh and Kashmir. It is not the province of this paper to discuss the Hyderabad and Junagadh issues. However, I wish to point out that I have discussed the status of Hyderabad in an article in the January 1949 issue of *The Journal of International Law*, Washington, D. C. In Junagadh the ruler, who was a Moslem, left the state long before any action was contemplated by the government of India. After his flight, there was a complete breakdown of the state administration and the government of India was approached for assistance in restoring law and order by the Prime Minister of the state who was a nominee of the ruler himself and had been left in charge of the state by the ruler. A plebiscite was held in the state as soon as the situation became normal; and an overwhelming majority, in fact with practical unanimity, favored accession to India.

<sup>3</sup> See a pamphlet issued by the Pakistan Embassy, Washington, D. C.



Kashmir and Jammu before the invasion? Prior to the Independence of India Act of August 15, 1947, the people of the State of Jammu and Kashmir were profoundly influenced by the Indian nationalist movement, led by the Indian National Congress party which was essentially democratic and secular in character. As Kashmir was under the despotic rule of a Hindu prince and the majority of the population was Moslem, at first there came into existence in 1922 a political body known as the *Moslem Conference* under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah. In June 1939 at a special session of that Conference it was resolved, "From this day the name of the Moslem Conference is changed to the National Conference and all those who believe in the objective of a responsible and democratic government in the State can become members irrespective of any caste, creed or religion." The National Conference collaborated with the All-India National Congress party. Here it should be borne in mind that this party was a staunch supporter of the "States People's Congress," the democratic movement in the Indian Princely States, striving for freedom of the people and responsible government.

The All-Jammu-Kashmir National Conference held its first session in October 1939. It adopted a resolution which was described as the "national demand." "This resolution advocated responsible government, joint electorates [not communal electorates] based on adult franchise with seats reserved for the minorities and legislative control of expenditure in most of the important departments of the Government." The reactionary Hindu ruler of Kashmir, like most of the Indian princes who were opposed to the Indian nationalist movement and favored the British government against the All-India National Congress, was bitterly opposed to the National Conference and its leader, Sheikh Abdullah, who was repeatedly imprisoned on various charges of disturbing peace and order. In 1946, Sheikh Abdullah started "Quit Kashmir," the movement which was a counterpart of the demand of the Indian National Congress for the British to "Quit India." He was arrested and sentenced to three years' imprisonment. On this occasion Pandit Nehru went to Kashmir to defend him.

Thus at the time of the invasion of Kashmir in 1947 by the so-called raiders, there were three distinct political forces operating in the state: (a) the Maharajah and the conservative elements wishing to carry on the autocratic rule and autonomous existence of the state, (b) the Pan-Islamist group within the state which wished separation of Kashmir from India and its incorporation in Pakistan, and (c) the powerful popular party of the National Conference, led by an Indian Nationalist Moslem, a native of Kashmir, working for the cause of responsible government in the state and co-operating with the All-India National

Congress toward the end that Kashmir stay within the fold of India.

### III

By permitting the frontier tribesmen to pass through its territory, Pakistan became a party to the invasion of Kashmir in 1947.

Major Khurshid Anvar, Pakistani Deputy Commander of the unofficial Moslem League National Guards, led an expedition from Pakistan to seize the Kashmir Valley and Srinagar, the capital.<sup>3</sup>

At first the Maharajah of Kashmir appealed to Pakistan not to aid the invaders; but as Pakistan was behind the invasion, the appeal was fruitless. This act of aggression by Pakistan abrogated the Standstill Agreement. Then, on October 26, 1947, Kashmir sent an urgent appeal to India for military assistance. The government of India, under the then existing treaties between Kashmir and the British government of India, was obliged — as the legal heir of the British government — to defend Kashmir against any invasion. Furthermore, the Maharajah sent a formal request to India to allow Kashmir to accede to the Indian Union or Dominion of India. This appeal for military help and accession to India was not merely a move by the autocratic Maharajah, but was supported by the National Conference of Kashmir under the leadership of Sheikh Abdullah who had by that time been freed from prison by the Maharajah, since the latter hoped thus to secure popular support to oppose the Pakistani invasion of Kashmir.

India, in order to meet its treaty obligations and in conformity with the Indian Independence Act accepted the request for military aid and accession of Kashmir. It should be kept in mind that in the India Independence Act, there was no provision for an Indian Princely State to hold any plebiscite before applying for accession to either the dominion of India or Pakistan. But India under Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, advised by Lord Mountbatten, the then Governor-General of India, while accepting the petition of accession, made it clear that after Kashmir was freed from invaders, its people should decide their future by recognized, democratic methods, such as the plebiscite. Thus, the proposal for a plebiscite in Kashmir was a unilateral act of the government of India. Actually, from the legal viewpoint, Kashmir became a part of the dominion of India from the very moment its appeal for accession was accepted.

During the course of the defense of Kashmir by the joint action of Indian and Kashmiri forces, it became evident that Pakistan was the real invader and the raiders were mere subsidiary forces. India

3. Phillips Talbot, "Kashmir and Hyderabad," in *World Politics*, vol. 1, No. 3, April 1949, p. 329.

4 For the legal analysis of the point see "The Status of Hyderabad" in the *Journal of International Law*, January 1949.

repeatedly drew the attention of Pakistan to its involvement in the attack on Kashmir—and thus on India. Pakistan evaded the issue and brought counter-charges of Hindu atrocities against the Moslems of Kashmir, which later proved to be utterly unfounded.<sup>5</sup> Under normal circumstances India might have taken strong military action against Pakistan and driven the invaders out of the country—a course which would be permissible according to international law. But India was determined to avoid an open conflict with Pakistan and took steps aimed at solving the problem peacefully.

On January 1, 1948, India, invoking Article 35 of the Charter of the United Nations, lodged a complaint against Pakistan's aggression against India through the invasion of Kashmir. The complaint contained a review of the situation in Kashmir from September 1947 on, including Kashmir's appeal to India for assistance and accession. It gave specific details of how arms and ammunition had been supplied to the invading forces by Pakistan and set forth the following conclusions: (a) that the invaders are allowed transit across Pakistan, (b) that they are allowed to use Pakistan territory as a base of operation, (c) that they include Pakistan nationals, (d) that they draw much of their military equipment, transportation and supplies (including petrol) from Pakistan, and (e) that Pakistan officers are training, guiding and otherwise actively helping them.<sup>6</sup>

The Pakistan government, instead of answering the specific charges of aggression, filed countercharges against the government of India on January 15, 1948. This would imply that Pakistan could not answer the Indian charges, and a guilty conscience led it to accuse India of worse actions, thus removing itself from the possibility of being censured for aggression and violation of the Charter of the United Nations. Pakistan also invoked Article 35 of the Charter and charged India with breach of international agreements, incitement of revolution, "numerous attacks on Pakistan territory," and an "extensive campaign of genocide." "The object of the various acts of aggression by India against Pakistan is the destruction of the State of Pakistan."<sup>7</sup>

Both Pakistan and India agreed, however, that a plebiscite should be held in Kashmir to determine the issue. Pakistan set the following conditions:

A free plebiscite can be held only when all those who have during the last few months entered the State territory from outside, whether members of the armed forces or private have been cleared out of the State, and peaceful conditions have been restored under a responsible, representative and impartial administration. Even then care must be

taken that all those that have been forced or compelled to leave the State since the middle of August 1947 are restored to their homes as it is apprehended that in the Jammu province and elsewhere whole areas have been cleared of the Moslem population.<sup>8</sup>

India entered one reservation: that a number of Indian troops should remain in order to preserve peaceful conditions for the plebiscite.

Regarding the return of the people who were forced to leave Kashmir, the contention of Pakistan that the Moslem population was cleared out of certain areas was not proved beyond doubt. According to the statistics quoted by the Pakistan and Indian Delegation, it became clear that the proportion of Moslems in the population had risen from 77 per cent in 1941 to 95 per cent in 1948. From these figures it was conclusive that more Hindus than Moslems were forced to leave Kashmir, while a large number of Moslems from Pakistan entered.

#### IV

The first action by the Security Council, after considerable discussion, was the adoption of a resolution presented by Belgium to the effect that both parties — India and Pakistan — should take all measures calculated to improve the situation and refrain from taking any action that might aggravate conditions.<sup>9</sup>

On January 28, 1948 the Council adopted another Belgian resolution which, among other things, established a Commission composed of representatives of three members of the United Nations, one to be selected by India, one by Pakistan, and the other by the first two. The Commission should proceed to the spot immediately and keep the Security Council informed of its activities and of the development of the situation. The Commission was charged to investigate the claims of both India and Pakistan.<sup>10</sup>

Here it should be mentioned that, after the invasion of Kashmir, a pro-Pakistani Moslem government—the Azad Kashmir or Free Kashmir—was established in the occupied part of the country. This government, with the arms and ammunition and military leaders supplied by Pakistan, developed a well-equipped armed militia of considerable strength—at least thirty-two battalions.

During the debates before the Security Council, the Pakistani delegation placed special emphasis on the point of view that the Kashmir question could not be dealt with piecemeal but that the whole issue, including their charges against India, must be considered. With the support of the British delegation and others, the views of the Pakistani delegation prevailed. It is interesting to note that Dr. Tsiang of China remarked:

<sup>5</sup> U. N. Document S/629, January 5, 1948.

<sup>6</sup> U. N. Document S/628, January 1, 1948, p. 4.

<sup>7</sup> U. N. Document S/646, January 15, 1948, pp. 8-9.

<sup>8</sup> U. N. Document S/646, January 15, 1948.

<sup>9</sup> U. N. Document S/651, January 17, 1948.

<sup>10</sup> U. N. Document S/654, January 28, 1948.

"It is obvious that the key to the problem lies in the plebiscite. If the principle of a free and impartial plebiscite for deciding the all-important question of the accession of Kashmir to India or Pakistan should be accepted, much of the incentive to violence and the use of force would be removed."<sup>11</sup>

Thus, instead of considering India's complaint against Pakistan, the Security Council centered its attention on the holding of a plebiscite. There was prolonged debate on a resolution, sponsored by Belgium, Canada, China, Colombia, the United Kingdom and the United States, regarding the steps to be taken to bring about the solution of the question of Kashmir by plebiscite.<sup>12</sup> Although both India and Pakistan registered their opposition to the resolution, it was adopted on April 21, 1948.

During this debate and discussion, the Indian delegation was forced to recognize the anti-Indian position of Great Britain, when Mr. Noel-Baker repeatedly referred to the Indian Army in Kashmir as an army of occupation. Sir Gopalswamy Ayyangar asserted the legality of India's defense of its own territory by its army and said: "That Army is there in pursuance of legitimate duties cast upon it by the constitutional position which India holds in Kashmir."<sup>13</sup>

By the time the debate was over and the resolution was adopted, it was becoming clear that the Security Council was not considering India's complaint against Pakistan's aggression in Kashmir; but was more interested in determining the validity of India's actions in Kashmir and in studying the charges against India brought by Pakistan. On June 3, 1948, the Security Council directed the Commission on Kashmir to study Pakistan's charges concerning the accession of Junagadh to the Union of India, genocide and the breach of agreement between India and Pakistan. This was a little too much for India to concede. There was tremendous agitation in India indicating distrust in the United Nations Commission. For a time there was a feeling that India would withdraw the whole issue from the United Nations. Mr. Nehru finally informed the Council that India could not acquiesce in this extension of the scope of the Commission and could not promise co-operation. In the *New York Times* of June 16, 1948, Mr. Robert Trumbull reported that "Dispatches from Kashmir make it clear that the pro-Indian Government of Sheikh Abdullah is now unwilling to accept even an impartial plebiscite."

## V

### The United Nations Commission for India and

Pakistan arrived in India on July 7, 1948. In the meantime, the Indian Army was effectively checking the advance of the invaders. According to the Pakistan authorities, the Indian forces were dangerously nearing the Pakistan border, and if this march of the Indian Army was not checked, it would become a serious menace to the security of Pakistan. Therefore, the Pakistan government, to keep its hold in certain parts of Kashmir and to check the possible march of Indian forces into Pakistan, sent a large Pakistan army into Kashmir. Although Pakistan was bound by the resolution of the Security Council to inform the Council immediately of "any material change in the situation," it did not conform to this ruling.

During the summer of 1948, the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan, after investigation, became convinced that not only had Pakistan connived with the raiders whom it supplied with arms and ammunition and officers, but "Pakistan's Army General Staff exercised over-all command of regular and irregular Azad forces." This was confirmed by the admission of Pakistan government officials. Thus, the Kashmir dispute was virtually Pakistan's war against India, while the two dominions were officially at peace with each other.<sup>14</sup>

After studying the situation in Kashmir and carefully consulting the authorities of India and Pakistan, the United Nations Commission on August 13, 1948 adopted a resolution calling for a cease-fire agreement between India and Pakistan,<sup>15</sup> to precede the plebiscite.

It was agreed that before the plebiscite was held, the following things must be effected:

As the presence of troops of Pakistan in the territory of the State of Jammu and Kashmir constitutes a material change in the situation since it was represented by the Government of Pakistan before the Security Council, the Government of Pakistan agrees to withdraw its troops from that State.

The Government of Pakistan will use its best endeavour to secure the withdrawal from the State of Jammu and Kashmir of tribesmen and Pakistan nationals not normally resident therein who have entered the State for the purpose of fighting.

Pending a final solution, the territory evacuated by the Pakistan troops, will be administered by the local authorities under the surveillance of the Commission.

In a letter of August 20, 1948, Mr. Nehru, on behalf of the Government of India, accepted the resolution as his government understood it. Pakistan, however, accepted the resolution with reservations which "the commission was forced to conclude were tantamount to a refusal."<sup>16</sup> The report of the Com-

11 U. N. Document S/P.V. 237, January 29, 1948.

12 For the text of the resolution, see U. N. Document S/726, April 22, 1948.

13 U. N. Document S/P.V. 285, April 19, 1948, p. 15.

14 Talbot, in *World Politics*, April 1949, pp. 330-331.

15 For the full text of the resolution, see U. N. Document S/995, August 13, 1948.

16 U. N. Document S/1100, November 22, 1948.

mission places the whole blame for its failure to accomplish its work on Pakistan's doorstep.

While the United Nations Commission on Kashmir was trying to carry out its mission, the people's government in Kashmir, headed by Sheikh Abdullah, brought about many social and political reforms, limiting the authority of the Maharajah and distributing land among peasants. It was becoming stronger in authority and more popular with the people of Kashmir. This was demonstrated by the fact that in October 1948 an extraordinary convention of the National Conference, attended by 250 delegates representing Moslems, Hindus and Sikhs from all parts of Jammu and Kashmir, voted unanimously in favor of the permanent accession of Kashmir to India.<sup>17</sup>

While the United Nations General Assembly was holding its sessions in Paris, the United Nations Commission on Kashmir met representatives of India and Pakistan and succeeded in having them accepted a proposal which amounted to a re-affirmation of the cease-fire agreement of August 13, 1948. They also agreed upon general principles regarding the plebiscite. "Both the governments of Pakistan and India announced their agreement to order a cease-fire effective one minute before midnight, January 1, 1949."<sup>18</sup>

The Secretary-General, on the request of the Commission, sent military advisers to observe the cease-fire. After further correspondence between the Commission and the dominions, the Commission, on January 5, 1949, unanimously adopted a resolution supplementing the Commission's Resolution of August 13, 1948.<sup>19</sup> On January 15, 1949, the Commanders of the Armies of the two dominions met and agreed to an exchange of prisoners in Kashmir. On February 23, the first Kumaon Regiment (Indian troops) was withdrawn from Jammu and Kashmir. On March 22, 1949, the Secretary-General of the United Nations announced the appointment of Admiral Chester W. Nimitz, as United Nations Plebiscite Administrator in Jammu and Kashmir. On April 15, the Commission presented the dominions with proposals for a full truce agreement. These proposals represented an "adjustment of viewpoints within the framework of commitments already entered into."<sup>20</sup>

Up to this point, there was reason for optimism regarding a peaceful solution of the Kashmir issue by the United Nations. But this high hope failed to materialize because of the attitude of Pakistan which virtually refused to carry out the agreements regarded as definite pre-requisites for a plebiscite.

<sup>17</sup> Alice Thorner, "The Kashmir Conflict," *The Middle East Journal*, vol. III, No. 2, April 1949, p. 175.

<sup>18</sup> U. N. Document S/1196, January 10, 1949.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> U. S. Department of State Bulletin, vol. XX, No. 512, April 24, 1949, p. 519.

## VI

The differences of opinion between Pakistan and India with regard to implementation of the truce and fulfillment of the conditions for holding a plebiscite have been summarized by the United Nations as follows: "The Government of Pakistan envisaged an unconditional cease-fire, leading to a final settlement, whereas the Government of India was reluctant to consider conditions for such a settlement until Pakistan troops and nationals who had entered the State for the purpose of fighting were withdrawn."<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, satisfactory solution of two other problems—"provisions for administration and defense of sparsely populated and mountainous regions of the north and the question of disarming and disbanding Azad Kashmir forces"—was regarded by the government of India as essential for the implementation of the truce, leading to a plebiscite.

To solve these disagreements the United Nations Commission at first proposed a joint conference, and then, in September 1949, asked the two governments to submit their differences to arbitration on the following terms:

1. The two Governments agree that
  - (a) they will submit to arbitration the differences existing between them concerning all questions raised by them regarding the implementation of Part II of the Resolution of August 13, 1948, the arbitrator to decide these questions according to equity and his decisions to be binding for both parties;
  - (b) that arbitration will terminate once the truce terms are decided upon;
  - (c) that Fleet Admiral Chester W. Nimitz be arbitrator;
  - (d) that the procedure for arbitration will be worked out subsequently;
  - (e) that since the procedure of arbitration will be limited to the conclusion of the truce, the Commission will continue in the exercise of its functions.

Upon the arbitral decision the Commission will undertake the tasks assigned to it under the truce and under the Resolution of January 5, 1949.

With reference to paragraph 1(d) above, the Commission considers that it would be inappropriate, in advance of the approval by the parties of the proposed course of action and the person of the arbitrator, to seek to define the exact procedure to be followed.<sup>22</sup>

Pakistan was ready to accept these terms, but India raised various questions. It wished to know in advance precisely what issues would be arbitrated. It stated definitely that it would not agree to arbitrate the issues regarding the disbanding and disarming of the Azad Kashmir forces and also regarding the

<sup>21</sup> United Nations Press Release Kash/79, September 23, 1949.

<sup>22</sup> United Nations Press Release Kash/77, September 10, 1949.

administration of north Kashmir and the withdrawal of Pakistan forces which had already been agreed upon in a resolution of August 13, 1948. The position of the government of India was in accord with the procedures of international law regarding arbitration.<sup>23</sup>

## VII

The spirit underlying the Pakistan government's attitude on the Kashmir issue has been well expressed by Khan Abdul Quyyam Khan, Premier of the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan. While addressing a public meeting in Hyderabad (Sind) on September 18, 1949, he said, "Pakistan will not be complete without Kashmir and it is the duty of every Pakistani to be prepared to get it."<sup>24</sup>

Meanwhile, on or about August 30, 1949, President Truman and Prime Minister Attlee, through formal notes to Pakistan and India, had suggested that the Kashmir issue should be settled by arbitration by a high and impartial personage appointed by the United Nations—Admiral Nimitz. Reaction in India against this proposal was sharp and instantaneous. Mr. Nehru, reflecting public opinion, in a speech delivered at Allahabad on September 4, 1949, declared that the Anglo-American proposition was virtually *unwarranted intervention*.

During the All-Jammu-Kashmir Conference held at Srinagar on September 24, 1949, the position of the government of India and also that of the government of Kashmir were made clear by speeches of Pandit Nehru and Sheikh Abdullah. Mr. Nehru in a speech emphasized the following points :

1. The government of India's acceptance of a plebiscite was not an offer to Pakistan or any organization, but it was to the people of Kashmir, in spite of the fact that the Kashmir government's accession to the government of India was indisputably correct from legal and constitutional points of view.

2. The future of Kashmir should be decided by her own people. This should be the case, even if Pakistan was not involved in the issue. "Long before the raiders came we said Kashmir should decide her own future. We might have explained to them the advantages of joining India, but we could not think of any pressure being put to force the issue in our favor."

<sup>23</sup> United Nations Press Release Kash/80, September 23, 1949. "In the government of India's view, the process of consultation with the two governments to determine the points of reference to arbitration should precede, and not follow, acceptance of the proposal for arbitration. Since whether or not arbitration takes place will depend upon agreement between the two governments upon the points to be referred to arbitration, this would be the more logical and appropriate course. It is also in conformity with the accepted procedure in respect to arbitration. The government of India do not feel called upon at this stage to comment upon the choice of an arbitrator. *The stage for that will be after the points for arbitration have been precisely defined and accepted by the Governments of India and Pakistan.*"

Italics are mine.—T. D.

<sup>24</sup> The Statesman (Overseas Air Mail Edition), September 24, 1949.

3. Referring to statements in the foreign press that acceptance of partition by India implied acceptance of Mr. Jinnah's two-nation theory, Pandit Nehru said :

This is a surprising argument. At no time in India have we accepted the two-nation theory, nor will we accept it. Why did we agree to partition? To avoid conflict, disorder and postponement of achievement of freedom. We agreed to let the matter be settled by the elected representatives in the provincial Assemblies concerned, although it would have been better if the issue had been decided by popular vote. What we accepted was the popular verdict as expressed by the elected representatives and not the two-nation theory. If we had accepted this theory, 40,000,000 Moslems would have become aliens in India.

4. While praising the United Nations, Mr. Nehru expressed his surprise that it has not given any answer to the single issue put before it. He said: "They have done their best and they are still trying their best. What is not clear to me is why they did not focus their attention on the single question we put before them and why they did not express their views on it."<sup>25</sup> Mr. Nehru was obviously referring to the question: "Was Pakistan an aggressor or not?"

Speaking not for India as a whole but specifically for Kashmir of which he is Prime Minister, Sheikh Abdullah, addressing the delegates of the conference, said :

We do not want to shut our eyes to realities and forget history itself. We do not want to repeat Munich in Kashmir. We frankly feel that arbitration means nothing else but appeasement of the aggressor. The fate of Czechoslovakia at the hands of Hitler stands as a warning against all solutions which seek to satisfy the wrongdoer by yielding more and more.

If the nations of the world, who command the power of decision in the Security Council today, do not feel confident themselves to be able to enforce what is right and just, it would be a matter of great pity indeed. President Truman and Mr. Attlee can surely hold Pakistan to the commitments of the cease-fire agreement which fundamentally involves the recognition and extension of sovereignty of the Jammu and Kashmir Government over areas occupied by Pakistan through aggression. On the contrary, arbitration would mean escaping from reality and bargain. We cannot play with the destiny of four million people. We alone can decide our future. After all, what have we to be afraid of when our cause is just and right and why should we be asked to accept "out of court" settlement?<sup>26</sup>

Pakistani propaganda in Britain and the United States has consistently followed the line that, as India was partitioned on the ground of the religious issue raised by the Pan-Islamists of India, Kashmir, in

<sup>25</sup> The Statesman (Overseas Air Mail Edition), Calcutta, October 1, 1949.

<sup>26</sup> The Statesman (Overseas Air Mail Edition), Calcutta, October 1, 1949.

which more than 90 per cent of the population is Moslem, should logically be part of the Moslem state of Pakistan. Mr. Nehru, after his return to India from Britain and the United States, took pains to refute this so-called "two-nation theory." At a press conference in New Delhi on November 16, 1949, he said in answer to questions regarding American misunderstanding of the Kashmir question :

Among those who are supposed to know there was not very much misunderstanding. Maybe some facts were not known to them, but generally the facts were known. Among the general public, of course, there was any amount of misunderstanding about many matters.

One such misunderstanding, not only in the United States but also in other parts of the world, was that the partition of India was viewed as if the Moslems and non-Moslems of India had been completely separated on a religious basis, that is to say, as an outcome of the old Moslem League's or Mr. Jinnah's theory of two nations. So far as we are concerned, we never accepted that theory; we repudiated it throughout.<sup>27</sup>

On December 17, 1949, the Security Council of the United Nations met and again took up the Kashmir issue and considered the report of the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan.

The United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan reported through its chairman, Bernardo Samper of Colombia, that three outstanding issues remained unsettled, namely: The withdrawal of troops from Kashmir as the condition for a free and impartial plebiscite; disposal of Azad [free] Kashmir forces in the Western part of the State; and the administration and defense of the northern areas.

Mr. Arne Sunde of Norway expressed the view that open debate on the Kashmir issue might not solve the problem, and might well have just the opposite effect. He suggested that General A. G. L. McNaughton of Canada, the Chairman of the Security Council, be appointed to carry on private and informal conversations with both the parties (India and Pakistan) in order to find "a mutually satisfactory basis for dealing with the Kashmir problem."<sup>28</sup>

It is most significant that a minority report was submitted to the United Nations on December 17, 1949 by the Czechoslovak Delegation to the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan. The Czechoslovak Delegation put itself on record as having co-operated with the work of the Commission and as presenting its views in a separate report because "it wishes to throw light on those phases of the Commission's mediation efforts where the majority report does not state clearly the reasons of the failure."<sup>29</sup>

The minority report contends, first of all, that by proposing arbitration the Commission overstepped its competence, as stated in the Resolution of August 13, 1948. The arbitration proposal, the report asserts, was British-inspired. Otherwise, a secret memorandum on the subject would not have been in possession of the British High Commissioners at Karachi and New Delhi before it was given to the governments of India and Pakistan. Further, long before the Commission recommended arbitration by Admiral Nimitz, the American members of the Commission and authorities at Lake Success advocated such arbitration—a fact which emphasizes the lack of independence of the Commission.

Because of the Commission's failure to implement the Resolution of August 13, 1948, the minority report charges, Pakistan was given seven months to equip a "formidable force" of thirty-two battalions in the Azad Kashmir army.

General McNaughton tried his best to solve the Kashmir dispute by suggesting synchronized withdrawal of Indian and Pakistan forces from Kashmir. In rejecting the McNaughton proposal, India reiterated its original contentions that, since the accession of Kashmir to India, Kashmir had become a part of Indian territory, for the defense of which Indian forces are responsible, and that Pakistan's invading forces, accordingly, must leave Kashmir unconditionally and the Azad forces be disarmed and disbanded before any steps for conducting a plebiscite be taken. Thus General McNaughton's mediation failed, and the issue again came before the Security Council.

In a lengthy argument before the Security Council, February 7 to 10, 1950, Sir Zaffarullah Khan presented Pakistan's case regarding Kashmir and held that Kashmir's accession to India was not valid because the majority of the population was Moslem and the country adjoins Pakistan. Furthermore, he declared :

The possession of Kashmir can do nothing to the economy of India nor to the strategic security of India. On the other hand, it is vital for Pakistan. . . . If Kashmir should accede to India, Pakistan might as well, from both the economic and strategic point of view, become a feudatory of India or cease to exist as an independent sovereign state.<sup>30</sup>

It becomes evident that the real motive behind Pakistan's action in Kashmir is to use every possible means to prevent the state of Kashmir from becoming a part of India. Accession or no accession, Pakistan wants to annex Kashmir for "strategic reasons."

The chief representative of India, by quoting certain statements of Sir Zaffarullah Khan, pointed out that only a few days before the invasion of

<sup>27</sup> The Statesman (Overseas Air Mail Edition), Calcutta, November 19, 1949, p. 1.

<sup>28</sup> New York Times, December 18, 1949.

<sup>29</sup> U. N. Document S/1430/Add. 3, December 16, 1949.

<sup>30</sup> S/PV 464, February 8, 1950, p. 10.

Kashmir by a large Pakistani force, General Gracie, the Commander-in-Chief of the Pakistan Army, who is a British general, on April 20, 1948 recommended this act of aggression. The reasons behind this recommendation can be understood from the following passage of General Gracie's memorandum: "An easy victory of the Indian Army in any of the above-mentioned sectors, particularly in the Muzaffarabad area, is almost certain to arouse the anger of the tribesmen against Pakistan for its failure to render them more direct assistance and might well cause them to turn against Pakistan."<sup>31</sup>

Commenting on the above, Sir B. N. Rau pointedly said :

I invite special attention to the words "*more direct assistance*." This is a most damaging admission proving that in spite of the protestations of the representative of Pakistan, here Pakistan was in fact rendering the Tribesmen, even before 20 April 1948, some kind of assistance, direct or indirect. The Commander-in-Chief was recommending that the assistance should take a more direct form. This is conclusive proof that India's complaint to the Security Council in January 1948 was completely true.<sup>32</sup>

The logical conclusions to be drawn from Pakistan's contentions are: (1) a Moslem state for Pan-Islamic reasons can demand incorporation of a portion or all of an adjoining state; (2) a strong Power, on the ground of supposed national security or rectification of the borders, can invade a neigh-

boring state and annex it, ignoring any opposition from the United Nations which is, according to its Charter, bound to check an aggressor nation.

The Security Council, after careful deliberation, has come to the conclusion that the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan has failed to solve the Kashmir issue. It has now recommended that an individual should be appointed to mediate between Pakistan and India so that both countries would agree to withdraw their forces within five months, and then the issue of whether Kashmir be part of India or Pakistan be settled by plebiscite.

In its first major action after the Soviet walk-out, the Security Council, by eight votes to Yugoslav and Indian abstentions, adopted a resolution calling for demilitarization of Kashmir by August 14, and appointment of a single United Nations mediator to help prepare for a plebiscite on affiliation with India or Pakistan. On April 12, 1950, a United Nations mediator for Kashmir was selected by the Security Council. Sir Owen Dixon, Justice of the High Court of Australia, was elected by a vote of 8 to 0, with Yugoslavia and India abstaining and Russia absent.

The United Nations has failed thus far to solve the Kashmir issue. It can only be hoped that a peaceful solution based upon justice and law will be the ultimate outcome.\*

Columbia University

April 16, 1950.

\* Reprinted by permission from the June 1950 issue of *Political Science Quarterly*, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University.

31 *Ibid.*, p. 6.

32 *Ibid.*, p. 6.

## THE PRESIDENT OF THE INDIA REPUBLIC

By PRINCIPAL SRI RAM SHARMA, M.A., F.R. Hist. Soc. (Lond.), F.R.A.S. (Lond.)

THE Government of India today is a republic and has a President at its head. The first President was elected under 'transitory provisions' by the members of the Constituent Assembly. His successors however will be elected by members of the legislatures of the States and of the Union. He will then be a representative of the 'popular will' acting through a double process of election; the voters electing the members of the legislatures who in their turn elect the President.

((Though the republic has a President, the system of Government in the Union or in the States will not be presidential but parliamentary. The President is chief of a parliamentary state but not chief of the government. Here the Indian constitution follows the French pattern. The French too have a President who neither reigns nor governs but is a pale image of the English king. In

India, as in France, the government is carried on in the name of the President by the Ministers holding office during pleasure of the President. Democratic experience has it that in order to make democratic government possible, a fifth wheel of the coach of government unconnected with the four wheels on which the coach rides is necessary. The king fills that place in England with great success.) his governors-general in the various dominions try to answer the need obviously not so successfully. ((Countries repudiating monarchical form of government have had to create an office answering the same purpose which the king in England does. The French President was the first such answer. The Indian President follows suit.)

Like the constitutional monarch, the President, "is no atrophied member of the body politic, but an important part with useful and vital functions to discharge."



"Cabinet government presupposes some central impartial figure at its head which at certain times and for certain purposes supplements and aids the other more active but partizan agencies."

Like the constitutional monarch again,

"It is a symbol of national unity, a formal instrument of ratification—an instrument for occasionally warning ministers against the abuse of party spirit."

Under the Indian constitution the President has immense powers. He appoints the Prime Minister and other members of the Council of Ministers. He appoints the Advocate-General of India and fixes his salary. All executive action is taken in the name of the President. The Union Parliament consists of the President, the Council of States and the House of the People. He nominates 12 members to the Council of States to represent literature, science, art and social services. He summons the Houses, and prorogues and dissolves them. He addresses the Union legislature when it meets for the first time in a session and can send messages to the either house of the legislature when it is in session. Before entering on their office the legislators make an oath or affirmation before the President or some nominee of his. If it is ever objected to that a member of the legislature has become disqualified for continuing as a member of the Union legislature, the President decides the question. He summons the two Houses to meet in a joint sitting to resolve their differences and disagreements. All bills passed by the legislature are presented to the President for his assent. He can return a bill for reconsideration to the legislature, but if it is passed again, he gives assent to it. If he does not return a bill for reconsideration, he can either assent thereto or announce that he withholds his assent. He passes ordinances when Parliament is not in session. He causes to be laid before both the Houses of legislature the annual statement of income and expenditure. No demand for grant is made except on his recommendation. He similarly recommends demands for supplementary or excess grants to the legislature. He may refuse assent to an Appropriation Bill incorporating the grants voted or charged to the Consolidated Fund. The rules of procedure with regard to the joint sittings and communication between the two Houses are made by the President.)

(The President appoints the Chief Justice and other judges of the Supreme Court. They hold office during good behaviour. But the President may remove a judge if an address for such removal is passed by both Houses of legislature.) He appoints an officiating Chief Justice if the Chief Justice cannot perform the duties of his office. The President may consent to the summoning of a High Court Judge to complete the quorum of the Supreme Court or may even permit the re-call to duty of a retired judge of the Supreme Court. (He may short-circuit litigation by asking the Supreme Court to give its opinion on a question of fact or of law.) He can require the Supreme Court to recruit all outsiders to its establishment through the Union Public Service Commission.

(The President appoints the Comptroller and Auditor General.) The Comptroller-General submits his report on the accounts of the Union to the President who has it

laid before both the Houses of the legislature. (The President nominates the Chairman and members of the Union Public Service Commission.) When they submit their annual report indicating, among other things, where in making appointments or otherwise their advice was not followed by the Government of the Union, the President asks the Ministry for its reasons and has the report along with the explanatory memorandum laid before Parliament. He can remove a member of a Public Service Commission for infirmity of body or mind. If a member of a Commission is accused of misbehaviour, the President refers the complaint for investigation to the Supreme Court. He may suspend the member during the course of the enquiry. If the Supreme Court reports adversely, the President may order the removal from office of the offending members.

In case there is a dispute about the use of waterways between two or more states, the President appoints a waterways commission to advise him and decides the dispute in accordance with the report of the Commission.

(In the states, the President appoints the Governor who holds office during the pleasure of the President for a period not exceeding five years.) If a Governor cannot act, the President makes necessary provision for the discharge of the functions of the Governor in the State. Certain classes of provincial bills require the assent of the President before they can become law.

(The President appoints the judges of the High Court and fixes their number.) He transfers judges from one High Court to another.)

The President entrusts to the governments of the states or to its officers power to perform functions on behalf of the Union. He may provide for the maintenance of armed forces in any part of 'princely India.' He nominates the members of the Inter-States Council. He appoints the Chairman and members of the Finance Commission and has their recommendations placed before each House of Parliament. If the legislature of a state feels that some restriction on the freedom of trade, commerce or intercourse with or within a state are necessary, it can impose them, only with the previous sanction of the President. He can request the Finance Commission in 1955 to report on the working of export or import duties levied by a state forming a part of princely India till 1957 and on its report may terminate or modify such duties.

(The President appoints the Chief Election Commissioner. If he thinks it necessary he may appoint an Election Commission under the chairmanship of the Chief Election Officer and consisting of as many commissioners as the President may think necessary.)

The President may nominate two Anglo-Indians to be members of the House of People if he thinks they are not adequately represented there. He appoints a Special Officer for scheduled castes and tribals. The Special Officer reports to the President on the working of the safeguards provided for scheduled castes and tribes. His report, the President causes to be laid before Parliament. The President may appoint a commission to investigate



the condition of socially and educationally backward classes to make recommendations for the amelioration of their conditions. The President shall get a memorandum prepared on the action taken on the report and shall have both the report and the memorandum laid before Parliament. The President may notify the Scheduled castes or Tribes.

The President may order the use of Hindi along with English for such official purposes as he thinks necessary. He appoints a commission in 1955 and another in 1960 to report on the progressive use of Hindi. The President may direct that a language spoken by a substantial section of the population be also recognized throughout the state concerned for specified purposes.

(The President may proclaim emergency if he is satisfied that the security of India or any part thereof or the financial stability of the country is threatened or that the Government of a state cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of the constitution.)

(The President gives credentials to every ambassador or diplomatic agent. Ambassadors of all the foreign powers are accredited to him.)

He exercises the prerogative of mercy and can grant pardon to any person guilty of an offence against the laws of the Union or sentenced to capital punishment on any count.

(The President is Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of the republic in times of peace as well of war.

All public servants serving the Union hold office during his pleasure.)

(This is a formidable list. But most of these functions are performed by him either as a symbol of national unity or as a formal instrument of ratification.) Most of the non-political appointments that run in his name are made by him in these two capacities. They ratify formally a decision taken by the real executive, the Council of Ministers, and run in his name only because whereas the Ministers represent a part the President represents the entire nation and is a convenient symbol of national unity. Even when appointments are made by party chiefs it is an advantage that the highest officers in the judiciary and the administration should derive their commission from a non-partizan source. (He is thus a useful disguise.) It is not contemplated in the constitution that he should be acting on his own. The constitution vests in him the right to make regulations for providing for the due authentication of his orders. Such rules provide really the reverse of what they formally set out. The authentication does not provide that a minister who authenticates a presidential order, thereby certifies that the said order was in reality issued by the President. (Like the English doctrine of seals it provides that the order made was really determined upon by the real executive, the Council of Ministers. The minister who authenticates it does so as a token of the fact that the order was really made by the Council of Ministers who now palms it off as the order of the President.)

There are certain other functions which come to be performed by the President as 'a central impartial figure

at the head of the government supplementing and aiding the other more active but partizan agencies.' Such for example would be his right to dissolve the legislature or appoint a Prime Minister. Ordinarily a dissolution is a prerogative of the cabinet but occasions may occur when the President may have to warn the ministers against the abuse of party spirit. He may refuse a dissolution holding the demand frivolous, made by a government that had already lost its majority in the House soon after election and that had no prospect of winning the election. From warning he may therefore proceed to action stopping the running riot of a partizan spirit. Similarly the President will have usually a Prime Minister ready made for him in the leader of the majority party. But sometimes there may be rifts within the party, at other times, party may have become so demoralized by a large period of sterile opposition as to make the selection of a party leader difficult. Or a coalition may raise issues of leaderships which it may be possible only for an 'impartial central figure' to solve.

The relations between the President and the Council of Ministers have, however, been a little complicated by the borrowings in the Indian Constitution of certain features of presidential government from the United States. The English King does not send messages to Parliament. His ministers are there as his servants and the law has it that they are carrying out his commands therein. Nor does he return bills for reconsideration by the House. Both would imply king's lack of confidence in his ministers; the legislature acted as it did under the guidance of the Ministers. (To compel the legislature to re-think a measure implies, to a much larger extent, the revision of their policy by the Ministers.) If the President becomes convinced of the futility of the measures of his ministers, he can dismiss them straight away rather than put them under the indignity of being told by implication that they are incapable of leading the country and therefore the President has taken charge of the administration. (Nor has the French constitution any such provision. In the United States, the President is the head of the executive branch alone, presidential messages and returning bills for reconsideration are his only two formal contacts with the legislature. The real Indian executive is a part of the legislature. After sending messages nor the return of the bills would work for harmony in the government. But any sensible President can easily overcome this defect by refusing to exercise this power.) The power given to the President to appeal to the Prime Minister against the decision of a colleague may make for lack of harmony among the ministers. No Cabinet would disavow an act of one of its members even when the act were without their authorization. If ever such a reference comes to be considered by the cabinet, it would happen only when a colleague lost the confidence of the Prime Minister. Once again it would be much better in such a case if the Prime Minister took action in his own rather than give the feeling that he was compelled to do so in deference to the views of the President. Honesty and frankness among cabinet col-

leagues alone can lead to the successful working of a responsible government.

The appointment by the President of Governors in States may raise the question on whose advice is the President expected to make such appointments. Some critics have it that the Governors should be appointed by the President on the advice of the Council of Ministers or the State concerned rather than on the advice of the federal council of Ministers. However attractive this may look on paper it is not likely to work. A new Governor may have to be appointed in a state before a Council of Ministers is sworn in. No province can be without a Governor when government-making is in progress. Further, the Indian constitution envisages that the Governor should act on behalf of the President. This would become impossible if the Governor were not a nominee of the President.

The President is not a convenient rubber-stamp only to be used as the Ministers would like him to be used. He possesses 'vital powers' which he alone can discharge. These include the right to warn the Ministers against the dangers of the policy they may be following. To do so effectively he is kept informed about the progress of administrative policy. As he can warn the ministers, he can encourage them as well when such encouragement is necessary. As in England, these two functions may lead to the President's attempting to bring the Opposition and the Government together in an attempt to find a solution for an apparent constitutional deadlock. If as in France, ministries come to depend on the ever-changing combinations of parties or political groups, the President's power of making ministries may become vital and his role as a negotiator between opposing groups may bring him more prestige.

The President presides at important national functions and answers several social calls where the presence of the head of the State lends dignity to the occasion.

The President's power of proclaiming an emergency seems to lay too great a burden on an individual. But even though the constitution does not say so explicitly, it is likely that no President would take on his own shoulders the enormous burden of deciding when the peace or tranquillity of the country is in danger by internal disturbance or external threat, if the solvency or the financial credit of the country is at stake, or if a vital threat to the means of communications or food supplies exists. These are all matters which the head of the government rather than the head of the state can decide. The decision however needs to be run in the name of the President for on such occasions it is necessary that national unity rather than the division of public opinion be emphasized. The question of taking over the government of a state in case of the breakdown of the machinery of constitutional government raises another issue. The Union Ministry forms the usual constitutional advisers of the President. But the Government in a state is carried on by the Governor and a Provincial Ministry. A breakdown will not imply that the Governor is not playing his allotted role in the administration or is

abusing his powers. The remedy against this lies in re-calling the governor or ordering his impeachment. A breakdown of the constitutional machinery would imply that a ministry capable of inspiring confidence and having a more or less stable majority at its back in the legislature cannot be formed. It may also imply that the dissolution of the existing legislature and the election of a new house or houses does not hold out a promise of better things. Of course, the administration may break down on account of rampant corruption or nepotism. Such an emergency would in all cases be a judgement on the ministry of the state concerned. The President cannot therefore be expected to call for its advice on the question. He can act only on the advice of his Union council of ministers.

(The recent dismissal of a Judge of the High Court of Mysore for infirmity of mind or body presumably on the advice of the Chief Justice of Mysore backed by the Government of Mysore has roused fears that such a power may be open to abuse. The promised enquiry into the question by the Chief Justice of India may however allay these fears and also provide for a more appropriate use of this power. If it does not, the position of all civil servants would become extremely precarious.)

(India is experimenting in troubled waters. The history of the formal heads of the government in parliamentary democracies has been far from happy. In France strong Presidents have tried to create crisis but have discovered in the end that they could not oppose the will of the legislature without heading for a revolution in which they had little chances of winning. In Germany Hindenburg became a dupe of the Nazi revolution which ultimately sealed his fate as well. In both cases there was a violent abuse of normal constitutional procedure. Like the Frenchmen of the Third Republic and Germans of the Weimar Republic, we lack constitutional experience and the existence of a political conscience capable of enabling us to muddle through a crisis as the English have usually done so far. But there is no alternative to Presidency. If India had not been declared a republic, we would have still needed a head of the state.) Calling him a Governor-General would not have made the matters any easier. We would still have had to find a man and having found him to face all the questions which Presidency raises. President sounds better as the name of head of the state; it avoids giving offence to a section which otherwise would have gathered opposition to the constitution.

The relations of the President of the republic to the President of the national organization of the political party in power may raise delicate issues. These are not primarily concerned with the office of the President but are general issues of the relations between a party and its ministry. It is likely however that, as in Great Britain, party leaders outside the ranks of the government may soon reconcile themselves to be a shadow of their former offices. If they do not,

bossism, as in the United States, may create its attendant evils threatening the working of the democratic institutions in the country.

Presidency would be only what Presidents will make of it by their personality. But the best of Presidents cannot make himself more than the chief

of the state though as such he may render invaluable services to the country. But if the French formula of 'voting for the most stupid', ever becomes popular in India, Presidency may be shorn of much of its glory and degenerate into an 'inert corpse' that some declare it to be in parliamentary France.

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## A PEEP BEHIND THE IRON CURTAIN

By PRINCIPAL S. N. AGARWAL

EVEN before I left Delhi, I had tried very hard to obtain the necessary visa for the U.S.S.R. An approach to the Russian Embassy through the Government of India was not at all found to be helpful. Under the circumstances, I decided to approach the Russian officers directly through the Travel Agency. On filling up the required application form which was in the nature of a long questionnaire, the Russian Consul wanted me and my wife to submit detailed biographies together with the complete set of books which I had written. This order was also complied with, although quite reluctantly. But I would suggest that those friends who require an occasion to write their autobiographies could easily get one by sending an application to the Soviet Embassy for a visa.

The Russian authorities at Delhi assured me that our application would be considered sympathetically, although the ultimate decision lay in the hands of Moscow. They asked for a copy of our itinerary of the world tour and promised to send the reply as early as possible, if possible by cable. And so we kept on enquiring throughout the tour at different centres of the Russian Embassy, first in Washington, then in London and subsequently at Paris, Berne, Berlin, Prague and Rome. But to no avail. The Russian Consuls would neither say "yes" nor "no". So one has to wait endlessly, for the reply never comes. Only hundred per cent 'safe' persons are allowed to cross the Iron Curtain.

Although it was, after all, not possible to visit the U.S.S.R., we were fortunate in being able to obtain the visa for Czechoslovakia which is now completely behind the Iron Curtain. The existing Government at Prague is still called a Coalition or National government, but the fact remains that it is fully in the hands of the Communist Party under the leadership of Comrade Klement Gottwald, the President of the Republic. In every office, public institution or even a shop, one would almost inevitably notice the twin photographs of Stalin and Gottwald on the walls side by side. All the book-shops are full of "red" litera-

ture; the picture houses and theatres can display hardly anything that is not red. The price of evincing any difference with the "red" regime is persecution, imprisonment and finally death.

Ever since the enactment of the new Constitution of May 9, 1948, the Communist Government in Czechoslovakia has been systematically following its "red" policy with an iron hand. All the palaces and castles of dukes and millionaires have been confiscated, or in the Communist phraseology, 'nationalised': they have been handed over either to Trade Unions, or to the Writers' Associations or are being used as Government offices, Art Galleries or Museums. All the important factories in the countries have been 'nationalised' without any compensation whatever. The big shops are being taken over gradually according to a definite schedule. The capitalists and moneyed persons have no place in social life; many of them have escaped to the neighbouring countries, leaving all their immovable property behind. To give a pathetic example, the person who was working as a chauffeur of the Indian Ambassador in Prague, was in the previous regime a successful businessman possessing seven or eight cars himself. As they say, even walls have ears, and if you talk ill of Communists even in your private room the "Reds" would suddenly come down on you the next morning. But, I must admit, I was allowed to talk quite freely in Czechoslovakia and my public lectures in Prague, despite the summer vacations, were quite well attended. I discussed Capitalism, Communism and Gandhism without any fear or favour and even the officers of the Government showed great interest in Indian culture, particularly the Gandhian ideals.

Whatever we might say against the Communists, we have to admit the fact that they are very systematic and thorough in their work and administration. As soon as they capture power, their set programme is launched immediately on all fronts. They are specially careful in overhauling the entire educational system from top to bottom. After the Gottwald regime the children of Czechoslovakia receive a

"unified education" in State schools and technical institutions. All the schools are run directly by the State; there is no room for private institutions. The curriculum is uniform, the text-books are prescribed by the Department of Education; no variations of any sort are permitted. I could see how text-books on even mathematics and science were being censored by the Education Ministry with dark and black ink. It was evident that Communist regime did not like to take any risks. I was informed that about 8,000 young students had been thrown out of schools and colleges because they were supposed to belong to the bourgeois class. About 100 professors had been 'chucked off' for the same reason. "Political education," which is another name for Communism, has been made compulsory for all students and even professors besides the writers, novelists, artists and editors.

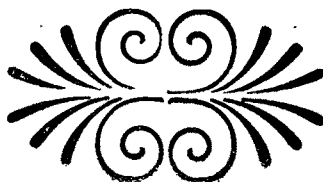
The policy of economic planning was being enthusiastically implemented in the form of a Five-Year Plan which was being displayed in the form of posters at almost every street-corner. The aim of the Plan was "to raise the standard of living of all sections of the working population." The means to achieve this objective lay in "raising the productivity of labour." The consequences of the Plan will be "the restriction of remaining capitalist elements and their elimination from all sectors of national economy." The Plan made it clear to all the people that "to accept American loans means, in effect, to become a vassal of American capital, and of American capitalist." Therefore, the only path open to them was "to finance the expansion of our economy with our own labour, our own financial resources, that is, our own savings, and sacrifices."

As regards the organization of labour, on May 16, 1946, the United Trade Union Organization Act was issued under which the Czechoslovakian working people were to have one, unified Trade Union without any rivals. The function of this Organization was "to guide its members in such a way as to enable them best to fulfil their tasks in the people's democracy and to ensure to workers a share in the construction and management of cultural and social facilities." It was claimed that 75 per cent of all employed persons in the country were associated in the Unified Trade Union movement. The Government claims to have wiped out the curse of unemployment and abolished the sight of beggars or tramps. I was given to understand that, in the beginning, the workers in industry

were very enthusiastic about the new Communist regime because they received a number of facilities in the factories in addition to a certain amount of share in profits and the management. But, gradually, a brake had naturally to be applied to their unlimited demands because the new Government had to lower costs of production in order to be able to compete in the international markets. At present, the Secretary-General of the Trade Unions is also the Minister for Labour so that he, as the Trade Union leader, would forward no proposals to the Government for acceptance about the urgent need and propriety of which he himself was not fully convinced. According to the Act, it is illegal to go on a strike; any indiscipline is rigorously dealt with by the police and the military. Despite all these strict provisions in the industrial organization of the country, it is very significant to know that the volume of production in the nationalised industries had a tendency to go down; the cost of production was slowly going up. The plans of International trade, therefore, were being seriously dislocated and this was a source of constant headache to the Gottwald Government. Recently, a number of state managers of factories had to be turned out as corrupt and incompetent.

Communism, in this manner, ultimately leads to totalitarianism and regimentation of the masses in order to survive. The profit motive in industry is replaced by the fear-complex and individual freedom or initiative evaporates into thin air. It is difficult to answer the question whether the ordinary people in Czechoslovakia were satisfied with the existing Government. In fact, nobody is prepared to speak out his mind to anybody else for fear of being persecuted and harassed. So the Communist regime has turned into a huge steam-roller relentlessly crushing down all elements of opposition.

The above is a peep behind the iron curtain. Although we could not pierce the curtain, we had the real satisfaction of witnessing Communism in action in this land of the Czechs. I have no love for the capitalistic system; it is a monstrous economic organization in which there is respect for money and not for man. But, I frankly admit that the Communist system based on violence and extreme regimentation is also not worthy of respect and admiration. Between the two 'isms' Mahatma Gandhi's ideology of decentralization and bread-labour offers the most satisfactory solution of our present-day economic ills.





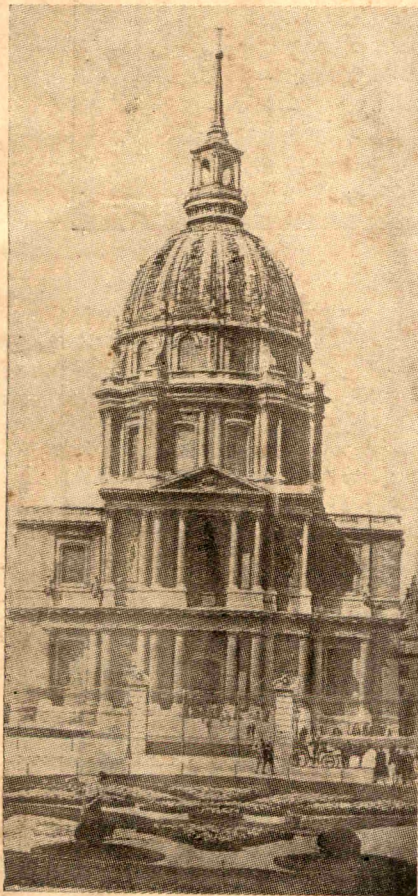
# PARIS TO AVIGNON

By ADINATH SEN, M.A., B.SC., (Glas.), M.I.E. (India)

THE main avenue with historical associations, in Paris, and Champs Elysees. The Tuileries Garden, the biggest in Paris with the triumphal Arch of Carrousel in the middle and the Louvre (the original home of the French Monarchs, now a museum) Palace lie further into the same line, but crossing the Concord Bridge on the Seine to the right, Hotel Invalides (Napoleon's tomb), close under the shadow of the Eiffel Tower (a wonder of the world) is passed in going southwards of the town. Living in a hotel in Port Malliot, near Verdun Place, this fairly direct route to get out of the City was

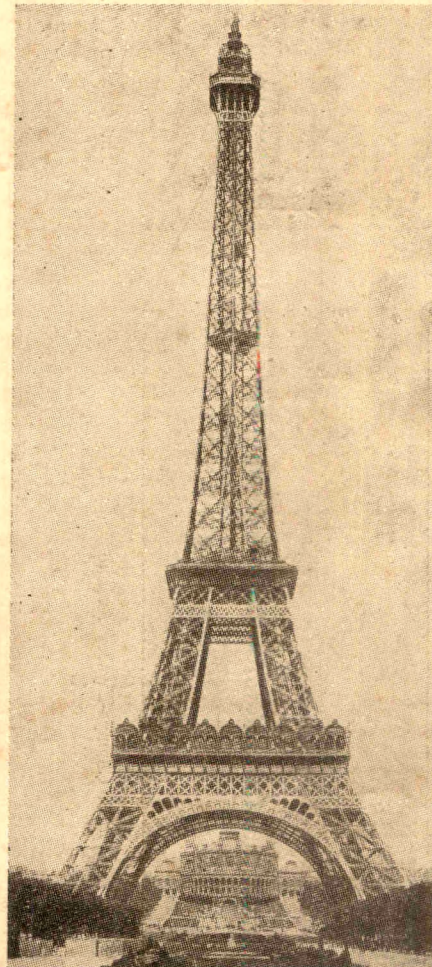


1. Etoile Place and Triumphal Arch



5. Hotel Invalides (Napoleon's tomb)

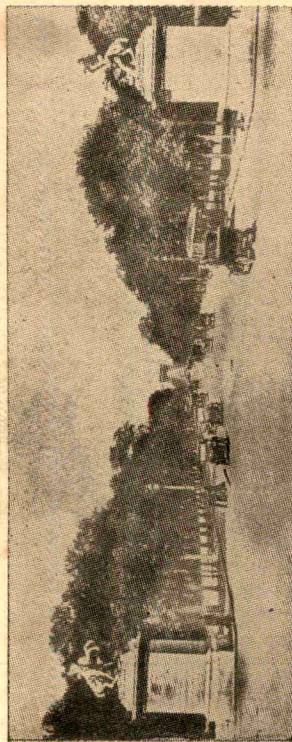
includes four roundabouts—Verdun Place, Etoile Place (where 12 avenues converge to the central Arch De Triomphe of Napoleon, Rond Point, and Place De La Concorde, joined by Avenue De La Grand Armee



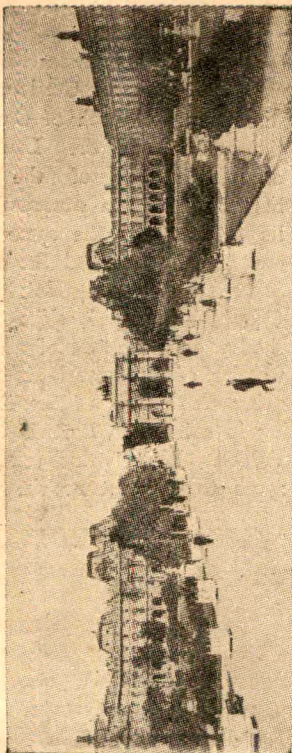
6. Eiffel Tower

chosen so as to have a last look at these important land-marks.

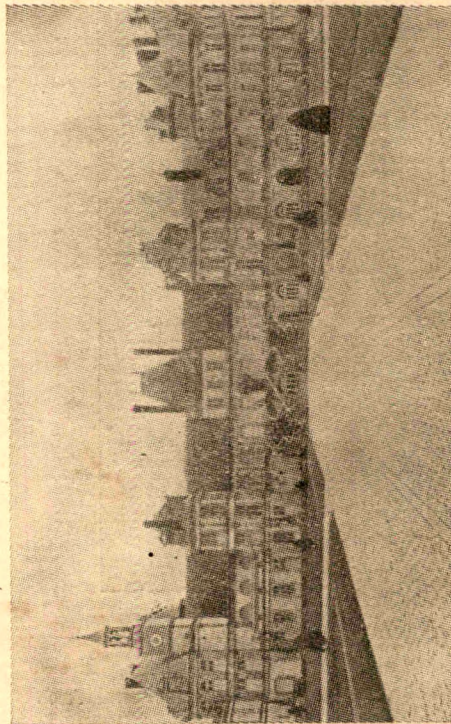




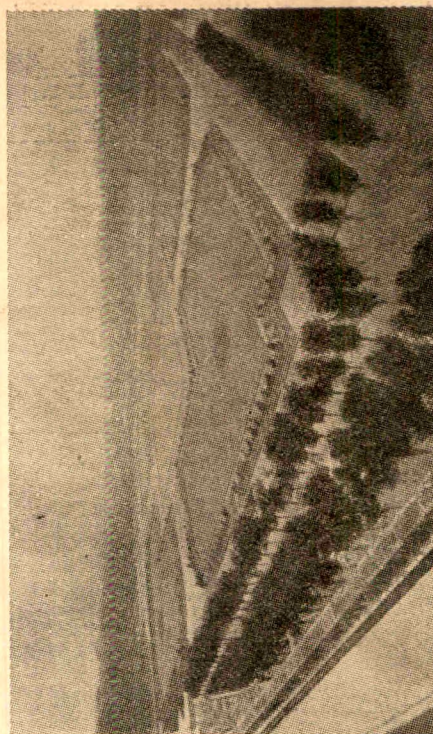
3. Champs-Élysées Avenue



4. The Garden of Tuileries and the Triumphal Arch of Carrousel, Paris



7. Facade of the Palace and horse-shoe steps

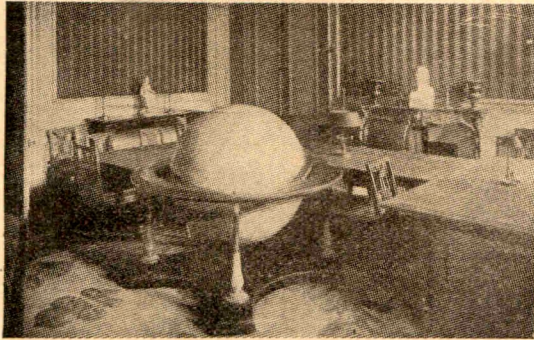


8. Main Garden, Paris

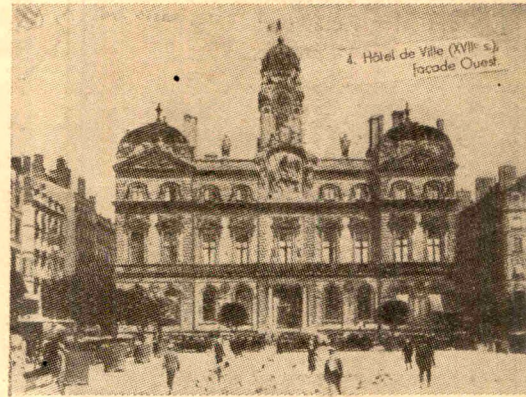


Running through the agricultural country of the valley of the Seine, the magnificent forests of Fontainebleau are entered and Barbizon, a summer resort in the forest, the home of artists and painters

the furniture, hangings, paintings of many successive centuries. Surrounded by spacious courts (including the Farewell Court, originally the White Horse Court, where Napoleon bade adieu to his famous Guards) and



13. Topographical study—private apartments of Napoleon III



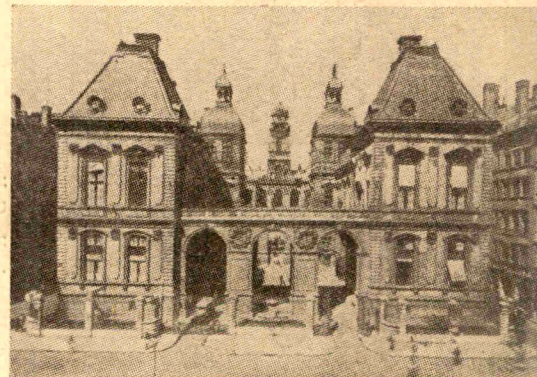
17(a). The west facade of the Hotel de Ville



15. River Soane, Palais du Justice and the Basilique, Lyons

of the school of the same name is passed, before the Palace of Fontainebleau is reached. Originally a Castle during the Middle Ages, it was remodelled by several monarchs and is intimately connected with the national history, not only written on the stones of the Castle, but also told by the inner decorations, such as

magnificent gardens, the majestic Palace contains a Chapel, many Galleries, State Rooms, Drawing Rooms, Boudoirs, Bed Chambers associated with famous French Monarchs like Francis I, Louis XIII to XVI. Henri II to IV, Charles IX, Napoleon, etc., and noted queens, Marie Theresa, Antoinette, Louisa, Josephine and a host of others. Napoleon's relics are the most prominent of all. His throne, his bed, the small mahogany table on which he wrote his abdication letter, the pen with which he wrote it, the big tables on which he used to draw plans of his campaigns, the room of pathetic memory, where he contemplated

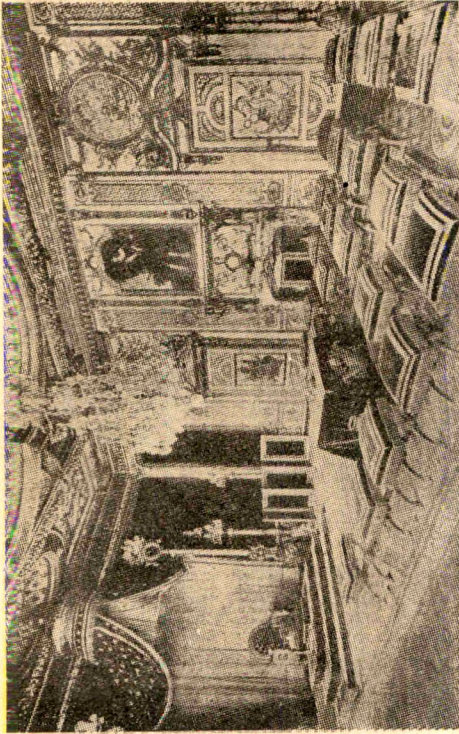


17(b). The east facade of the Hotel de Ville

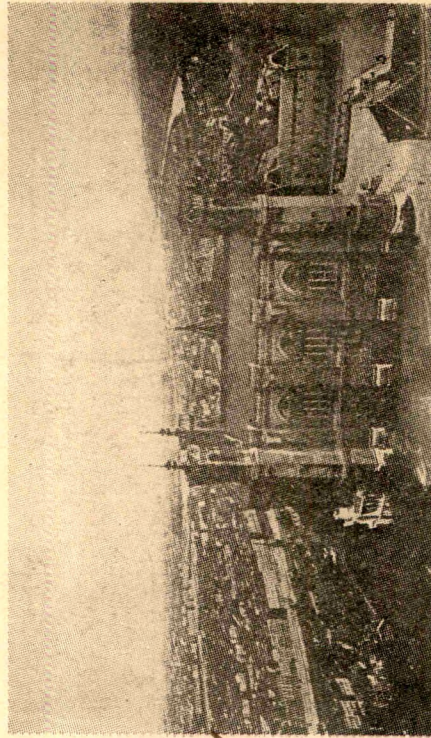
suicide, forsaken by everybody. There is also the room, in which Pope Pius VII stayed twice, once invited to crown Napoleon and later as a prisoner. These are of immense interest to the students of history.

Through the agricultural countries and river valleys and occasional plateaus, Lyons is reached after

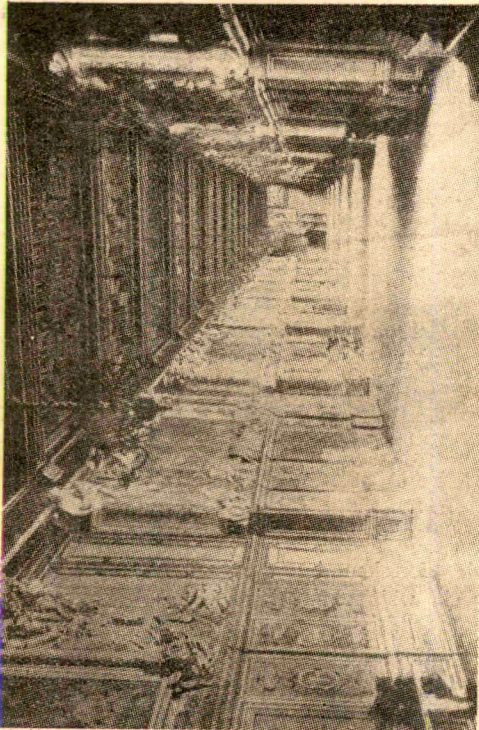




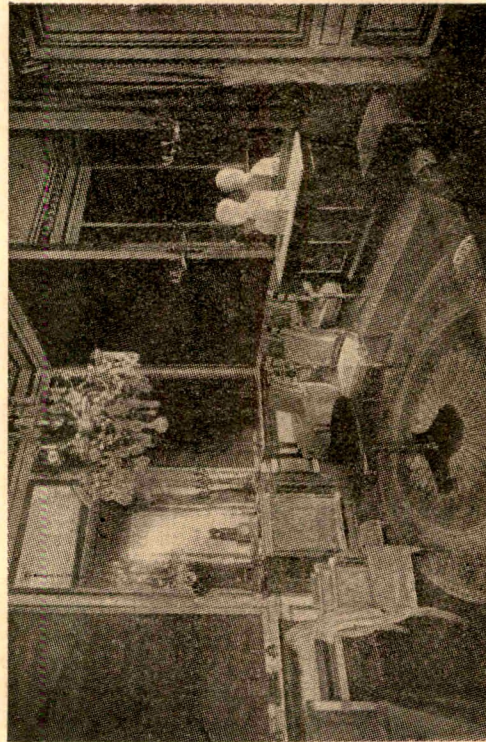
10. Napoleon I's Chamber of the Throne



14. The Basilique (Church) on the Fourviere Hill and the confluence of the Soane and the Rhone a little below the City of Lyons

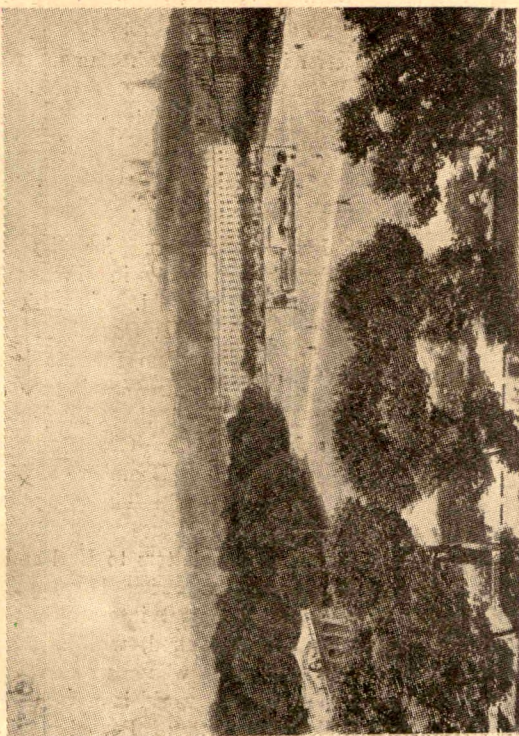


9. Francis I's Gallery

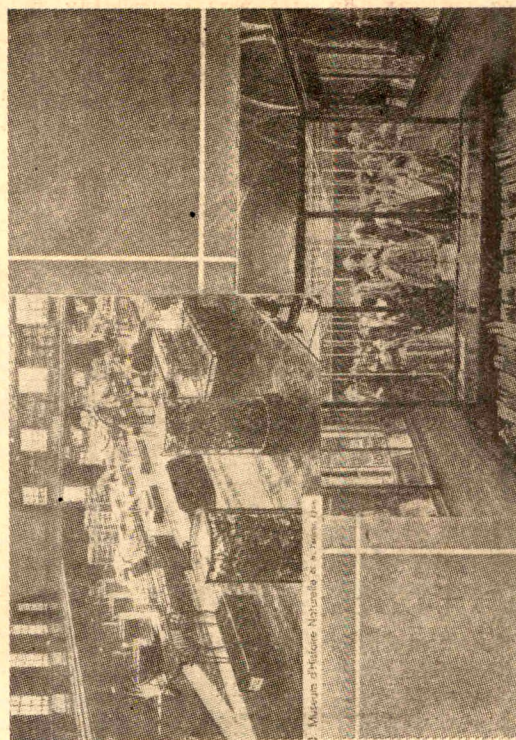


12. Abdication study, in which Napoleon I signed his abdication on 5th April, 1814

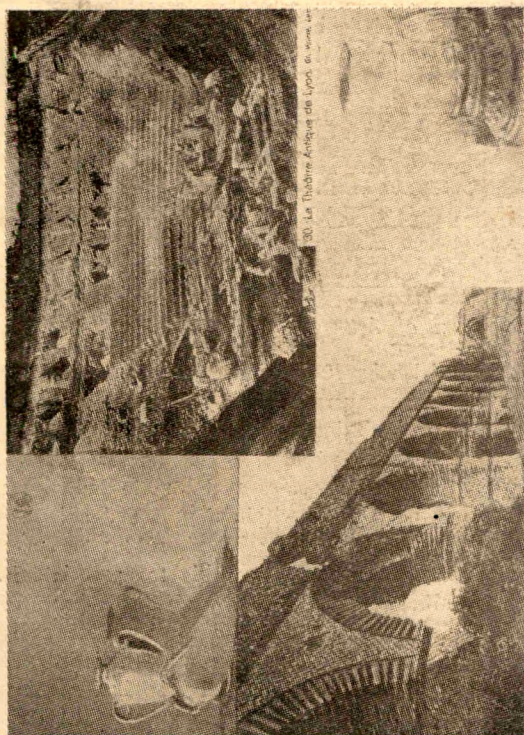




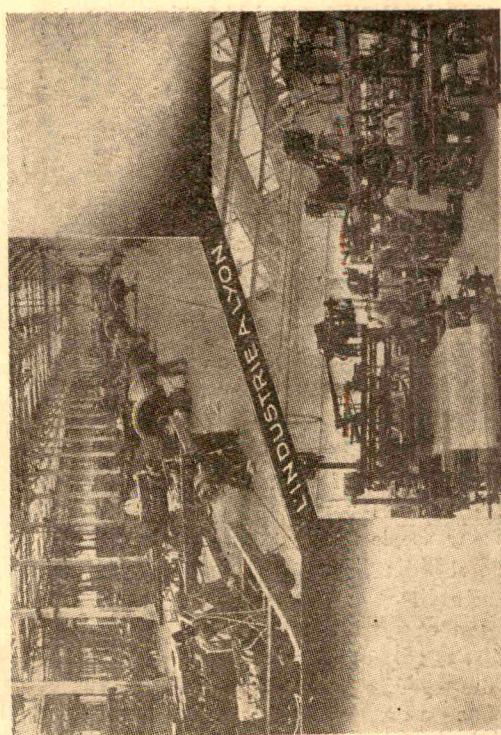
16. The famous Place Bellecour



20. The museum of Natural History and Musée du Tissue, Lyons



18. A Roman Aqueduct and an Ancient Theatre, Lyons



19. The automobile factory and the Silk Weaving School, Lyons



a long journey. This is a very ancient city, noted for its picturesque situation as well as for industrial and commercial importance. From the Basilique (Church) on the Fourviere Hill on the West, an excellent panorama of the town is obtained with

about 100 miles away. The Palais Du Justice with the Basilique at the distance and a bridge on the foreground can be seen in Fig. 15. The famous Place Ballecour, Hotel De Ville (town hall, as seen from the West and East) besides other notable buildings are worth a visit. Remains of an old Roman Theatre and an aqueduct are shown in Fig. 18.



21. Avignon

numberless domes, spires, steeples and churches. Two rivers, the placid Soane and the gushing Rhone, pass through the town and meet a little below the city. The Croix Rousse Hill, the home of the famous silk weavers of Lyons, lies to the north and affords another excellent view of the town. To the east is also seen Mt. Blanc, the highest peak of the Alps, only

importance. Even village weavers of Bengal will be found to use the Jacquard looms in great numbers.

On the way south, a visit was paid to the Silk Throwing Factory at Ucel (near Aubennes) and later, Avignon was reached. The place and the surrounding country bear indelible marks of interesting early Roman and medieval times.

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## A GREAT COLLECTOR'S CONTRIBUTION TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF ART MUSEUMS IN THE UNITED STATES The Pierpont Morgan Library's Anniversary Exhibit

By ROLAND L. REDMOND,  
*President, Metropolitan Museum of Art*

WHEN John Pierpont Morgan, Sr., died in Rome, Italy, in 1913, the news of his death was carried throughout the world because of his outstanding influence in international banking, American industry, and the collecting of works of art. So forcefully had he impressed his personality on his contemporaries that many people felt that his death marked the end of an era. Little did anyone realize that these feelings were prophetic.

Morgan's life was co-extensive with that extraordinary period of industrial expansion and international stability, the Victorian Age. He was born in Hartford, in the east coast State of Connecticut, the year Queen Victoria came to the British throne, and

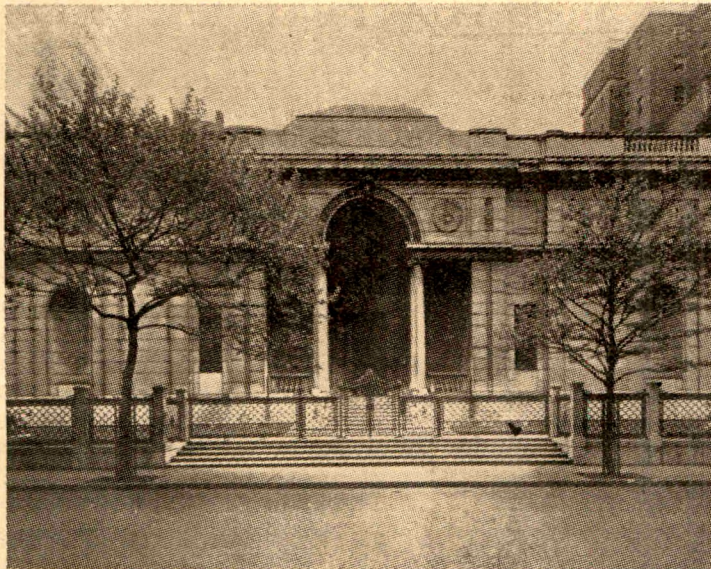
he survived her by 12 years. Throughout his life, world currencies were governed by the gold standard. While there were wars during this period, they were internal; the concept of a world war, lasting for years and involving many nations, seemed remote indeed when Morgan died, and yet, within a year and a half, the first one had commenced. March 1913 was the end of an era, although few were able to appreciate it.

It is always difficult to discuss a single phase of a man's life. It is particularly difficult in the case of Morgan who played an important part in so many different fields of activity and who had so many diversified interests. On the other hand, we cannot study Morgan's great contribution to the development



of art museums in the United States, or understand the purpose of his extraordinary collections of art, without considering the background against which these activities developed. Let us, therefore, look at

institutions devoted solely to the exhibition of art were almost unknown. There were private collectors, but most of them were individuals who bought books for their libraries, paintings and sculpture for the decoration of their houses, without any systematic purpose. There were of course, some notable exceptions, but in general, it was not until 1870 that the United States became art conscious.



Exterior view of the Morgan Library in New York, which houses one of the finest art collections in U.S.A.

the picture of the United States as it must have appeared to Morgan when he returned from Europe in 1857, as a young man of 20, to begin his business career.

At that time America was in the process of growing from a number of States on the Atlantic seaboard, largely dependent upon shipping, to a continental nation. It was a period in which the expansion of agricultural products in the hitherto untapped western plains was being matched by the extensive utilization of forests and mineral resources, and the development of all sorts of industry. This great upsurge of activity brought wealth to many but leisure to few. The American of 1857 was essentially a hard-working man, intensely proud of the rapid strides which his country was making, a little brash and self-satisfied, and to a large extent dependent on Europe for his cultural and scientific ideas.

In a society of this nature, the appreciation of works of art was essentially a private and not a public function. There were a few societies which occasionally owned or exhibited works of art, but

tremendous energy into the collection of art that the American public began to appreciate that works of art were important. No single date can be selected, but it is fair to say that from approximately 1890 until his death Morgan was the outstanding art-collector in the world.



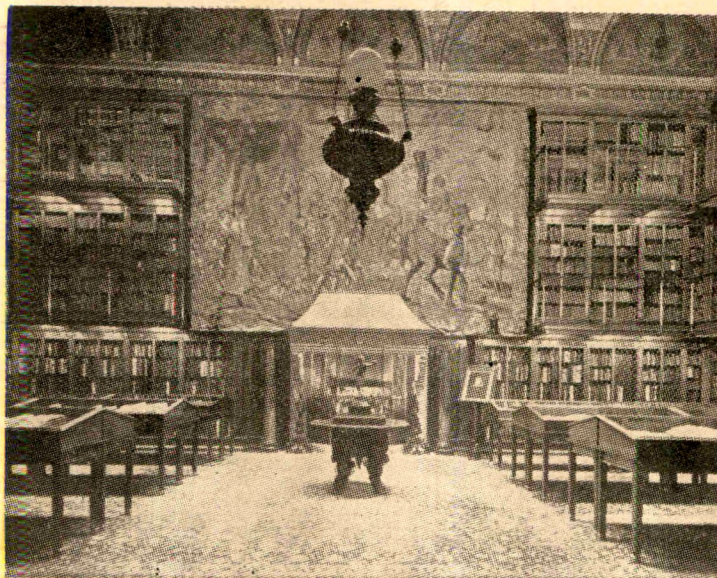
A view of the West room of the famed Morgan Library in New York showing paintings and objects of art



To list the famous collections or works of art that he acquired in this period would be exhausting, but to get a general idea of the extraordinary size and diversity of his collections, one may read the summary which appears in the inheritance tax proceedings of

even appraised. However, we know his London house contained the famous panels by the eighteenth century French painter Fragonard, now in the Frick Collection in New York City. His library contained Ghirlandaio's portrait of Giovanna Tornabuoni and several other important Italian Renaissance paintings.

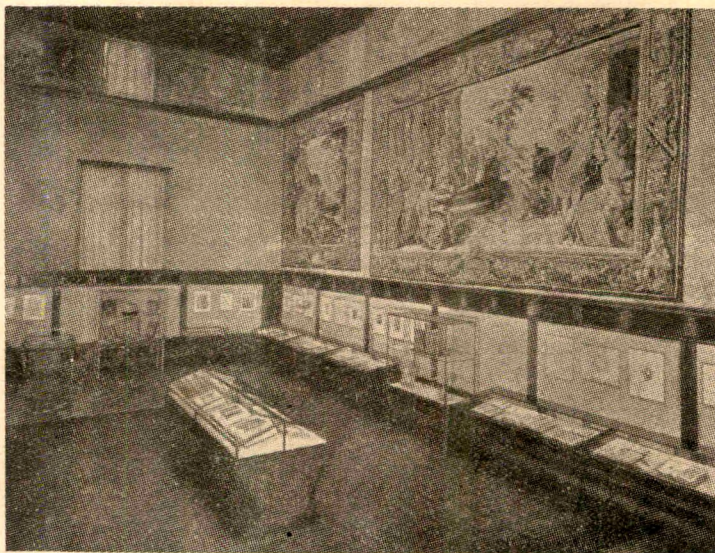
There is little in Morgan's family or educational background that suggests an unusual interest in art. His father, Junius S. Morgan, came of early American stock and was brought up in Springfield, in the State of Massachusetts. He lived for a number of years in Hartford and Boston, and moved to London in the 1850's. Young J. P. Morgan attended elementary school in the city of Hartford, in the State of Connecticut, went to secondary school in Boston, and completed his education, after his family moved to Europe, by attending a private school at Vevey, Switzerland, and spending 2 years at the University of Gottingen in Germany. His scholastic record was not unusually distinguished but his extraordinary interest in



The Morgan Library's East room contains one of the finest collections of rare books and manuscripts in U.S.A.

his estate as filed in the courts of New York. The principal items are as follows: ivories, carved wood, marble, terra cotta, stone, Renaissance bronze, ancient bronzes, early enamels, objects in glass, metal, stone, Limoges enamels, faience (majolica), silver objects, and ancient jewelry; books, manuscripts, and prints; paintings, tapestries, rugs, furniture, snuff boxes, art objects, and so forth; Chinese porcelains; glass, bronzes, statuary, Roman and Byzantine jewelry, carvings in wood and ivory, and so forth; Dresden porcelains; miniatures, drawings and sketches; jewels and jewelry; French porcelain; watches. In the aggregate these collections were appraised in 1913 at \$20,421,000.

But this is not the whole story because there were many other works of art which were not technically part of Morgan's collections. These included the paintings and objects of art in his house and library in New York City, in his house in London, and at his English country estate. The English assets were not



The Exhibition room of the Morgan Library

mathematics, and the ease and rapidity with which he seemed to grasp and solve mathematical problems, led to the offer of an instructorship at Gottingen, which he declined. The only early evidence of an interest in collecting were some autographs,



principally of church dignitaries. It is also probable that while he was at Gottingen he collected fragments of stained glass. This latter collection remained in old-fashioned horsehair trunks until about 1905.

At that time the new library which Mr. Morgan was building in New York City was being completed and the large windows in the east and west rooms seemed too severe with plain glass. Various expedients were suggested to soften the intense light and finally Morgan remembered the collection of stained glass he had made in his youth and directed that the old trunks be opened. In them were found most of the stained glass that is still in the Pierpont Morgan Library. Aside from these tenuous indications of an early interest in art, there was the influence of his father who, having resided in England for nearly 40 years, was undoubtedly familiar with the great private collections of England.

Morgan was devoted to his father and their relationship was unusually close. It seems probable, therefore, that his father's appreciation of the fine furniture and family portraits belonging to his English friends and the fact that his father later acquired a number of pictures principally of the English school, may have awakened Morgan's interest in art. His father's example does not explain, however, the all-inclusive and massive collections made by his son and it is significant that Junius S. Morgan died in 1890 at the very opening of the great period of his son's collecting.

To his contemporaries, Morgan's purpose in collecting was an insoluble mystery. The purchase of whole collections of Italian or mediaeval art, of Egyptian, Greek, and Roman objects, of Chinese porcelains, and of French decorative arts seemed insane because clearly they could never be used to adorn a family home. Not only were the most diverse objects purchased but the very method of buying seemed wrong. There was no attempt at concealment; quite the contrary, many of the principal purchases were announced publicly and every dealer throughout the world knew that Morgan always had time to look at important works. His zest for collecting and willingness to pay prices which at the time many people thought fantastic led some to believe that his collecting was a form of conspicuous spending.

But Morgan had a definite public purpose in mind and he deliberately adopted a method which would allow him to amass, in a remarkably few years, collections which otherwise could not have been brought together in decades. He was literally besieged by dealers offering their wares. His trips to Europe were fantastic progresses in which he would spend days in the principal cities viewing art treasures and deciding whether he would buy or not. His judgments were made with great rapidity and while he never pre-

tended to any special skill or knowledge, he had an instinctive sense of what was superlatively good and he was not interested in anything else. Naturally, he made mistakes, but he had devoted and able assistants. In any event, the quality of Morgan's collections attest his judgment and the soundness of his method.

Morgan's purpose was not understood by his contemporaries because it was never disclosed during his life. In his will, which was executed less than 3 months before his death, he stated it in simple and direct language: "I have been greatly interested for many years in gathering my collections of paintings, miniatures, porcelains, and other works of art, and it has been my desire and intention to make some suitable disposition of them or of such portions of them as I might determine, which would render them permanently available for the instruction and pleasure of the American people. . . ."

The obligation imposed by this will was carried out magnificently. Pending the settlement of Morgan's estate, major parts of these great collections were loaned to the Metropolitan Museum and placed on public exhibition. As soon as the legal formalities were completed, J. P. Morgan, Jr. gave to the Wadsworth Atheneum, in the city of Hartford, a magnificent selection of works of art and to the Metropolitan Museum the great collections which for many years were exhibited in the Morgan Wing.

Originally, the gift to the Metropolitan Museum was subject to the condition that all the Morgan collections be kept intact and exhibited as a unit for 50 years. This condition gradually became restrictive. Recognizing this fact, J. P. Morgan, Jr., voluntarily waived all conditions not long before his death, and he took this step to carry out his father's intention that these works of art should be fully available for the instruction and pleasure of the American people. In the same spirit of carrying out his father's purpose, J. P. Morgan, Jr., in 1924, gave to trustees, for the benefit of the public, his father's library and its contents, including many important additions which Morgan, Jr. had made to these collections in the decade following his father's death.

This public gift, widely known as the Pierpont Morgan Library, simultaneously celebrated the conclusion of the library's first independent quarter-century and paid honor to its first director, Belle de Costa Greene, who retired in 1948 after having begun as the elder Morgan's personal librarian in 1905. This anniversary exhibition was designed to illustrate the greatest of the acquisitions of the library in these past 25 years. One can advisedly say "greatest," for this was in effect a selection of selections—those which Miss Greene made in the first place to assure the library each time of an acquisition of outstanding merit. Divided into several categories that represented

as many divisions of the library's collecting-activity, the primary artistic interest of the exhibition was of course, in its magnificent array of illuminated manuscripts, drawings, and prints. Yet somehow each of these was actually enriched and the visitor's pleasure in them strengthened by the more bibliophilic sections of early and later printed books, bookbindings, and authors' manuscripts displayed in showcases and on glass-covered tables.

To do more than thus merely suggest the sense of learning and delight which awaits the visitor to the library is obviously impossible. It does suggest, however, that the Morgan library is "a collection of materials essential to any study of modern man." This is the splendid instrument that has been built into towering scale from the days when his library was simply one more department of the vastly varied acquisitive force of the most richly buying collector. Its existence today is perhaps first a tribute to the genuine culture which was at the basis of the first Morgan's collecting. More than that, however, it is owed to the quiet, sensitive taste and intellect of his son, who wisely concentrated on the pleasure that

could come from books and their associations and to the brilliant woman who was the active director in every sense of the word.

The story of Morgan's collections is only part of the service he rendered to American museums and the appreciation of art in the United States. The example he set was contagious. Many men and women began collecting works of art and donating them to public institutions. The attendance at museums grew rapidly and an interest in art was no longer considered the earmark of the dilettante. Men of the greatest prominence were honored to be elected as trustees of museums. Many others supported the growing museums with generous gifts and sometimes great legacies were received from persons who had never indicated any great interest in art during their lives.

The rapid growth of art museums was not confined to any single section of the country, but spread rapidly throughout the nation, so that today there is hardly a major city in the United States which does not boast of an institution devoted primarily to the encouragement of art.—From *Art News*.

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## SARDA HYDRO-ELECTRIC PROJECT

### A Unique Engineering Achievement

By NARENDRA M. MUKHERJEE, M.A.

THE Sarda Hydro-electric Project entered its vital phase with the foundation laying of its power house by the Chief Minister, U.P. Hon'ble Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant. It was a solemn and simple ceremony amidst a famed scenic background and attended by a large and distinguished gathering.

The Sarda Hydro-electric Project is one of the top priority schemes which the Uttar Pradesh Government are trying to have completed as per its revised schedule. The main Power House is being built at Lohia Head, eight miles from the Canal Headworks at Banbassa almost on the borders of the Nepal and is situated amidst picturesque surroundings. It will be the biggest Hydro-electric Power Station, so far built in these Provinces and will be of massive concrete structure. The foundations of the Power House are being laid at a depth of almost 65 feet below the normal spring level of the area. The foundation raft alone will consist of about 2.5 lakhs cubic feet, of heavily reinforced concrete, while the whole power house may consume as much as 15 lakhs cubic feet of reinforced cement concrete. Such heavy foundations cannot be laid except in absolute dry conditions. The problem therefore baffled our engineers for some time but they have manfully struggled

with nature and have now depressed the water table to the desired extent. The construction programme on Sarda Power House is, therefore, passing through an important engineering phase.

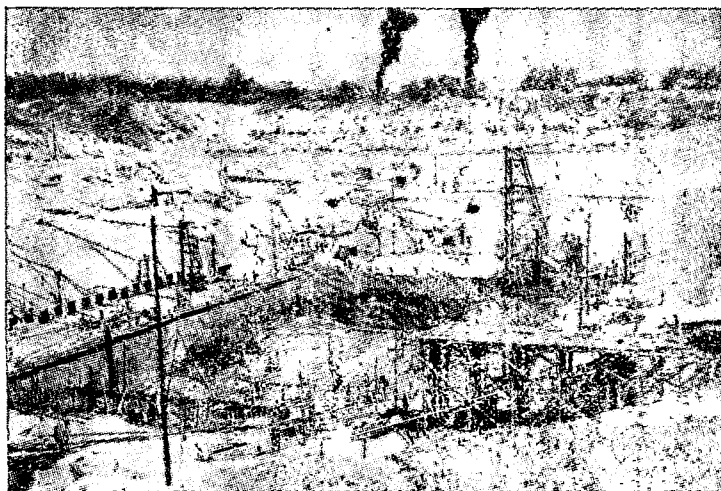
A problem of this nature had not been tackled before in this country. Scores of tube wells were built round the foundation pit of the area and continuous draw-off of water from the sub-soil has enabled the builders to cause the required depression in the water table at the power house site. The base concrete to the foundation raft has been laid. From an Engineering point of view, this is an achievement of unequalled significance, as in the *tarai* tract where the sub-soil supplies are in abundance, and where the spring level is high, so much depression in the water table was indeed difficult to attain. The physical and natural features of the area had rendered the task more difficult. The tract is highly malarious and the means of communication is poor. No work was therefore possible for about five months in a year. In fact during these previous years, as also, on the construction of Sarda Canal Head Works at Banbassa, there had been a regular break-off of activities during the monsoon months. It was, however, felt that this work could not suffer such break-offs, as ground gained



during fair weather, was totally lost during rains. An all-out effort was therefore organised during the past year and was kept up despite treacherous weather conditions at the site of work. In fact, the work was done throughout the rainy season and not only the progress was maintained, but a real headway was

fact, the underground water current has sagged at the site of work as a horse bends low to take the rider on.

The construction site of Sarda Power House makes up a magnificent arena of activity which looks particularly picturesque at night when the whole area is



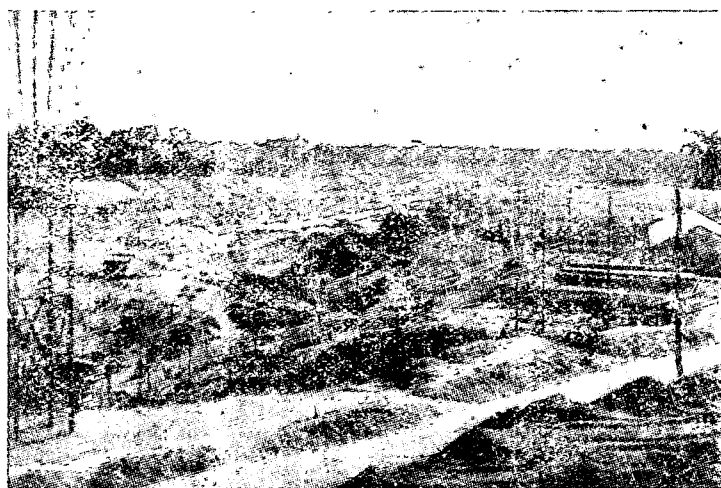
A view of the Foundation Pit. Reinforcement being placed in position within 40 feet deep iron curtain type coffer dam made of R.S. Joists

made during the so-called slack season. It is a commendable performance on the part of the organisers of this unprecedented struggle with nature. And what they have accomplished with their limited means and materials is easily comparable with the best achievements of the engineers of the Western world.

In the layman's language the technique of the job consists of providing such operational rings of pumping units at different stages and different depths all round the foundation pit as will suck out all sub-surface water coming into the pit area—thus rendering the pit to the required depth perfectly dry. It is understood that the strata

conditions at the site had accidentally turned out to be very complicated and progress was hampered at various stages of the work on that account. A thoughtful planning on the part of our engineers, a systematic operation of the limited means and materials at hand, and above all, a determined will to crack even the hardest nuts have enabled them to break the back of the sub-soil water. In

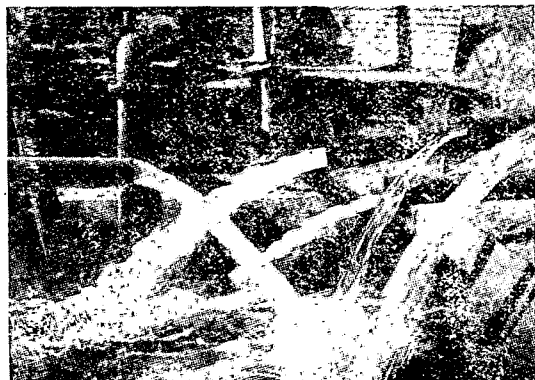
flood-lit. In the foundation pit at a depth of almost 65 feet below the spring level, there are construction equipments of varying types employed to accomplish various jobs. Forty feet deep universal sheet piles consisting of rolled sheet joints have been driven all round the proposed foundation raft to provide an iron curtain type coffer dam. Tractor and scraper units are engaged on the excavation of earth and to dispose it of, at far-off ends, entailing a lift of about 100 feet or so. Borings of the wells are being done with mechanical operated boring rigs and with hand-operated boring equipments. Scores of tube wells are sucking out water from the sub-soil and are discharging it in a contour drain leading it off into a natural drainage



A view of Tail Race Escape under construction

few miles away through a seepage trench built along the tail race alignment. A two feet gauge light railway line along with its own locomotives and wagons feeds the work site with materials and meets all sundry local transport needs. Brisk preparations are at present in hand for laying the foundation raft. Steel in thousands of tons has been placed in position for providing reinforcement to the raft which will

be one solid block of reinforced cement concrete, measuring approximately 200 feet by 100 feet and varying in thickness from 16 feet to 6 feet.



Many tube wells pour in an intermediary sumps for second stage lift

Sarda Hydrel Scheme had suffered a sad set-back, owing to dislocation caused in the work during the post-Independence disturbances. It has since regained the lost ground considerably. At present, a view of the work site reflects an energetic note of activity and shows up a co-ordinated and efficient executive control all through. In fact, the atmosphere at Lohia Head looks as though permeated with a missionary zeal. The job is both big and intricate but its organizational set-up seems equally promising. Apart from the engineering equipments of various types there are about 5000 hands busy on the different aspects of the project. About 3 to 4 Companies from Gorakhpur Labour Corps are engaged in this work and the contractors seem to have brought labour from as far as Maharashtra.

It is understood that an order for Tubro-alternators and other equipments required for the scheme costing over a crore of rupees is under execution with Messrs. English Electric Company Limited, England. A part of the equipment has already arrived at the site of the work and it is expected that the manufacturers will be able to co-ordinate the supply of equipment as the work on the main power station progresses and that the erection of the machines will be carried along side the civil construction thus leading to an overall completion of the scheme by 1953 or so.

The construction of the tail race of this Hydro-electric station is also a work of great magnitude. It entails construction of almost 12 miles of new canal capable of carrying a discharge of about 9500 cubic feet of water per second, in heavy digging along with its many bridges, regulators, and escapes. A few miles of this canal are proposed to be lined with lightly reinforced cement concrete, as the soil in this area is considered to be treacherous in respect of conserva-

tion of water during its passage across it apart from the consideration of the structural safety of the banks made therefrom in some reaches. The extent of earthwork to be done in the power channel is about 35 crores cubic feet, which counts in terms of an ordinary roadway section to the construction of about 2000 miles of *katcha* road.

The scheme when completed, will place in our hands firm power to an extent of 23,000 kilowatts, while the installed generation capacity of the power station will be 41,400 kilowatts. It will serve the regions comprising of Kumaun, Rohilkhand and Oudh and will bring about phenomenal change in the industrial and agricultural development of Uttar Pradesh. The surplus energy, if any, will be fed into the existing Ganges Canal Hydro-electric Grid which serves the western districts, and where presently a keen demand exists for electric power which makes life difficult for the administration in charge of Ganges Hydro-electric Grid. The scheme is bound to contribute greatly in our "Grow More Food" drive as a considerable part of this energy is likely to be used for irrigation and agricultural purposes.



The Chief Engineer Shri P. C. Agarwal, (Centre) discussing construction details at site with Shri L. P. Bhargava, Superintending Engineer (left) and Shri Baleshwar Nath, Executive Engineer (right)

The work on the scheme is being carried out under the direction of Shri P. C. Agarwal, Chief Engineer and under the superintendence of Shri L. P. Bhargava, Superintending Engineer. The executive control and

organization of the work is in charge of Shri Baleshwar Nath, Executive Engineer. They are all distinguished Roorkee engineers. The work is distributed among a team of young and energetic engineers, who too all hail from Roorkee and who all seem keen to do the job, despite all climatic and locational handicaps of the situation. A laboratory has been established at site of work and field tests pertaining to various constructional details are carried out there. Of late, the Government have increased the engineer strength of the organization by another division and a separate designs organization to cope with the increased work load and to add expediency to the execution of the scheme.

As the Chief Minister poured the first bucket of

concrete, over a maze of steel net-work truly within a steel fortification at such a depth, as had been conquered inch after inch by the engineers in their two years' hard struggle with nature, there was cheering all round. The picturesque setting of the occasion will indeed stay long in the memory of the persons, who assembled in that wilderness to witness the ceremony. And it was interesting to hear an Engineer remark, "All that you see here today will have been encased in the concrete, and will have been submerged deep under water. When the power house will have been completed, it will be difficult to assess and appreciate the effort that had to be mobilised to secure for its such deep foundation."

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## EXPANSION OF THE CALCUTTA TEA MARKET

By INDU BHUSAN GHOSH, M.A., B.L.

### INTRODUCTION

TEA now constitutes the most important item in India's foreign trade, nearly 75 per cent of the country's total production being available for export purposes. India's total production of tea is now placed at about 575 million pounds, of which about 400 million pounds are exported from the country per annum on an average. The total value of exports of tea (including green tea) from India amounted to Rs. 35.1 crores in 1946-47, Rs. 55.3 crores in 1947-48 and Rs. 64.2 crores in 1948-49. The Industry earned Rs. 78.63 crores worth of foreign exchange for the country during the calendar year 1949, including Rs. 10.5 crores of hard currency. Of India's average exports during the years 1942 to 1948, the United Kingdom has absorbed nearly 70 per cent per annum, the U.S.A. about 10 per cent, Canada nearly 5 per cent, Australia and New Zealand 4 per cent and the Middle East (including Egypt and Red Sea Ports) about 3 per cent, the balance being shipped to other areas. Exports by land frontier routes, amounting to about 4 to 5 million pounds per annum, are mostly directed to Iran, Afghanistan, Western Pakistan, Tibet, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan.

As an indispensable source of revenue to the Government, an earner of over Rs. 60 crores worth of foreign exchange and an employer of over a million workers, the Indian Tea Industry has assumed a position of vital importance to the country's economy. According to the Government statistics for 1945-46, about 645 Joint Stock Companies were engaged in the Tea Industry in India during that year with a paid-up capital of Rs. 50.6 crores. Besides investment by Joint Stock Companies, a large number of private owners are also engaged in the Industry, but accurate estimate of the capital invested

in private enterprise is not available. Apart from the considerable amount of foreign exchange earned for the country every year, the Tea Industry also contributes largely to the Central and Provincial Revenues. The following table will indicate the sources and the approximate amount of revenues earned :

	Central	Provincial
Export Duty	Rs. 10 crores	—
Excise Duty	Rs. 3 crores	—
Import Duty on Tea Chests	Rs. 42.5 lakhs*	—
Income-tax and Super-tax	Rs. 3 crores	—
Tea Cess	Rs. 57 lakhs**	—
Agricultural Income-tax	—	Rs. 2 crores
Land Revenue	—	Rs. 26.5 lakhs
Forest Revenue	—	Rs. 25 lakhs
Local Cess	—	Rs. 3 to 4 lakhs

\*The amount relates to 1948-49 collections.

\*\*The figure represents collection during 1948-49. The amount is spent exclusively for meeting the expenses of the Central Tea Board and for tea propaganda in India and abroad.

Source : The Collector of Customs, Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, The Indian Tea Association and Indian Tea Planters' Association.

The present area under tea in India is estimated at 763,000 acres, of which nearly 76 per cent lies in North East India (Assam and West Bengal). South India (chiefly Madras, Travancore, Mysore, Cochin and Coorg) accounts for 19 per cent of the total acreage, while 3 to 4 per cent lies in the minor producing areas in Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and East Punjab. Taking India as a whole, approximately 60 per cent of the acreage now

under tea is owned by interests in the United Kingdom. The area under tea in Pakistan is estimated at 74,112 acres. The total permissible acreages under the International Tea Agreement are 775,700 acres and 76,700 acres for India and Pakistan, respectively. The total annual production of tea in India is now estimated at 575 million pounds, of which North-East India contributes over 80 per cent, and South India about 18 per cent. Pakistan's annual production amounts to about 43 to 45 million pounds. Black tea comprises 98 to 99 per cent of India's total production, the average production of green tea being 5 to 6 million pounds.

The Port of Calcutta handles over 80 per cent of India's total export trade in tea. In fact, the entire North-East India crop passes through Calcutta, although only 40 to 41 per cent of the crop is now auctioned in the Calcutta market, the balance being disposed of through direct purchase arrangements with the British Ministry of Food, ex-factory sales and by direct sales to out-markets. India happens to be the largest producer of tea in the world and the Tea Industry provides one of India's most important commodities for export. In view of the Government's anxiety to develop Calcutta into a world centre for Indian tea and to step up exports, particularly to hard currency areas, it is desirable to examine the possibility of expansion of the Calcutta Tea Market with a view to auctioning in course of time the total North-East India crop. It is felt that continuance of the Bulk Purchase contracts with the British Ministry of Food and the resultant withdrawal of the major portion of the crop from the free auctions in Calcutta is not promoting the best interest of the Industry and the country's economy.

#### DISPOSAL OF TEA THROUGH CALCUTTA AUCTIONS

Although the first public auction of tea on the Calcutta market was held as far back as on the 26th May, 1841, and regular weekly auctions were organised in Calcutta towards the end of the nineteenth century, the bulk of the Indian tea was auctioned in London until the beginning of the Second World War when a Tea Control organisation was set up in India to operate the Bulk Purchase Scheme and latterly the Block Purchase Scheme. The following table will indicate the average quantities of North Indian tea disposed of through Calcutta every season during the period 1935-36 to 1938-39 :

(Average of seasons 1935-36  
to 1938-39)  
In million lbs.

Direct shipment to U.K. for	
auction in London ..	205.1
Direct shipment to other markets ..	0.1
Sold in Calcutta Auctions ..	122.9
Ex-factory sales ..	14.3
	<hr/>
Total	342.4

Source : Indian Tea Association.

The above table shows clearly that direct shipment to the London Auctions accounted for 62 per cent of the

tea despatched to Calcutta from the estates. Shipment teas were cleared through Calcutta in approximately one week's time, while "Calcutta sold" teas remained in the Port Warehouses for six weeks on an average.

On the declaration of War in 1939, the U.K. Ministry of Food took over the control of all stocks of tea in that country and all subsequent arrivals. A Tea Control organisation was set up in India in October, 1939, and all tea for export to the U.K. was purchased on behalf of His Majesty's Government by the Tea Controller for India who entered into contracts with the producing estates after calling for offers. This Bulk Purchase arrangement by the U.K. Ministry of Food is still continuing, under which a predetermined quantity of tea at a fixed price is shipped direct to London every year without being auctioned in Calcutta.

The following table shows the actual quantities of tea shipped to the U.K. under the Bulk Purchase contracts since 1940 :

Year	Million lbs.
1940	.. 326.4
1941	.. 287.1
1942	.. 337.4
1943	.. 266.3
1944	.. 240.1
1945	.. 248.9
1946	.. 278.3*
1947	.. 275.2*
1948	.. 281.4
1949	.. 226.9**

\*Includes Auction-bought tea

\*\*Incomplete.

Source : Tea Controller for India.

The scope of the Indian Tea Control organisation underwent considerable expansion in 1942, consequent on the introduction of arrangements for the supply of tea not only to the U.K. but also to all other countries of the world excepting Axis Powers. The Scheme came into operation from the 15th of September, 1942, from which date the Tea Controller for India, on behalf of the British Ministry of Food, became responsible for the purchase of the whole of India's exportable surplus of tea and its shipment to the several countries according to the quotas allotted to them by the Combined Food Board. Teas for the U.K. were shipped direct to that country for allocation to distributors in London, while teas for shipment to out-markets were valued by a panel of brokers in Calcutta on the basis of each estate's contract price. Under this Scheme private exports of tea from India were prohibited. This ban was, however, lifted from the 1st of January, 1947, but the U.K. Ministry of Food continued to obtain its tea requirements through Bulk Purchase Scheme, under which the Tea Controller for India was responsible for the purchase from the contracting estates (under a system of annual tenders) of the tea supplies required by that Government. From 1948 there was a separate contract with producers in Pakistan.

From 1942 to 1946 the Port of Chittagong was closed for the shipment of tea and over this period the North Indian crop increased to about 132 per cent of its pre-war total, all of which had to pass through the Calcutta Port. Auction sales of tea for consumption in India were held regularly throughout the war and this period was one of rapid expansion of tea drinking in India. The over-all percentage of tea handled through Calcutta increased further since the latter part of 1947 due to the fact that following the partitioning of Bengal about 70 million pounds of Indian tea, which would normally have been shipped through Chittagong, were diverted to Calcutta for shipment partly to the United Kingdom and partly to out-markets. During the last two years the North Indian crop has shown a further substantial increase and the total crop produced in 1949 is estimated at about 480 million pounds, as against 462 million pounds in 1948. This coupled with the decrease in the quantity shipped to the United Kingdom has resulted in larger supplies to out-markets. The average disposal through Calcutta Auctions in the pre-war period amounted to about 122 million pounds, while the quantity has now increased to about 200 million pounds, or approximately 41 per cent of the total crop.

#### VOLUME OF TEA PASSING THROUGH CALCUTTA

The Railways and the Steamship Companies provide the transport of tea from the gardens to Calcutta. At present, three Railways, namely, the Assam Railway, the Oudh and Tirhut Railway and the East Indian Railway are operating in the transport of tea from the estates in Assam and North Bengal to Calcutta. The new Assam Rail Link has connected Assam with the rest of India directly through Indian territory, and the entire rail-borne teas are now being moved over this Link. It should, however, be mentioned that the capacity of the new Link is limited, and it does not meet the transport requirement of the Tea Industry satisfactorily. With the existing transshipment facilities at Maniharighat and Sakrigalighat across the river Ganges and under the present scarcity of wagons, about 70 Metre-Gauge wagon-loads of goods can be moved over the new Link per day from Assam to Calcutta. Furthermore, the use of this Link involves detour of a longer distance than that *via* the old route through Eastern Pakistan, and has resulted in increased freight charges between Calcutta and the major tea districts in Assam and North Bengal.

As regards river transport, Messrs. McNeil and Barry Limited is responsible for handling almost the entire river-borne traffic. Carriers by the river route have to ply through Pakistan waters, but the river-borne teas are now coming to Calcutta without much interference from the Pakistan authorities.

In the pre-war days nearly 71 per cent of the total volume of tea traffic was river-borne. The major portion of the North-East India crop still continues to be carried by the river route; on an average nearly 60 per cent of the total traffic is river-borne, the actual percentage in 1948-49 being 64 per cent. The average total arrivals of tea in Calcutta during the period 1934-35 to 1938-39

amounted to 2.36 million chests, while the post-war average exceeds 4 million chests, the actual figure for 1948-49 being 4.56 million chests. The following table will clearly indicate the position :

Arrivals of Tea in Calcutta (Chests)			
Seasons	Arrivals by Rail	Arrivals by River	Total
1938-39	.. 700,036	1,838,990	2,539,026
1945-46	.. 2,206,866	1,991,723	4,198,589
1946-47	.. 1,549,206	1,882,385	3,431,591
1947-48	.. 1,424,875	2,673,495	4,098,370
1948-49	.. 1,625,101	2,935,232	4,560,333

Source : Traffic Manager, Commissioners for the Port of Calcutta.

#### WAREHOUSING OF TEA IN THE PORT OF CALCUTTA

Provision of adequate facilities for the storage of tea pending sale is probably the most important aspect of marketing, as certain essential operations involved in the marketing of tea, such as, cataloguing, sampling, inspection, blending, re-packing, etc., are all carried out in the Warehouses. The space available at present in the Port of Calcutta for warehousing proper is 813,215 square feet, while transit accommodation of 200,000 square feet is available for river-borne teas and 121,406 square feet for rail-borne teas. In addition, 290,000 square feet is allotted to buyers for storage of sold teas. Details of the existing Warehouse accommodation are shown below :

Warehousing Space Proper (Square Feet)		
Tea Warehouse	..	264,804
No. 3 King George's Dock	..	134,750
Hide Road Warehouse	..	204,201
TAU Shed	..	44,550
ETA Shed	..	44,550
'F' Shed	..	30,090
'E' Shed	..	30,090
'D' Shed	..	30,090
'C' Shed	..	30,090
<b>Total</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>813,215</b>
Transit Accommodation		
<i>For River-borne Teas—</i>		
Tea Transit Sheds	..	144,000
No. 3 King George's Dock	..	56,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>200,000</b>
<i>For Rail-borne Teas—</i>		
Tea Warehouse	..	24,673
Hide Road Warehouse	..	65,883
'M' Shed, Kantapukur	..	30,850
<b>Total</b>	<b>..</b>	<b>121,406</b>
Total Transit Accommodation	..	321,406 sq. ft.
Additional Space allotted to buyers for sold teas	..	290,000 sq. ft.

Source : Traffic Manager, Commissioners for the Port of Calcutta.

The main warehouses for the storage of teas for sale in the Calcutta Auction are Hide Road Warehouse for rail-borne arrivals and the Tea Warehouse for river-borne arrivals. To these, in the last two years have been added sheds in Kantapukur for additional storage of rail-borne teas and No. 3 Shed King George's Dock for river-borne teas. The total storage capacity in terms of chests available at present is estimated as follows :

Tea Warehouse ..	144,000 chests
Hide Road Warehouse ..	144,000 "
Kantapukur Sheds ..	130,000 "
No. 3 King George's Dock ..	79,000 "
<b>Total ..</b>	<b>497,000 "</b>

Source : *Monthly Tea Sale Review* for December, 1948, published by Messrs. Carritt Moran and Company, Limited, Calcutta.

The period of residence of teas in the Warehouses before disposal in the Calcutta Auction is approximately six weeks, while teas shipped direct to the U.K. under special arrangements require Warehouse space for an average period of two weeks only. The peak tea production period in North-East India is from July to October, during which time approximately 16 per cent of the crop is manufactured in each month. As already stated, nearly 4.5 million chests pass through Calcutta every year, and 16 per cent of this quantity or approximately 720,000 chests require to be warehoused in Calcutta at one time during the peak of the season. As tea should be sent down from the garden to the Warehouse immediately after manufacture in order to prevent deterioration in quality, the peak period of the season rather than the calendar year must dictate the rate of flow to the Warehouse and the storage space required. The maximum storage capacity available under existing system of stacking chests in the warehouses to a height of five feet is 497,000 chests.

In the pre-war period only 35 per cent of the North-East India crop was auctioned in Calcutta, while direct shipment to London Auctions accounted for 62%, and the balance was disposed of by direct sales to out-markets or through ex-factory sales. At present, nearly 55 per cent of the crop is shipped direct to London against M.O.F. contracts, while not more than 41 per cent or 200 million pounds are auctioned in Calcutta, and the balance is disposed of through ex-factory sales or by direct shipment to out-markets. Under the present conditions of Bulk Purchase by the British Ministry of Food and the inspection of only 25 per cent of Sale Teas (category "C") and 30 per cent of Rupee U.K. Teas and with no inspection of Sterling U.K. Teas, the available warehousing accommodation in the Port of Calcutta has been found adequate, although there have been occasional congestions due to certain emergencies. The position will, however, be entirely different under increased auction poundage and the resumption of 100 per cent inspection of teas.

#### MARKETING OF THE ENTIRE NORTH-EAST INDIA

##### CROP IN CALCUTTA

It is believed that the declared intention of the Government of India is to develop Calcutta into a world centre for Indian tea and to auction the entire North-East India crop in the Calcutta market. The pre-war system of consigning Indian teas to London Auction and the existing method of disposing of major portion of the crop under Bulk Purchase contracts with the British Ministry of Food have deprived India of earning foreign exchange direct and of developing proper contacts with important consuming markets abroad. The need for dollars is so great at the moment that the Government of India have become anxious to step up exports of Indian commodities to America, and tea constitutes one of India's major items of export to that country. The system of Bulk Purchase, instituted as a very successful means of maintaining supplies during the war, is considered to have outlived its usefulness. A large section of both the buying and selling interests is in favour of establishing a free market under which producers would be free to sell their tea as and where they find it most profitable and buyers would get their exact requirements. Bulk Purchase has discouraged the production of better quality teas, since such teas are sold at average prices and the existence of an assured market has offered no special inducement to produce quality teas. Serious complaints have been received from the British Ministry of Food in regard to the poor quality of teas delivered and the short-fall in deliveries against both the 1948 and 1949 contracts. Due to high prices realised for good quality teas in the Calcutta Auctions consequent on the strength of the out-market demand, there has been a considerable diversion of teas to the Auctions which should have been supplied to the British Ministry of Food. The attraction of the direct purchase arrangements, from the point of view of the British Ministry of Food as well as of the Indian Tea Industry, has been diminished. Bulk purchases no longer assure the supply of a more or less definite quantity of tea to the British Ministry of Food. The gradual strengthening of the out-market demand and high prices realised at Auctions have, to a great extent, nullified the advantage enjoyed by the Indian Tea Industry under Bulk Purchase in having an assured outlet for its production at a somewhat fixed level of prices.

The marketing of the entire North-East India crop in Calcutta is largely bound up with the provision of additional warehousing space and adequate marketing facilities or technical services rendered by the Tea Brokers, such as, tasting, valuing, sampling, inspection, dock organisation, holding of auctions, etc. The extent of additional warehousing space required and the possibility of its being made available to the trade has now to be examined. The scope of expansion of the technical marketing facilities, in the event of increased quantity of tea being placed on the Calcutta market, should also be discussed.

Taking the present crop of North-East India at 475 million lbs., it is calculated that nearly 450 million lbs.





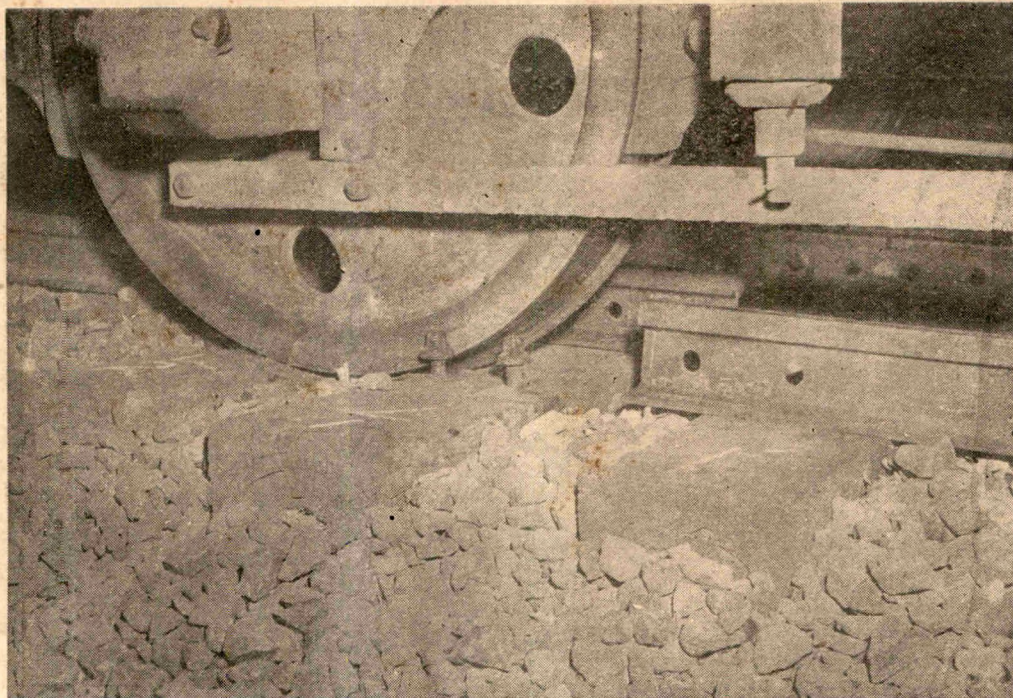
Napoleon bids adieu to his famous Imperial Guards at Fontainebleau  
(Painting at Musee de Versailles)



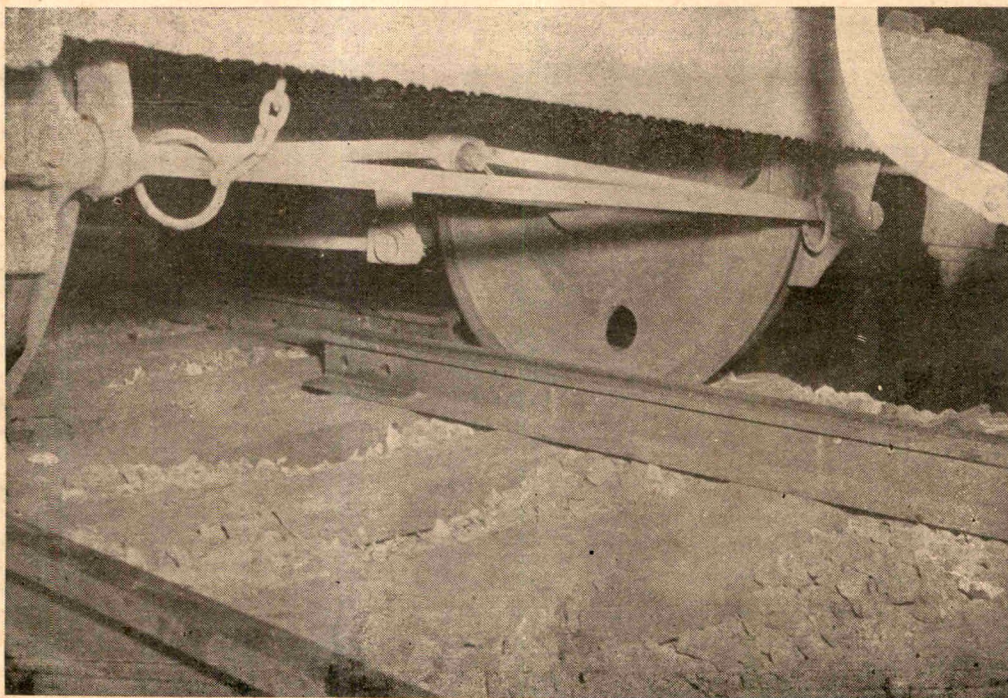
Concorde Place, Paris



SABOTAGE. DERAILMENT OF PUNJAB MAIL



Note loosened coach screws and absence of fish plates, also undamaged rail lines and sleepers



Note undamaged bolt-holes and undamaged track



or approximately 4.5 million chests will be available for sale in Calcutta every season, excluding about 30 million lbs. to be disposed of through ex-factory sales and by direct sales to overseas markets. It has already been explained that nearly 16 per cent of the available supply will require to be warehoused in Calcutta at one time during the peak of the season. On this basis, accommodation has to be provided for about 72,000,000 lbs. or approximately 720,000 chests for a period of 6 weeks. On the safer basis of storage for 6½ weeks to cover certain emergencies and calculating the space required for each chest at 2 square feet to permit of optimum warehousing, a total area of about 2 million square feet will be necessary to accommodate the marketable supply. The space available at present for warehousing proper is only 813,215 square feet. It is thus clear that if the entire North-East India crop is to be auctioned in Calcutta, in the event of termination of the contractual arrangements with the British Ministry of Food, an additional accommodation of about 1.1 million square feet has to be provided. A considerable amount of money will be needed to finance the scheme to provide additional warehouses and construction of the new structures will take at least 5 to 7 years to complete, even if the work is undertaken with all earnestness and priority is accorded to supply of all necessary raw materials. Before any decision can be taken with regard to the auctioning of the entire North-East India crop in Calcutta, the Government of India must take steps to provide and finance the construction of additional warehouses. Unless the Commissioners for the Port of Calcutta agree to finance the scheme themselves, the Government of India should be prepared to grant them sufficient loan on favourable terms or must guarantee a reasonable return on any capital outlay that may be made by the Port Commissioners.

At the instance of the Tea Trade, the Commissioners for the Port of Calcutta drew up certain tentative plans in 1946 for the construction of additional warehouses. These plans envisaged the provision of a total area of 725,200 square feet. The Port Commissioners indicated at that time that if they were to meet the expenses of providing the additional space, interest-free loan from the Government would be required. The Port Commissioners also insisted on a guarantee from the Trade of a continued reasonable outturn on the capital expended. The Trade was unable to give such a guarantee and the proposals were given no further consideration. It is, however, understood that the Ad Hoc Committee on Tea appointed by the Government of India have investigated into the matter and will submit their final recommendations in respect of the provision of additional warehousing accommodation some time this year. It is also understood that the aforesaid Committee have gone into the question

of increased mechanisation of the operations involved in the Tea Transit Sheds and Warehouses.

Apart from the question of providing more than double the existing warehousing space to permit of optimum condition of tea warehousing, it would also be necessary to expand the technical services rendered by Brokers to approximately the same extent if the entire North-East India crop is to be auctioned in Calcutta. The training of skilled personnel for the work involved in both the Brokers' and Buyers' organisation, will take no less time than the construction of the Warehouses. At present, there are four European tea-broking firms in Calcutta, and one small Indian firm has come into the field very recently. The broking aspect of the tea trade has virtually remained a monopoly with the four European firms. It is, however, assuring to learn that the Government of India have accepted a scheme recommended by the Ad Hoc Committee on Tea in their Interim Report for training Indians in the technique of tea tasting, valuing, sampling, etc. Under this scheme, the four European brokers will each select three Indian apprentices by 1951, and in the course of the next three years, which will be the period of training, there will be a total recruitment of 12 apprentices by the four broking firms. Apart from the long-term objective of developing Calcutta into a world centre for Indian tea, the immediate association of Indians in a larger measure with the technical side of the tea trade is considered most appropriate.

It will be some years before the Calcutta tea market can be expanded to the extent desired by the Government of India. Meanwhile, if the Bulk Purchase arrangement with the British Ministry of Food continues, it would be desirable to make an immediate start with the development of the Calcutta market by placing on the local auctions an additional 50 million pounds of tea every year and reducing correspondingly the quantities supplied under Bulk Purchases. There is a large body of opinion supporting the view that the established channels of trade should not be suddenly disrupted, and no hasty decision should be taken, which might prejudice the interest of Indian tea in the U.K. market, that absorbs nearly 70 per cent of India's total exportable surplus. The idea of gradually increasing the quantity of tea to be placed on the Calcutta auctions appears quite sensible, as it will provide valuable pointers to difficulties that are likely to arise when Calcutta is required to handle a still larger volume of the trade. In the event of early termination of the contractual arrangements with the British Ministry of Food, it may be necessary to consign specified quantities of tea to the London Auctions until Calcutta is equipped to handle the entire North-East India crop.\*

\* The views expressed in the article are those of the author and do not reflect the opinion of the organisation with which he is connected.

## MUSE OF HISTORY THROUGH AGES

BY PROF. KALIKARANJAN QANUNGO, M.A. (CAL.), PH.D.,  
*Head of the Department and Professor of History, University of Lucknow*

THE cynical old Dr. Johnson caught history and historians between the horns of a dilemma by enunciating his dictum thus :

The historian tells either what is false or what is true. In the former case he is no historian; in the latter he has no opportunity for displaying his abilities, for truth is one, and all who tell the truth must tell it alike.

Lord Macaulay attempted to reply to this charge, and suggested a way out of the horns of this dilemma. Unfortunately, the race of Johnson is not yet extinct; nor historians by their achievements have been able to remove the scepticism of the layman.

The War of Nations to-day is a totalitarian war to be fought by scientists, philosophers, economists and historians and mill-hands ranged behind the armament of a nation or groups of nations. There is no escape even for those who ascend above the zone of storm and common turmoil and meditate on the Philosophy of History and assume the role of interpreter of the Spirit of History.

### MACAULAY'S CONFESSION

No two historians tell the same thing about the same event though all of them claim to be scientific in their methods. This difference and diversity bewilder the man of abstract reasoning, that admits of no diversity, nor degrees in assessing truth. No historian should ever pretend to have discovered the truth or given the whole truth.

Macaulay had, centuries ago, made this frank confession, and the greatest truth a historian can discover for himself is to admit like pious Arab historians, "God knows truth best!" in everything and always. There is no answer, however, to those who rule out God from human affairs.

The Muse of History through ages according to Time and Terrain has changed her garb and character though not her function. Out of the mist of myth she emerged into light and behind the smoke-screen of propaganda of Ism-s, creeds and militant nations she will hide herself perhaps in bewilderment on the cross-road. In the infancy of mankind History was three-fourths poetry and imagination and a romance in the age of man's adolescence.

Herodotus amuses and fires juvenile imagination, Thucydides explodes myths and leaves a lesson behind, and Tacitus warns civilization against under-estimating the vigour and virtues of barbarism. Aristotle made History bear its first fruit, Political Philosophy, which was perhaps the proverbial Aina-i-Iskandari or the Magic Mirror given by God to Alexander who saw, therein, things of the world reflected and coming events cast their shadows.

### ANCIENT ORIENT AND HISTORY

The Ancient Orient had its own conception of History and mode of presentation. It is said that though the Hindus have the word Itihas in the Aryan vocabulary, they had no history. The Mahabharat and the Puranas pass for history caught in the cobweb of religion, ethics and sectarian propaganda. Hindus begin their History with the

bursting of the Egg of Brahma, and Muslims with Baba Adam; and both in Islam and Hinduism History is considered a branch of study subsidiary to religion. But there was a practical secular purpose in the undercurrent of the history of the Orient.

The problem that faces India today, namely, the evolution of a secular State out of the conflicting communal elements, a synthetic culture out of a legacy of rooted fanaticism and mutually repellant moral factors, to instil a sense of oneness and kinship into India's heterogeneous peoples, to create a new nation by throwing everything old into the melting pot—perhaps received its first solution, however crude, in the Mahabharat as history.

### ANCIENTS' PIOUS FRAUD

The ancients practised either a pious fraud or gave currency to the innermost feeling of oneness that pervaded the masses of India. The great solvent of colour and racial prejudice and differences of religion, culture and moral standards was the genealogy of the children of the legendary Yayati according to which all the then known races from the Hindukush to the Cape Comorin are made first cousins. The aboriginal races like Nishadas and Shabaras sprang according to the Mahabharat from the pores of hairs on the body of the Divine Cow (Surabhi), in the hermitage of Rishi Vashishta to protect her and the innocent Rishi from the grasping clutches of the impious warrior caste drunk mad with the monopoly of power. If so, how is it that the high caste worshipper of the quadruped progeny of Surabhi today hold the black bipeds who sprang from her as defenders of Dharma as unclean and untouchable? Once again what our ancients believed, in ignorance of Ethnology, Modern India shall have to accept the same without questioning under the clarion call of the oppressed humanity out for vengeance. The Semitic counterpart of Aryan Yayati is Abraham from whose children all the peoples of Africa and Asia, white, black and yellow are said to have sprung.

Unlike the Hindus the Muslims have created the richest and most diversified historical literature in the world, ancient or medieval, barring that of unexplored China. Besides, Islam and not Christianity was the heir of the legacy of the learning of heathen Greece during the Middle Ages. Islam was the bridge and plank between the Orient and the Occident. Islamic culture and civilization was verily modern in comparison with the other contemporary cultures and civilizations of the world. With Damascus as the first seat of the Arab Empire under the Umayyads Islam looked for and received light from the West through the Hellenism of the prostrate Byzantine Empire. With the transfer of the seat of the Caliphate to Baghdad Islam made as it were a right about turn towards the Middle and the Far East, and her civilization and culture drew sap from the buried civilizations of Assyria and Babylonia of yore, and of decadent Iran and India and even of distant China. However, the main spring of Islamic civilization continued to be Greek in

the realm of Medicine, Philosophy, Mathematics, Music and Astronomy. It is said that Emperor Constantine had imprisoned Plato and Aristotle with other masters of Heathen learning in a monastery of Spain for the future safety of Christianity and the Church; because he rightly suspected that a creed based on justification by faith and an ecclesiastical hierarchy founded on authority had much to fear from profane Logic and unchained reason. Aristotle is said to have had appeared to Caliph Mamun, son of Harun-al-Rashid, and in order to oblige Mamun that the locks of the imprisoned treasures of Greek learning were broken and camel-loads of manuscripts were sent to Baghdad. To the Muslim goes the credit of conservation and propagation of Greek learning and of first antiquarian research into the history and ancient learning of Egypt, Iran and Hindustan from which the Arabs drew liberally to replenish their empty stores of many a branch of Science and Art.

History was courtly and aristocratic in character in the East as well as the West during the Middle Ages till far into modern times. The Arabic saying goes: History for kings and warriors, poetry for women and arithmetic for the shopkeeper. Historians degenerated into panegyrists and sycophants in the decadent days of the Abbaside Empire. Once the historian Muskhawani was visited by a friend at his own house, and on being asked what he was busy at, replied: "I am piecing together all the falsehoods on earth to please the fancy of the Sultan." The Sultan was Azduddaula of the Buwayyid dynasty ruling in Iraq, Iran and Mesopotamia as the Mayor of the Palace of the puppet Abbaside Caliph. However, history and historiography rose above the then known standard and scientific level at the hands of Ibn Khaldun, who was the father of Political Philosophy in Islam and outside during the Middle Ages.

The career and character of History in the West in modern times is too swift, too wide and too complex to admit of treatment in a limited space. History, as Macaulay has told us, suffers from all the evils of a dyarchy of literature and science over her realm. Like everything into the world History too has assumed a scientific character definitely. But the result at first was that what history gained in esteem and usefulness it lost in popularity, charm and the power of appeal. It goes without saying that what is not science shall never stand and that which is not literature shall not live. History was democratised and made to breathe a new spirit first in England. There she turned her back on the pageant of defunct royalty and scenes of blood and revelry of the baronial hall, and came down to the countryside and the business thoroughfares. What was formerly a dynastic *History of England* appeared in the role of *History of the English People*.

As regards the treatment of history, the Teuton prefers microscope and analysis whereas the Celt excels in handling the telescope and in brilliant synthesis, though often elusive and superficial. The great historian Gooch made a masterly survey of *History and Historians of the Nineteenth Century*. The Prussian School of

History created the modern German nation out of peoples of Germany under the heels of Napoleonic occupation. It has left a lesson as well as a warning to those who in India look for a so-called national school of history. This school served an immediate purpose no doubt, but these were no histories but well-written and powerful political pamphlets dying out like a seasonal crop. European nations flourished on the cult of hatred and were taught through history to hate and envy others so that they might each love their country and people better. The Teuton was taught to hate and look down upon the Celt in the nineteenth century, and in the twentieth the Hitlerite School of History along with Philosophy injected a recipe of hatred in the blood of the prostrate German nation after World War No. I. Hitler believed that an injection of artificial barbarism was the only cure of the disease of civilization from German body politic she was suffering then. Such history gave Europe an Attila the Hun, thousand times more powerful and destructive than his archetype. History is no less potent of evil than of good, a double-edged sword that cut both ways. The Soviet Russia is said to be developing a School of History harnessed to the services of the State. Ideas penetrate and conquer where the mightiest army dare not tread. If the German School of History conjured up an Attila, the Soviet School may call back to life the dread Janghiz Khan, whose heritage has come down to Stalin.

To come nearer home to Hindustan, History in our country is still in its Chronicle stage of evolution lagging a century behind the West. Not to speak of Philosophy of History, the history of this sub-continent is only in the making. In the field of Indian history we have no doubt a fairly decent number of men engaged in digging the past. We have Indologists of the front rank, fairly good compilers of biography and brilliant essayists. But these are after all masons and bricklayers lacking the genius of an architect of History. A Lecky or a Fisher India cannot hope to produce in this generation. Those who are engaged in researches in Medieval history belong to "the kettle-drum and trumpet school of history" as William Irvine humorously remarked. Within a smaller canvas Sir Jadunath has attempted with success the history of the decline and fall of the Moghal Empire what Gibbon in grand style and on wider canvas achieved in his Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.

Today, History is in a dilemma on the cross-roads of Nationalism and Internationalism. There are other Isms also cutting a zigzag course of labyrinth across these highways. Some people have a day-dream of One World, One Government, and they would like to have only one history, the *History of Man* superseding the histories of Englishmen, Frenchmen or the Germans, or that of every other nation or creed. Free India is pledged to the Cult of Love and Peace with all, which it is the duty of the future historians of India to implant on the universal soul of humanity. If History does not rise equal to the occasion, Free India may in despair put a ban on History and the historians as Aurangzeb did when he found that the verdict of history was sure to go against him.

# THE WASTE LAND : AN ATTEMPT AT A COMMENTARY

BY M. K. SEN, M.A.

## I

THE greatness of a poet is sometimes associated with hardness. Modern times have been investing poetry with an intellectual hedging in, and the appeal to the emotions is encrusted with the need of an intellectual understanding. The danger today is that the great 'writers' are praised at a distance and the common reader gets practically no idea of the poet's appeal in its fullness. This is more true of T. S. Eliot than of any other contemporary poet. It is not open to many of us to derive full enjoyment from such careful and masterly works as the *Cantos* or *The Waste Land*. There are lines in the *Portrait of a Lady* or in *Gerontion* for that matter, which one cannot make head or tail of; but that is because we are impatient and do not want to linger long to appreciate and understand.

In the light of all this, it will not seem strange that even today, T. S. Eliot is oftener adored than appreciated. The writer of this article has been feeling the need of such a key-book to *The Waste Land*, a poem that brought T. S. Eliot into the limelight even when he was just a post-graduate student in Columbia University. Mr. Matthiessen's *Achievement of T. S. Eliot*, has indeed been a great help, but the poem needs further annotation. Many years have elapsed since; the gaps have yet to be filled up. In the forthcoming sections, the writer of this article offers a running commentary on *The Waste Land* for the purpose of making the poem clear to the common reader. There will be no attempt to explain the technique of poetry that Eliot introduced in this poem.

## II

It is known that Eliot himself held the view that a writer, in writing himself, writes his time. This was true also of his own poems. In his writings, the hollowness of contemporary European culture, the grounds of emptiness of human relationship and also of feelings, are satirised and exposed. The poor and vulgarised mentality of men is most impressively portrayed in his work, as the following references will show.

The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock (1917) seemed to Mrs. Monro to be as disturbing to English poetry as the murder at Serajevo had been to the peace of Europe in 1914. That was so because Eliot had herein laid bare the foundations of modern urban culture.

"In the room women come and go,  
Talking of Michaelangelo."

He apparently wants to indict these women who do not actually understand Michaelangelo's art, yet parade their half-formal conceptions of great artists like him.

In the *Portrait of a Lady*, Eliot draws an unforgettable portrait of the modern lady, whose life has mostly been a social round of parties and irregular contact with things of art and culture. The lady goes to listen to Chopin's music and talks artificially about Chopin in the same pedantic manner as did Lady Politick-would-be in Ben Jonson's *Volpone*. The keynote of the poem is the lady's concept that her life has not been lived as intensely

and as sincerely as it ought to have been. In spite of peaceful evenings at Paris or even of lurid passion, the world has become to her a meaningless and repetitive routine of life :

"Admire the monuments,  
Discuss the late events,  
Correct watches by the public clocks,  
Then sit for half an hour and drink our boots."

*Gerontion* tells the same tale. The whole civilisation is compared to an old man in a dry month, waiting for rain. Everywhere the signs of decay and despair are visible :

"My house is a decayed house,  
And the Jew squats on the window-sill, the owner,  
Spawned in some estaminet of Antwerp,  
Blistered in Brussels, patched and peeled in London  
The goat coughs at night in the field overhead,  
Rocks, moss, stonecrop, iron, merds.  
The woman keeps the kitchen, makes tea,  
Sneezes at evenings, poking the peevish gutter."

In the more ambitious poem, *The Waste Land*, the utterly hopeless state of European culture and civilisation, has been similarly but more artistically exposed. The connections between the five sections, though not in any sense loose, are, however, rather 'too subtle.' The allusions to anthropology, mythology, and old literature, are familiar only to the advanced reader. Moreover, the significance of many of the allusions cannot be categorically stated and judged. Very few indeed, have been able to understand the rather obscure passages in the poem beyond what is given in the "notes" appended to the poem.

Still, who will not sway their heads this way and that, as they enjoy reading aloud the first few lines of this poem ?

"April is the cruellest month, breeding  
Lilacs out of the dead land, etc. . . ."

Or the following lines from the *Burial of the Dead* section of the poem :

"What are the roots that clutch, what branches grow  
Out of this stony rubbish? Son of man,  
You cannot say, or guess, for you know only  
A heap of broken images, where the sun beats,  
And the dead tree gives no shelter, the cricket no  
relief,  
And the dry stone no sound of water."

## III

### THE WASTE LAND

This 'dramatic poem' (if it is not permitted to call it a poetic drama) consists of five different sections, of which the first states the theme, the third brings the theme to a climax, and the fifth brings out the catastrophe, with which the story ends. In this respect, it can be compared to the usual drama of five acts. Again, to what particular class of a drama does *The Waste Land* belong? The Fisher King is undoubtedly distressed. So are his subjects. They are not in a position to enjoy the procession of events which passes before them. Therefore



one can rightly say that *The Waste Land* is the story of an exceptional calamity befalling civilisation again and again in the course of its days, whenever decadence saps the life of the people and makes them inert. *The Waste Land*, therefore, if it is a drama, is a tragedy.

The *Waste Land* of the poem is a store-house of breakdown results with symbols borrowed from the myths of the Holy Grail; it is a desolate and sterile country, ruled by an impotent king. In that country crops have ceased to grow and the animals have ceased to reproduce and men and women have become impotent and barren. The potency of the King is restored by the pure knight who goes to the Chapel Perilous to find the lance and the grail and bring them back. Thus far, the poem is connected with the romantic legend. Then it is further complicated by the fact that Tiresias, who has known and suffered everything under the sun, sees through the events that baffle us.

The *Waste Land* at the back of Eliot's head, is Europe of post-war days. Tiresias is not only timeless but is also a modern man, equipped with a knowledge of Freud and Frazer, of Dante and the Vedas. He sees into the war-stricken world with his little blind eyes. The climax of the tragedy of modern Europe reveals itself in section III, where the evil life of men and women, and the increase of commercial vice, do not succeed in filling up the vacuity of modern life. The aftermath of the war continued to rob men of their noble nature. And the catastrophe of the tragedy comes about in section V, where rains gathered at last from the distant Himalayas. The *Waste Land* received the rains of mercy—a symbol of divine grace coming at last to save a dried-up civilisation. But the tillers could not utilise the rain, they were not ready to use it and the situation still remained tragic.

The apparently unnecessary involutions of pornographic events in passages, which act as cement to hold the structure of the main poem together, were not done out of a frustration complex. Throughout the poem, we visualise the conflicts of a puritan turned atheist, the horror of vulgarity, and the straining after a religious emotion which may be made to take its place. And the symbolic character of the poem is not merely due to the fact that it is all compact of allusions, and moves between dreams and nightmares; nor even because its exquisite cadences, its mixture of archaisms and modern slang, scholarly chant and conventional ellipses, show the technical influence of the French. It is also bound up with the poet's submission, more evident in his later work, to a religious view of life.

In the *Burial of the Dead* section, the poet starts by saying that the present desolate condition of Europe looms larger in April, the month of rejoicing, than in other months. Further, he says that to him the intolerable burden of the city of London seems to be depressingly unreal. He gives us the painful picture of interminable external pressure which men have to put up with. We hear of factories, heavy-laden with labour. Our mills and factories appear to eject thousands of crushed out individuals each evening out of some dark interior. When the

poor fellows go home, some with deformed limbs, some panting for breath, they present a miserable picture of the modern unreal city; we look at it with horror through the eyes of Eliot himself. The modern mind can receive only a heap of broken images, when life is so fragmentary and so unreal. The whole civilisation seems to be without that life-giving water, which is essential for its juvenescence. In that barren city, however, there are all sorts of people, good and bad. There are clairvoyants. There are women of the flower-houses. There are men who have lost their integrity. Crowds pass over vast plains and the city really confines none of them. It is not because they are evil by nature, but because morality has lost its value in a world of emotional tension and catastrophe. That is why they sit out in search of intoxicating substitutes.

In a *Game of Chess* we find a vivid narration of talks between charwomen of a certain corner in London. The section starts with a description of one of them sitting on a chair, like Cleopatra sitting majestically "on a burnished throne," and we are ready for some touches of satire. The glitter of her imitation ornaments and false jewels 'dazzle the observers' eyes and the synthetic perfumes "drown the senses in odour." The nightingale, as usual, cries out — but who is to pay heed to her vernal chants? Everybody's ears are filled up with dry and dirty news, too morbid to be enjoyed. Life has become stale and stupid. Low types of gossip follow and we are subjected to some obscure metaphors and statements.

The bar-keeper starts warning the drinkers: "Hurry up, please; it's time." This expression, known to all customers of the bar, who are reminded of the regulation that alcohol cannot be served after a certain hour at night, becomes superb in the hands of Eliot. It comes to imply a warning to the effect that any moment may be the last moment. This fact, coolly remembered, would save us from futile and fatal pleasures.

Then follows a series of Ta-ta, good night, good-night, in quiet succession, suggesting a real parting scene.

In the *Fire Sermon* the poet begins with a description of the river Thames that now flows through London. The tone of the description is despairing. The 'nymphs are departed,' suggesting "a banquet-hall deserted," and twice repeated in course of ten lines, strikes the "auditory imagination" of the reader and makes him feel that the age of romantic loveliness is gone.

The poet here makes use of a contrast between the Thames now flowing through a restless megalopolis and his idealised vision of the Thames as it flowed rhythmically in the days of general beauty and prosperity. The contrast is sharply conveyed by the movement of the lines, which again are based on simple colloquial speech.

"The river's tent is broken; the last fingers of leaf  
Clutch and sink into the wet bank. The wind  
Crosses the brown land, unheard. The nymphs are  
departed.

Sweet Thames, run softly, till I end my song.  
The river bears no empty bottles, sandwich papers,  
Silk handkerchiefs, cardboard boxes, cigarette-ends

Or other testimony of summer nights. The nymphs  
are departed.

And their friends, the loitering heirs of city-directors  
Departed, have left no addresses."

Then the self-consuming burning of sterile passion is  
seen :

"But at my back in a cold blast I hear

The rattle of the bones, and chuckle spread from  
ear to ear."

After a few lines we come across the description of  
the unreal city under the brown fog of a winter noon.  
Tiresias, the blind seer, sees some evidence of sterile  
lusts of the city, for which the word 'Fire' stands as a  
symbol. This Tiresias is a mere 'spectator,' not even a  
'character' of the drama. Yet he is the most important  
of the 'dramatis personae.' For what he sees is the sub-  
ject of the whole poem.

Now, Tiresias sees the terrible plight of a poor typist  
girl who has to fill up her sense of inward vacuity by  
passion and yet fails to do so because no amount of outer  
excitement can ever remove our spiritual hunger. This  
typist girl typifies an entire range of crushed spirits who  
live dull and automatic lives in modern mechanised cities.  
But ugly and lifeless as a modern city like London has  
become, there are even now churches and other sacred  
and beautiful spots in the city itself which continues to  
inspire one and all.

"... where the wall

Of Magnus Martyr hold

Inexplicable splendour of Ionian white and gold."

In the 'unreal city' men and women are so obsessed  
by a sense of sin and of disaster that they would rather  
plunge into the purgatorial fire and then come out purified  
after the trial, with blessings from God. But in Section  
IV (*Death by Water*) these tormented people, before  
coming to a decision, also contemplate 'death by water,'  
which Eliot had already indicated, as if by 'premonition.'

In the next and last section (Section V — *What the  
Thunder Said*), we get an impressive picture of the help-  
less condition of modern Europe. 'After the torchlight  
—red on sweaty faces' those who were journeying to  
Emmaus), after 'the frosty silence in the gardens,'  
(approaching Chapel Perilous), after 'the agony in stony  
places' (present decay in modern Eastern Europe), men,  
who had been living, are now dying. Eliot cannot  
tolerate the living creatures, who, though conscious of the  
calamity on their head, are not yet stirred to action.

Then follows a powerful description of rocks and the  
perilous thirst. The repeated mention of the words rock,  
water and sand suggest a monotone, which could hardly  
have been more effectively expressed through any other  
technique. The tantalising prospects and lack of endea-  
vour, the barrenness and hollowness of the land, lying in  
an unimaginably helpless state of sterility, are impressively  
portrayed and they raise the total effect above the level  
of that of mere 'onomatopoeia.' It is the 'auditory imagina-  
tion' that is aroused.

"Here is no water but only rock

Rock and no water and the sandy road

The road winding above among the mountains  
Which are mountains of rock without water.

If there were water we should stop and drink

Amongst the rock one cannot stop or think,

Sweat is dry and feet are in the sand

If there were only water amongst the rock

Dead mountain mouth of carious teeth that cannot spit.

Here one can neither lie nor stand nor sit

There is not even silence in the mountains,

But red sullen faces sneer and snarl

From doors of mud-cracked houses."

However, an indication is given at the end of this  
description, that we are not helpless altogether. The poet  
gives expression to a mystic faith in an unseen entity,  
who is always standing behind every human being and  
who is there to befriend him or her in periods of storm  
and stress. This may be faith in Christ himself :

"Who is the third who walks always beside you?

When I count, there are only you and I together

But when I look ahead up the white road

There is always another one walking beside you

Gliding, wrapt in a brown mantle, hooded,

I do not know whether a man or a woman,

—But who is that on the other side of you?"

The picture of the waste land tallies with the charac-  
ter of desert cities in Palestine, for instance, Jerico. (as  
described in modern books). Also mark the word  
'mantle.'

Eliot goes on harping on this theme and tells us that  
men are themselves responsible for what they now suffer  
from, and with them suffers the universal mother, she  
whose 'murmur of maternal lamentation' can be heard by  
her children on earth:

"What is that sound high in the air?" The poet is  
able to hear the eternal cry of the "Crying She,"  
(*Krandasi*) and he makes it audible for us also. We  
know that he had studied Sanskrit at Harvard and had  
been influenced by Indian Philosophy, and we are not  
surprised at this Eastern influence on Eliot's writings.

How far Eliot had been influenced by Eastern thought  
and culture at the time of writing *The Waste Land*, it  
is difficult to assess at the moment. But this much can  
safely be recorded that he was pre-occupied at that time  
with the idea that Western civilisation and culture  
might soon perish — and in that respect he had some-  
thing in common with the author of *The Decline of the  
West*. Spengler tried to establish, with historical ex-  
amples, that the ancient cultures disappeared in the cyclic  
manner of nature, according to the laws of growth and  
death. Eliot writes in *Waste Land* :

"Falling towers

Jerusalem Athens Alexandria

Vienna London

Unreal....."

Eliot seems to conclude that western civilization and  
culture will probably go the way of all other great  
civilizations in history.

Then after a few more lines, which attempt to establish the fact that some patterns of human behaviour in modern times can be traced back to the most primitive ritual and magic practices, the poem breaks with a new atmosphere of birth and victory :

"In this decayed hole among the mountains  
In the faint moonlight, the grass is singing,  
Over the tumbled graves, about the Chapel."

Only a cock stood on the roof-tree and it gave utterance to a weird cry of 'co co rico co co rico,' as if in sympathetic vibration to the sudden flash of lightning. The limp leaves waited for rain; the bleak clouds gathered on the distant Himavanta. A damp gust, the usual prelude to rain, swept the sky. And the jungle crouched, humped in silence. The whole point of these lines lies in the waiting for divine mercy which does rain down at last on the Waste Land. Hence it is seen that Eliot believes in divine benediction which surely descends on us even if we have given up all hope.

But the divine mercy also awaits human co-operation. Unless one is diligent, mere prayer will not make one's land fertile. This idea is developed in the speech that the thunder made before the rains came. "Da-Datta" i.e., 'give.' Humanity should sacrifice something in order to get favourable conditions for progress. It does not matter how much one gives away to one's heirs — that will not help one in any way in spiritual matters. One must dedicate oneself to the service of humanity. By this self-surrender in service, this daring act, we can make ourselves the receptacle for the life-giving waters that rain from above.

The thunder proclaimed — "Da-dayaddhvam" i.e., "sympathise." In the beginning God, the Father, had shown his creatures the way to living an orderly and controlled life. It is now their duty to live a pure life and to enable themselves to be fit for His mercy. It seems as if men and women have forgotten His commandments, now that they are engaged in aggression and savagery. They have forgotten how to turn the key of the closed door of their lives, the door which would have opened the path to spiritual freedom. They are prisoners in their own hearts. But in this chaotic atmosphere everybody should feel sympathy for others, for all of us suffer from the same lack of will-power and truth. The key is there—we must use it. But how to use it?

Then the Thunder says — "Da-damyata," i.e., "control," give, and control yourself. Victory cannot be a consolidated fact, it has to be won anew, preserved by power of human will. The rain has come, but brave and powerful hands must have tilled the soil beforehand, so that the seeds may flourish and green corn lead us to ripe fulfilment.

Eliot interprets the thunder's mono-syllabic speech and supplies the missing links :

"The boat responded  
Gaily, to the hand expert with sail and oar

The sea was calm, your heart would have responded  
Gaily, when invited, beating obedient  
To controlling hands."

The inhabitants of the Waste Land ought to have responded gaily, they ought to have surrendered themselves to the Divine Power and practised the skilful art of tilling the land. For, as the poet tells us, the boat responds to the expert oarsman and the sea also 'beats obedient to controlling hands.' This is an incentive to the human will to prepare itself for the heavenly benedictions which come to save us from crises. Eliot demands that the boat of our lives be launched on the flood-tides of a new age. This is the message of the poem. This is also in keeping with the main note of faith in English poetry.

The rains came. But the tillers were neither expert nor prepared to make the most of it. There lies the tragedy of the modern world, and there lies also the tragedy of the poem. The narrator of all these events in the *Burial of the Dead* section of the poem, who had made a present of hyacinths to the girl he loved, suffers from pricks of conscience, while he sits upon the shore, fishing—that is to say—neglecting his real duty and pursuing an idle vocation.

"Shall I at least set my lands in order?" But the real tragedy is that mere brooding does not lead to action. So, decay and degeneration proceed :

"London Bridge is falling down, falling down, falling down. But the poet, however, does not say that all hope is over. On the contrary, the poem suggests that we are perhaps learning our lesson.

#### IV

From the above analysis it will be clear that Eliot tried to describe in *The Waste Land*, the state of all-round frustration throughout post-war Europe. The incapacity of the modern man has been analysed and dissected to the core. But Eliot is not a mere 'eye-opener' — he offers us a bit of constructive criticism, too. He enjoins that man should work hard in order to turn the Heavenly mercy, which occasionally falls on them of its own accord, to good account. The basic reliance of the poet on Heavenly mercy is also revealed in this poem. One can, therefore, hold that *The Waste Land*, reputed to be a monument of futility, is, in essence, a fountain of faith — a faith in that peace which passeth understanding, which can uproot ennui and boredom from the Waste Land that Europe had become after World War No. 1, and which can be attained by those who can give, sympathise and control. The poem is concerned with human good, and has a mystic faith that with our own effort we shall one day transform this dry life on earth into something akin to our divine nature. The poem is inspired by a positive idealism, a positive belief in the destiny of Europe, nay, even of the world; out of frustration, a new faith has been born, and *The Waste Land* proclaims it.

## COMPULSORY PRIMARY EDUCATION

By USHA BISWAS, M.A., B.T. ১১? ২৭১

At the present moment there is talk of primary education being made compulsory for every child in Bengal and other provinces of India. It is a move in the right direction, and, as such, it should be applauded by all means. Education is the birth-right of every man and woman. So the sooner the scheme is implemented, the better. It is a great pity that after about 200 years of the British rule, the percentage of literate persons in our country is so small, only 10 per cent of the whole population of India being literate. So far we have been used to laying all the blame at the door of the foreign rulers of our country for whatever befell us. But now that India has shaken off her foreign yoke and has realised her long-cherished dream of freedom, the present national government should be up and doing to launch a serious campaign against the abject ignorance and illiteracy that are rampant throughout the country. It is a paramount duty that every national government owes to the people of its country. No programme of national uplift will be complete unless the present scheme of compulsory primary education is included in it. The illiteracy of the masses is an evil that is eating into the very vitals of our society. All efforts to bring about the social and political regeneration of the country are foredoomed to failure, unless and until this evil is stamped out. To quote Bertrand Russell—"The existence of ignorant masses in a population is a danger to the community; when a considerable percentage are illiterate, the whole machinery of Government has to take account of the fact. Democracy in its modern form would be quite impossible in a nation where many cannot read". The implementation of the scheme of compulsory primary education should therefore be placed at the forefront of the educational programme of the day. It is the state alone which can insist on each child being provided with the minimum of knowledge. So the responsibility of educating the masses should devolve on those who have been entrusted with the administration of the country. In the provinces of India, where the bulk of the population is still steeped in ignorance and superstition of the grossest order, the average parent hardly believes in education. It is too much to expect that the illiterate and ignorant parents will be alive to the responsibility of educating their children, as they seldom appreciate the need of it. On the contrary, the government is likely to meet with a good deal of opposition from them at the beginning in case it wants to make primary education compulsory for every child. Agriculture constitutes the main occupation and means of livelihood of about 80 per cent of the population of India. The people of this class would much rather have their sons help them in their

own agricultural pursuits than go to school, where the activities the latter have to participate in are totally unrelated to those of their every-day life. It is, therefore, quite in the nature of things that such purely bookish and literary education as is being imparted at the average primary school at the present time will hardly appeal to the masses, who generally think that no useful purpose is likely to be served by sending their boys and girls to school. On the contrary, they will probably prefer engaging their children in fields and kitchens, where the latter are expected to be far more useful. If primary education is made compulsory for every child by the State, as has been proposed, these guardians will perhaps be compelled to send their wards to school. But at the beginning they will do so very grudgingly. So first and foremost, public opinion should be educated. A good deal of extensive propaganda is to be carried on for the purpose in the rural areas of the provinces. If the parents are made to realise that the primary schools are really aiming at turning out useful members of society and that the instruction that is being imparted at these will ultimately redound to their own advantage, they cannot but be impressed with the necessity and importance of educating their children. If permanent literacy is to be secured, the children's attendance at schools should be enforced for the full period of the primary course. Unless the children are able to finish the primary course, they are likely to relapse into illiteracy as soon as they leave school.

Certain initial difficulties are to be overcome before the scheme of compulsory primary education can be put into operation. We cannot afford to fight shy of them any longer. First of all, the statistics of the children of the school-going age should be collected. These figures need to be as accurate as possible. The task of collecting and compiling these may prove an uphill one at the beginning. This will necessitate a correct educational survey of the rural areas of the provinces. Attempts should always be made to enlist the sympathy and co-operation of the influential people of the localities concerned. The officers of the Education Department will do well to undertake the work in collaboration with the local executive officers, who can exert influence upon the local people better.

So far as Bengal is concerned, primary schools are still very few and far between in most of the rural areas of the Province. Unless and until the number of these schools is adequately increased, it is quite impossible to afford ampler educational facilities to the village children. If the expenditure is to be reduced to a minimum, the primary schools should be mainly co-educational. The work of these schools

should be carried on by mixed teaching staffs, consisting of both male and female teachers. The lowest class of a primary school should always be run by a woman teacher, as women are expected to appreciate the needs of small children far better than men.

In our country, poverty and the incidence of malaria and epidemic diseases render the spread of education among the masses really difficult. All-out effort must be made to ameliorate the conditions obtaining in the rural areas of the provinces at present. Poverty constitutes a serious stumbling block in the way of the progress of education. The uneducated and indigent parents, who are hard put to it to make both ends meet with their small earnings, may feel inclined to look upon the education of their children as a sort of luxury, which they can ill afford, and which can be dispensed with altogether. They may also be obsessed by the fear that school education is likely to beget an aversion for manual labour among their children. On the contrary, if the latter are employed in some jobs which will fetch some money, the addition to the family budget is expected to be far more welcome. But the appalling poverty of the masses cannot be done away with at once. Probably it will not be possible to bring about a better state of things in the years to come. Attempts should be made gradually to raise the standard of living of the average man by bettering the economic condition of the country and to improve the general health of its people, a great majority of whom seem to be quite innocent of all ideas of hygiene and sanitation at the present moment.

All efforts to popularise education in the rural areas of the provinces will prove abortive unless free tuition is provided at the primary schools. The majority of the inhabitants of these areas whose children are expected to profit by this type of education, and are really in need of it, are too poor to afford even very small sums of money by way of the tuition fees of their wards. In many cases, books and writing materials, such as slates, pencils, pens, exercise books, etc., should also be supplied to the poorer pupils, free of cost. Free milk and tiffin, as well as free medical aid, may well be provided, wherever necessary, if funds permit, so that there may be sufficient inducements for the poor parents to send their children to school. The apathy of the poorer section of the rural population towards education may be mainly attributed to poverty. If parental co-operation can be secured, it will be much easier for the government to insist on the compulsory attendance of the children at schools, as otherwise compulsion is likely to be misconstrued and resented by the average man.

In the event of compulsory free primary education being introduced in the provinces, the problem

of finances needs also to be solved. The financial implications of the scheme should be carefully considered. The question will naturally arise as to how to meet the enormous expenditure to be involved. There should be a generous response to the appeal for funds in such a good cause, and sufficient money should be forthcoming both from public and private sources. But for unstinted financial help from the government, the implementation of the scheme will not be practicable. Mahatma Gandhi tried to effect a partial solution of the financial problem by evolving a new scheme of basic education, which is popularly known as the Wardha scheme of education. A great believer in self-reliance as he was, he wanted the basic schools to be self-supporting. He has suggested that the educational expenses of the pupils of these schools be met out of the sale-proceeds of the articles produced by themselves. The scheme is still in its experimental stage. So we need not discuss here at length the merits and demerits of the proposition. It is too early now to gauge the results of the experiment. But the possibilities of the scheme as well as the modified scheme generally known as the Sargent's scheme should be carefully investigated.

If primary education is to be popularised in the rural areas of the provinces, instruction must be both useful and agreeable to those who are concerned with it. Such education as is completely divorced from the practical interests of the children's everyday life cannot be acceptable to the masses. The children of the agriculturists, who form a bulk of the rural population of the country cannot be expected to take kindly to the purely literary education that is imparted at the average primary school of the day. This sort of education is bound to be looked upon with suspicion by the average parent in the rural areas. So nothing short of a thorough overhauling of the present curriculum will help to change the outlook of the rural population on education. The school curriculum must needs be suited and adapted to the real and practical needs of the children for whom it is intended. Hence the necessity and importance of giving a practical bias to the education of the children of our country. Here also Mahatma Gandhi tried to hit the nail on the head with the unerring insight of a seer. In the scheme of education formulated by him, he has laid down some definite lines on which the reconstruction of primary education is to be effected. The aim of basic education, as envisaged by Mahatma, has been clearly indicated in the following lines: "Basic education links the children, whether of the cities or the villages to all that is best and lasting in India. It develops both the body and the mind and keeps the child rooted to the soil with a glorious vision of future in the realisation of which

he or she begins to take his or her share from the very commencement of his or her career in school." The Wardha scheme of education provides a seven-year course for the children from the age of 7 to 14. All the information is to be imparted through the medium of such basic crafts as are closely related to the occupations of the locality in which the children live. Education will thus be craft-centric, and a co-ordination of the school work and the activities of the children's everyday life will be brought about in this manner. This will go a long way towards giving a practical bias to the education of our children who will be trained to self-reliance and will be taught the dignity of labour. They will therefore seldom feel inclined to look down upon manual labour. The idea underlying the scheme seems to be a very sound one, inasmuch as it presupposes the psychological principle of "learning by doing." The creative instincts of the children can thus be appealed to. The aim of modern education is not to inhibit the natural instincts of the pupils, but to promote the harmonious development of them on the right lines. The children's physical, moral and intellectual powers and potentialities must be brought into play in and through education. Besides, as they are very fond of work, they always want to do something or other. They feel bored and inclined to be inattentive, if they have to be the mere passive recipients of the information imparted by the teacher. They need to be agreeably occupied throughout the lessons and to be allowed to participate actively in them so that their attention may not flag.

The question of providing free and compulsory primary education naturally leads us to that of securing an adequate number of teachers of the right

type for the purpose. An increase in the number of schools will necessitate the appointment of a much bigger number of teachers to run them. But at the present moment teaching seems to be anything but lucrative, the emoluments of the teachers—specially the primary school teachers—being so poor and inadequate. Unless more attractive salaries can be offered, the right type of teachers will hardly be available. The primary school teachers are so poorly paid that they really find it hard to keep their body and soul together with the small pittance which they receive as their monthly salaries. Now-a-days we cannot employ menials even on such poor salaries as are ordinarily given to the primary school teachers. These half-starved and ill-paid teachers can hardly be expected to pay undivided attention to the work entrusted to them and to throw themselves, heart and soul, into it. They are very often compelled to supplement their income by taking up private tuition and other odd jobs, out of school hours. An adequate number of the teachers of the right type seems to be the crying need of the day. Until and unless the problem of securing a sufficient number of qualified and efficient teachers is solved, no educational reform, worth the name, can be brought about in our country. An adequate number of training schools should also be started with a view to training a sufficient number of teachers in the new methods of teaching. All possible educational facilities should be afforded to the trainees, so as to enable them to equip themselves properly for their vocation with the minimum of expenditure. It is incumbent on the teachers to look upon their work as their mission in life, inasmuch as it is they who are the builders of the nation.

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## BACKGROUND TO KOREA IN COLD WAR

By PROF. SHER SINGH GUPTA, B.Sc., M.A.

APPARENTLY insignificant in point of its physical dimensions, Korea occupies a position of strategic importance in the geography of Far Eastern countries. As such, its significance in the Eastern zone as a cross-road of Far East and a potential trouble spot in that part of the Asiatic continent is great. Having served as a focal point of racial and inter-state conflicts of the 13th, the 16th, and the early part of the 20th century, this small tortoise-shaped corner peninsula threatens to provide the bloodiest of battle-grounds to Russian and American armies whose politicians have dragged it into the arena of their power-grabbing rivalry. If ever, it is here that the trial of brute strength between the contending forces for world domination will take place. Hence the towering importance of Korea in the Russo-U.S. cold war.

### A SHORT HISTORY

The Korean peninsula is peopled by 23 million souls. For the last 35 years beginning from the year 1910, the country had been under the dictatorial control of Japanese imperialists. As such, it had to undergo all manner of exploitations which are characteristic of all countries occupied by colonial powers. In those days of its domination by the Japanese, Korea was the nursing home of a large number of feudal lords who were helpfully subservient to their Japanese overlords in carrying out the orders of the latter. Like the Indian princes of the pre-Independence Indian era, these anachronistic elements did all they could to help perpetuate Japanese rule at the bidding of their foreign masters. Like all other colonial powers Japan took full advantage of the presence of



these feudal remnants of the old Korean institution of chieftainship of the preceding centuries. She, as an occupying power, exploited the fact of the political immaturity and educational backwardness of the rank-and-file of the Korean people by creating a spirit of factionalism in the masses and by fostering disruptive and fissiparous tendencies among the people. In this way she succeeded in perpetuating a despotic rule over the ignorant Korean people through the agency of a systematic policy of 'divide and rule' which Japan developed into an elaborate and well-fashioned political creed which later persuaded that country to aspire for domination over the whole of Asia. During the whole period of Japanese rule the Korean industry and agriculture was mainly designed to subserve Japanese interests and hence both were kept strictly under the Japanese thumb whose technicians operated the main dynamos installed in the various national factories. The result was that there could not be any very large-scale growth of indigenous industry manned by native technicians in Korea during the last four decades or so. Educationally speaking, the peninsula is very backward and the percentage of literacy there is in no way higher than that in India.

#### EFFECT OF LAST WAR

The last world war and Japan's attack in the Pacific brought Korea into prominence as a strategic base for military operations in the Far East. As such, it was chosen to act as a spring-board for aerial attacks on the Japanese homeland after the latter had been dislodged from the Peninsula in 1945. The Allies found it a useful projection into the Pacific Ocean from where to launch a three-pronged attack by navy, land and air on the veteran enemy. In August 1945, the Red Army of Russia entered North Korea and the American yankees followed suit a month after and occupied the Southern part of the country. Little did anybody then know that Korea will become a pawn in the game of U.S.-Russian power-politics and ideological warfare, leading to an incessant war-of-nerves in the years to come.

#### IN COLD WAR

It was exactly after the occupation of the country by the armies of Russia and America that Korea became progressively involved in the cold war going on between East and West so much so that today it can be considered as the nerve-centre of this wasteful activity in the Far East. The reason for Korea becoming such a cockpit of contending world forces was, and is, its critical location from where Russia could check Japanese movements in Asia and America could control Russian expansion towards the East by effectively controlling Korean problem which can be intelligently understood.

#### RUSO-AMERICAN OCCUPATION DISPUTE

Immediately after the occupation of the Korean homeland by the armies of Russia and America the question of its administration and the constitution of the administering authority inevitably leaped into the fore-front. Originally the view was held that Korea should become a Four-Power Trusteeship, the four Powers being the U.S.A., the U.S.S.R., the U.K. and China, all acting jointly. This proposal, however, remained a mere paper scheme and was never translated into practice. In December 1945, the Foreign Ministers' Conference agreed on a plan to set up a joint U.S.-U.S.S.R. Commission for Korea to go into the question of setting up a Provisional Government in Korea. This Commission, contrary to expectations, could not agree to any composition of the personnel of the said body and its deliberations repeatedly ended in smoke. Thus the Korean problem became more and more involved in power-politics.

#### THE MOSCOW FORMULA

In 1946, the Moscow Formula was mooted out. This document was not found acceptable to both parties who, by that time, had lost all faith in the bonafides of each other. The inevitable result of this failure to agree was a blockade between the two zones, the North one occupied by Russia and the Southern occupied by U.S.A. at the 38th parallel. Later efforts at a political compromise between the two parties foundered on their failure to agree on the question of including representatives of various political parties of Korea in the Government. This disagreement led to a virtual, though artificial, bisection of Korea into two political zones occupied by rival powers.

#### U. N. KOREAN COMMISSION

In 1947, the U.S.A. set up a temporary representative Government in South Korea with Seoul as Capital and asked U.N.O. to send a Commission to supervise the election. Accordingly, a Commission set up by U.N.O. supervised the election there and a Government headed by Dr. Sygmund Rhee was formed. Russia boycotted the activities of this Commission and in pursuance of her policy, she not only did not agree to act as a member of the Commission, but also refused to allow it to enter the North zone. Instead she set up a regime of her own choice in South Korea in which the Revolutionary Party has a dominating voice. She also vetoed the proposal to admit South Korea as a member of U. N. O.

#### IMPLICATIONS OF THE BLOCKADE

The fact of the virtual division of Korea into two zones, each having a government of a totally different political complexion and holding diametrically opposite social and economic views has led to a state of perpetual tension between the two parts each

of which stands to lose heavily in view of the complementary nature of their economy. It is a case parallel to that of East and West Bengal in point of jute. While North Korea has many synthetic fertilizer plants, South Korea has rich rice fields. While North zone is a food-deficit area, South zone has no industry to provide employment to its youths. The result is that there are frequent inter-zonal raids and border troubles threatening to lead to a state of breakdown of international peace.

#### RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

Acheson's threat to South Korea to stop Dollar aid to that country in the event of their not calling a session of their Parliament in May to consider ways

and means to check inflationary spiral in prices of articles of daily consumption is, to say the least, a definite indication of the existence of political strings of America tied to Rhee's administration, thereby reducing the latter to an ineffectual puppet-show. Moreover, the news of a recent incursion by the Communists from the Northern zone into the Southern territory involving considerable loss of life which was brought to the notice of U.N. Committee, is very disquieting as it may well fan the cold war into furious fire leading to a world conflagration for the third time in the present century, a thing which all lovers of peace and human civilisation must avoid.

April 28, 1950

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## BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

#### ENGLISH

**ASOKA'S HUMANISM:** By Ishwara Topa. Hyderabad: Pressarts Ltd. 1949. Pp. 53. Price not mentioned.

This monograph, as the author states in his Preface, is a "rehash" of his chapter which appeared under a different title as an appendix in the late Dr. B. M. Barua's work *Asoka and His Inscriptions* (Calcutta, 1946). The title, strictly speaking, applies to Part I, while Part II (somewhat inaccurately called *The Edicts of Asoka*) consists of illustrative quotations from Hultzsch's translation of the inscriptions. The author's main statements are that "the Maurya State had thriven on the totalitarian principles of state-craft and politics" (p. 1), that Asoka "having discredited the utility of gross political principles rebuilt the foundation of the state on humanising principles of common weal" (p. 4), that "the promulgation of the Buddhist culture in the form of a humanised culture was Asoka's mission in life" and that sanctity of life was the basic principle on which Asoka sought to elevate the life of the people (p. 14). It cannot be denied that there is much truth, if not originality, in the above observations. But some of his opinions do not appear to be above criticism. Thus instead of relying upon the more authentic testimony of Megasthenes, he finds in the *Arthashastra* of Kautilya "the great Maurya minister" a true picture of "the political condition and practice of the times." This is to ignore completely the numerous and weighty criticisms of the orthodox view that have been expressed ever since the publication of the *Arthashastra*. The latter work, even as it is, is not wanting in injunctions upon the ruler to identify his welfare with that of his subjects and to behave like a father towards them. On the

whole, it seems to us that the author's arguments and conclusions indicate more of an attempt to establish foregone views with rhetorical force than a desire for the dispassionate quest for truth.

**LORD MAHAVIRA:** *A study in historical perspectives:* By Bool Chand. Benares Jain Cultural Research Society. Pp. 115. Price Rs. 4-8.

This is a well-written monograph dealing with the life and teachings of the last and greatest historical founder of Jainism. In the course of 8 short chapters the author sketches with critical but sympathetic insight the historical and cultural background at the advent of Mahavira, the incidents of his early life, his quest for truth, his doctrines as well as the expansion of his Order, and he concludes with a general appreciation of Mahavira's personality. Some of his statements, however, require re-examination. Such are his references to "the whole republican social organisation of the Vedic times" and "the simple religion of nature-worship implied in the hymns of the Rig-veda" (p. 1) and to a new type of republican and tribal kingdom (*sic*) arising in the 6th century B.C. The title "cottage industry stage" (pp. 2, 8) gives us a very imperfect idea of the wonderful advance in trade and industry in or about the 6th century B.C. described by the author in the above context (p. 10). Equally unfortunate is the label "tribal republics" (p. 13) for the Sakyas, Lichchhavis and other clans of the early centuries of Buddhism. The author's mention of "the democratic ethos of the society in which Mahavira lived" (pp. 27, 108) ignores the aristocratic social structure of the ancient east Indian republics. The expression "the epics of the later Vedic literature" is a slip.

U. N. GHOSHAL

**DIET AND DIET REFORM :** By M. K. Gandhi, 1949. Pp. xii+176. Price Rs. 2.

**RAMANAMA :** By M. K. Gandhi. 1949. Pp. viii+56. Price Re. 1.

Both published by the Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad.

As is well known, Gandhiji was an enthusiast in nature-cure methods as well as in diet reform. He also drew no line between a healthy body and a healthy mind; for, according to him, one could not exist without the other. The two booklets contain a collection of articles written by him on this subject.

**THE WISDOM OF GANDHI** (in his own words): Selected and arranged by Roy Walker. The Book Company Ltd., Calcutta, 1943. Pp. 64. Price Re. 1-8.

This booklet contains a collection of extracts from Gandhiji's writings and speeches. They bear upon a wide variety of subjects beginning from religion and morality to democracy, civil disobedience, etc. The selection has been made with discrimination, and a student who wishes to follow up Gandhiji's thoughts on a particular subject will find the necessary references given at the end.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

**MONEY :** By S. M. Tiwary, M.A. Banaras Book Corporation, Zanka, Banaras. Pages 296+93. Price Rs. 7-8.

This is an analytical study of Monetary theory and problems in twelve chapters with three appendices covering a wide range of subjects from definition of Money to Devaluation. The author claims no originality and presents a rather complicated subject in a manner to suit a student, as well as, a general reader. Of the subjects dealt with, the Credit Market, Trade Cycles, Monetary Control, Foreign Exchange, Exchange Control, International Monetary plans deserve careful study by every student of Economics. The author by his lucid exposition has made the topics easily understood by an average reader and undergraduates will find the book particularly helpful.

In the appendices, Indian Money Market, Problem of India's Monetary Standard (1925-1949), and Post-war International Disequilibrium and the Devaluation Problem have been discussed and commented upon by the author.

**RURAL MARKETING AND FINANCE** (Report of Sub-Committee of the National Planning Committee) : Published by Vora and Co. Publishers Ltd., Bombay. Pages 166. Price Rs. 6.

The Sub-Committee of N. P. C. which reported on the above subjects had Sri Ramdas Pantulu and Dr. Sudhir Sen as its Chairman and Secretary respectively. Sri K. T. Shah is the Editor of these publications besides being General Secretary of the N. P. C.

The N. P. C. was appointed in 1938 and began its work in 1939. After defining the nature of a National Plan, the Committee appointed a number of sub-committees for facility of work but the World War broke out and the Chairman of the Committee, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru was thrown into prison. However, after his release, the work of the Sub-Committees and the present committee began afresh and the present volume was the earliest report ready for publication.

This volume contains a Preface and an Introduction from Sri K. T. Shah, the General Editor, followed by the Report of the Sub-Committee prepared by its Secretary Dr. Sudhir Sen. The Report is divided into

six parts dealing with the Background, Communication, Regulated Market in India, Technical considerations, Reforms and the concluding remarks with suggestions. Summary of Conclusions and Recommendations has been separately given for the facility of readers. Besides this the volume contains provisional outline of the Report submitted to N.P.C. and also notes on supplementary Report and resolutions of the N.P.C. and the questionnaire. The report being written before the attainment of India's freedom a summary of Development has been added at the end by the General Editor.

The N.P.C. aims at a balanced economic structure for the country of which half the population would depend upon agriculture. Rural marketing is a part of the wide problem. The Indian farmer is poor because of defective rural marketing and conversely because of the farmer's poverty rural marketing is defective. It is a vicious circle. The farmer is hard hit by modern industrialism, he sells his produce at unfavourable place, unfavourable time and usually gets unfavourable terms. Natural forces responsible for these circumstances must be combated by equally natural means. Better marketing implies better roads, railways and other communications on one hand as well as, ware-housing and godown facilities, credit arrangements for long and short periods. Besides, better education, sanitation, manuring, and a host of other things are necessary for the uplift of the common man and his surroundings. The Sub-Committee is conscious of its limitation and has suggested further enquiries by other sub-committees on allied and subsidiary subjects that come in the way of thorough investigation. Rural Marketing and Finance is not a subject that can be treated in isolation.

Although it is no final report of the sub-committee on the subject, the presentation of the matter in a lucid manner amply repays the perusal. Students of Economics will find this book extremely useful and interesting in the study of problems connected with agriculture and rural finance.

A. B. DUTTA

**STUDENTS AND SOCIAL WORK :** By Students. With a Foreword by J. C. Kumarappa. Bureau of Research and Publications. Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay. Pages 63. Price Rs. 1-12.

This nicely printed and excellently got up handbook has been prepared by the students of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences for students of other institutions who wish to devote themselves to constructive work in villages. Programmes of work such as Rural Reconstruction, Adult Education, Community Welfare, Labour Organisation, Health and Relief work have been chalked out in a fairly thorough and business-like manner, and the ideals upheld by the advanced section of the student community in India are likely to stimulate others to take to practical work in this direction. As has been truly said by Sri Kumarappa, 'Such work may not be exciting or sensational, but it is work of this kind, quiet and humdrum though it may seem, that can ultimately bring life, wealth and happiness to our long-suffering people.'

The student community is an inexhaustible source of vitality, and when roused to the full sense of its responsibility and fired with the love of its countrymen it may work miracle in building up the prosperous India of our dreams. The present booklet is a happy augury in that direction and we wish it a wide publicity in the student world of India.

NARAYAN C. CHANDA

**THE TEMBLING ECHO : A poem by Adhyatam Singh. Published by Arthur H. Stockwell Ltd., London. Price 3s. 6d.**

There are 49 poems and the author probably selects this number with some obvious purpose, pieces of a love poem strung together with the help of a thin and flimsy link provided by the idea of a traveller roaming through various aspects of nature and life in search of peaceful rest in love. And this search never ends, since "jointly do meeting and parting control the universe and play the world-play ; it is they who write the universal world-drama."

The poem is written in rhythmical blank verse and one reading through it feels very much for rhyme that might further ennoble the composition.

**THE SONG OF LIFE AND OTHER POEMS : By V. K. Gokak. Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd. Bombay. Price Rs. 3.**

In this book there are 32 poems on different subject-matters, of which 13 poems are written originally in English and 19 are translations of the author's Kannada originals.

In the Preface Prof. Gokak writes : "I have come to believe that English is better used as a creative medium for interpreting the work done in Indian languages, rather than for pure self-expression, by us in India." And the truth of this remark will be best realised by a comparison between the translated pieces and those originally written. In abundance of imageries and emotions the translated pieces are richer than the verses written originally in English.

What is most striking in Prof. Gokak's poems is his fine and sensitive capabilities for rhyming. He is a successful representative of the cultural and philosophical greatness of India expressed through a delicately musical language, that, too, is not his own.

SANTOSH CHATTERJEE

### SANSKRIT

**SATARANJA KUTUHALAM : Edited by Chintāharan Chakravarti, Kavyatirtha, M.A. Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat Series, No. 24. Published by Sanskrit Sahitya Parishat, Shyambazar, Calcutta.**

The game of chess which enjoys world-wide popularity is supposed to have originated in India. But Indian literature on the game is comparatively poor. So we extend our welcome to this edition of a small anonymous work, accompanied by an anonymous commentary, on the subject. It will be helpful in studying the history of the game, especially its development through long years and different countries. Those interested in the study will be thankful to the learned editor for bringing to light this little-known work and making it available to the general reader.

ANANTALAL THAKUR

### HINDI

**MAHADEVABHAI KI DIARY, Part I : Edited by Narahari Parekh and translated from the original Gujarati by Ram Narayan Chaudhari. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. Pp. 404. Price Rs. 5,**

The late Mahadeva Desai, Private Secretary to Gandhiji, has often been compared in his unusual capacity to keep a record, close as well as comprehensive, of the diverse doings of his master, to Boswell, with this difference, however, that unlike the latter he was in addition to being an able amanuensis, a discerning critic as well ; of this, the present volume, the first in the series planned by the painstaking editor, a lifelong and loving friend of the diarist, is one more proof in point. It covers the period from

10th March, 1932, to 4th September, 1932, when he along with Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel was in Yervada Jail, Poona. But this short spell of six months, in terms of the ranges and reaches of his beloved Master's mind in respect of the thousand and one things in which Gandhiji was vitally interested—and in what pray was he not interested?—extends over ages and epochs in human thought. Side by side, the Diary gives a clue to Mahadevabhai's own intellectual stature combined with his rare devotion to his master and extreme sensitiveness to his (Gandhiji's) rainbow-like reflections and radiations of Truth in both its moral as well as material aspects. It is also a collection of thumb-nail "character-cases" of scores of persons, well-known and little known including that of Sardar Patel who not seldom dominates the scene by his downrightness and boisterous humour. The translator has done a very good job, indeed.

G. M.

### GUJARATI

**BALAKO ANE MATAO NI SAMBHAL : Published by the Gujarat Research Society, Bombay. 1947. Pp. 96, Paper-cover, Price 8 annas.**

A series of six papers on Maternity and Child welfare by experts in the subject, are compressed in this small volume. Directions about diet, use of vegetables and fruits which are available in Gujarat, containing Vitamin C, precautions necessary for women with child and other useful suggestions are the most remarkable features of this book. They are given in simple language.

**DWADASHA : By Anand. Printed at the Vasant Printing Press, Ahmedabad. Paper-cover. Pp. 23. Price 8 annas.**

Dwadasha means the Twelfth. It contains twelve admirable 'In Memoriam' songs in the style peculiar to the late Kavi Nanalal Dulhatram. They are full of feeling and pay a deserved tribute to his work and worth.

K. M. J.

**JODNI KOSHA : Navajivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1949. Pp. 1221. Price Rs. 4,**

This splendid dictionary of Gujarati words—"Sartha Gujarati Jodni Kosha"—an orthographic dictionary with meanings explained—was first published in 1929 : the second edition came out in 1931, the third in 1937 and the fourth in 1949. All this has been done under the influence of Gandhiji, however indirect that influence might have been, and round the battle ground for winning Swaraj. Compiling a dictionary was considered to be an important item in the struggle for independence. There is no doubt that the earnestness of the patriots joined to the hard work of the scholars has borne fruit: the result is a national work of no slight importance. The signs of careful revision of the last edition are visible almost on every page.

The difficulties in bringing the work to a finish have been mentioned by Kakasaheb Kalelkar who has almost apologised for the so-called short-comings ; but it was unnecessary : one has learnt to put up with different qualities of paper in one and the same book, in this age of controls. The commendable moderation in fixing the price of the book is a noticeable feature. In spite of the increase in the cost of production everywhere, how could this be done ? Is Gujarat an exception to the Indian economic system ? As a matter of fact, though there has been distinct improvement in the quality and quantity of the book, thanks to the publishers, the buyer has been kept on to the 1937 level.

P. R. SEN





# INDIAN PERIODICALS



## Sachchidananda Sinha—The Last Relic

Dr. Amarnath Jha writes in the Sachchidananda Sinha Memorial Number of *The Hindustan Review* :

The news of the passing away of Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, though not entirely unexpected, is nevertheless a source of deep sorrow to a large circle of his friends and admirers. He was the last relic of a generation of intellectual giants. Most of his own contemporaries had died before him. But he was so full of vitality that he seemed to possess the secret of perpetual youth. Nature is, however, inexorable, and has at last claimed whom age never seemed to worry. He had known Dadabhai Naoroji and Pherozeshah Mehta and had been a colleague of Gokhale, Surendranath Banerjee, R. N. Mudholkar, Jinnah, and Sapru. He had owned and edited the *Hindustan Review* for about half a century. He was the first-elected Deputy President of the Indian Legislative Assembly; the first Indian Finance Member in any province; the first interim President of the Constituent Assembly. He was Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University for several terms. He was actively associated with the starting of the *Leader* and was also perhaps at one time a member of its Board of Directors. He was responsible for the coming into existence of the *Behar* and the *Searchlight*.

A bare recital of his activities will indicate the variety and length of his public service. The second edition of his *Speeches and Writings* appeared in 1942. He produced in 1947, at the age of 76, a valuable book on Iqbal. He had also written earlier a volume on *Eminent Bihar Contemporaries* and a *Handbook on Kashmir*. During the last months of his life he had been publishing his *Reminiscences* in the *Hindustan Review*. In 1947, his friends presented him with a Volume. He had made numerous benefactions to the Punjab University and the Kayastha Pathshala of Allahabad, and founded the magnificent Sinha Library and Radhika Sinha Institute at Patna and the universities of Allahabad, Patna and Banaras honoured him with honorary degrees.

### AN INSTITUTION

Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru said of him : "I doubt whether there are half a dozen men in India who can claim to possess that broad-based and varied culture, which has been the outstanding feature of his life."

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu said : "I know few men with his happy gift for attracting the cordial and enduring regard of the most diverse types of men and women. A splendid host, he has always been able to gather under his hospitable roof all races, ranks, religions, in harmonious intercourse, irrespective of the most startling and bitter divergences of personal and political views on vital problems. His ironic wit and humour have been the delight of his large circle of associates and admirers. Babu Anugrah Narayan Sinha says : "Dr. Sinha has long ceased to be an individual and has been an institution for decades."

On the publication of his monumental work on Iqbal—of more than 500 pages—the *Leader* wrote in

a leading article that it is the best study so far written of all the 'phases' of Iqbal's life and work; very richly documented and very well informed; written with impartiality and revealing deep acquaintance with Persian thought and Urdu literature. That he should have written it at his age is a tribute to the wonderful alertness of his intellect and great industry. In course of my Introduction to the book I said : "Dr. Sinha has brought to bear upon this study a vast knowledge of European and Oriental literature, and an amazing memory, and the complete freedom from narrow interests and sympathies, which is the secret of the universal respect which he and his writings enjoy." I further said : "Dr. Sinha's encyclopædic learning, his critical faculties, his straightforwardness, and the courage of his convictions will impress all readers of this book. It will long remain a monument to his industry, his thoroughness, and his determination to state the truth as he sees it. It will be welcomed also by scholars as a most noteworthy addition to critical literature, as it is a penetrating and thoughtful study of Iqbal, and a balanced and critical estimate of his poetry and message."

Dr. Sinha did me the honour of asking me to write the Foreword to his book on *Some Eminent Bihar Contemporaries*, which was published in 1944 and in which he conveyed his sense of grateful appreciation of my kindness in writing it. I said then : "Dr. Sinha wields a facile pen; he has a marvellous memory; he is a voracious and methodical reader; he is meticulously accurate; above all, he has a genius for friendship. All these qualities have enabled him to produce a book which will be read with delight both by those who knew the persons described, and by those of a later generation who will find in their careers and achievements much that will elavate and inspire."

### MADE THE MOST OF LIFE

I may repeat some other words written by me in 1947. "In spite of his industry," I wrote, "and the assiduity with which he performed his duties in responsible positions, he never forgot that the prime function of a living being is to make the most of life. He has always lived well; good living has been his main vocation, all else a mere pastime. He is a brilliant conversationalist; his wit, his vast fund of anecdotes, his amazing memory charm all companies, whether those of his own generation and age or those who belong to a much later period. In his younger days he was not above indulging in mischievous pranks. Even in the rarified atmosphere of the Imperial Council he effectively silenced a vocal but reactionary notable by referring to him in opprobrious Hindustani terms which were certainly offensive, even though upheld by Lord Minto as being not unparliamentary."

When the Allahabad University Convocation used to be held in the Vizianagram Hall of the Muir College, the Principal was in charge of the arrangements in the Hall. The Principal, Mr. Jennings was a very strict man and he used to go round to see

that every visitor had a seat in the block meant for him. He discovered that Mr. Sinha was occupying a seat in the block reserved for members of the Senate, who were called Fellows of the University; he walked up to him and asked him, "Excuse me, are you a Fellow?" Mr. Sinha looked at him blandly and replied, "No, I am a gentleman."

#### SOUL OF AN IMP

On another occasion, several years earlier, he was responsible—along with the Rt. Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru—for a cruel practical joke. In those days the meetings of the Legislative Council used to be held in the Public Library in Alfred Park. The Lieutenant-Governor used to preside. There were a few non-official nominated members from among those who, in the current phrase, had a stake in the country. Most of them were innocent of English and almost invariably supported the government. One of them was the Raja of Jahangirabad. Mr. Sinha and Dr. Sapru, as young lawyers interested in free-lance journalism and not then exactly besieged by clients, frequently attended these meetings of the Legislature. Members indulged in copious manuscript eloquence. Once these two gentlemen arrived a little early and engaged Raja Sahib in conversation in elegant Urdu. Whilst he stood talking, Mr. Sinha quietly removed from the Raja Sahib's capacious pockets the manuscript of his speech. The Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Anthony McDonnell arrived and the Council was called to order. He asked Raja Sahib if he had any observations to make. The Raja Sahib stood in his place and put his hand first in one pocket, then in another, in a third, in a fourth, and could not discover his speech which was lying in repose in Mr. Sinha's pockets. He looked in dismay and confusion and said in tones of deep chagrin *kho gaya, huzoor!*

He had not had the advantage of a University education; but in the alertness of his mind, his receptivity to new ideas, his wide range of intellectual interests, he was superior to most University men. He was Vice-Chancellor of the Patna University for four terms, and he raised its tone considerably. The crowning point of his office was the Jubilee of 1944, when a truly distinguished gathering saw how admirably all the details of the various functions had been attended to, and what deep personal interest Sinha took in them all. I regarded it as a signal honour that I should have been invited to succeed him at Patna, but at the last moment I found the wrench of leaving my own University too great. My University conferred on Dr. Sinha the degree of Doctor of Letters, *honoris causa*, in 1937. Dr. Sinha was called upon to preside over the inaugural session of the Constituent Assembly. He had a large circle of friends in all communities. He could not suffer fools gladly, but his bark was worse than his bite, and there was no touch of malice in him. He was one of the most hospitable men in the country, and was himself a great connoisseur of good food and good drink. His one great failing was that he neither smoked nor liked others to smoke.

#### LAST DAYS

I have had the good fortune of being his guest in Delhi, Ranchi, Patna, and Solan and of entertaining him as my guest. I have received hundreds of letters from him, all in excellent spirit and expressing kindness and affection. I had written to him in December last, on my return from France, that I would spend a few hours with him on my way back from Calcutta. He replied: "I have just got your very kind letter saying that you are yet heart-

whole and fancy-free. You will be most welcome here on the 2nd January." A few days later, on December 23, he wrote to me at Calcutta: "I have much to talk to you, both personal and 'public' which I propose doing when we meet." I saw him twice on January 2, and when I was leaving, he said, "This is the last time we shall meet." I remonstrated then and again in a letter from Allahabad. He replied to this on the 15th of February: "I have received all your letters. I am sorry to tell you that I am pretty seriously ill. When I can look upon life with a cheerful face, no one will be better able to do it than myself. But just at present things are in a bad way, and it is, therefore, that my letters are gloomy and depressing. The very cold wave that we have just passed through has made matters worse, and we can but hope for the best."

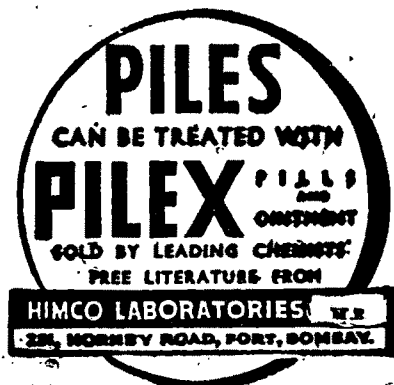
His motto was "Whatever is, is." We have to bow to the inevitable. He had a long life and an honourable life. We salute our elder with love and respect. We shall miss his wisdom and vivacity, his knowledge of affairs, and his freedom from prejudice. In the first days of distracting grief, we have bitter tears to shed, but we shall remember that death openeth the gate to good fame.

#### Is Asia Overpopulated?

The question of population cannot be considered simply as a question of numbers. It is a human problem: it has a dynamic aspect. *The Asiatic Digest* reproduces an article from *Eastern World*, London:

When the layman thinks about population, he does so in statistical terms, i.e., in terms of mere numbers. He thus falls into the fallacy of believing that a country that has a large population must be over-populated and that an area with a sparse population must be underpopulated. He still believes in Malthus' "misleading mathematical jingle" relating to arithmetical and geometrical progression, the former measuring the rate of increase in the means of subsistence, and the latter measuring the increase of the population. It follows from this that the growth of population must be limited by certain checks, the most important being famine and plague.

No social question can be solved mathematically. Of course, population must be limited by the means of subsistence, since man must eat to live. But the means of subsistence may so increase that an area that was overpopulated at one time may be underpopulated.



under the new conditions. At any given standard of living in the existing conditions of technique and with the available resources and knowledge, there is an ideal size of the population which will give the maximum return per head. This ideal size is such that any increase or decrease in it would diminish production per head. This is the concept of optimum population. The figure is a moving one, altering with changes in technical development or with any cause that changes existing conditions. With any improvement in technique, knowledge, or material resources, there is a constant tendency for the optimum figure to increase. Wars and earthquakes, which destroy resources, work in the opposite direction. It is this idea of a moving optimum population that must be mastered by the leaders of the East. We must apply to this problem the same method of equilibrium analysis that we apply to the examination of economic problems in general. A large number of factors are interdependent, and questions of causality may be ignored. There is no necessary direct connection between the means of subsistence and the size of the population. Our conception of "subsistence level" may change: our minimum requirements for living may include a motor-car. This is a psychological aspect of the problem, which statistics can measure but not solve.

In Europe and in the New World, inventions of all kinds—such as the steamer, railways, and all machinery increasing the productivity of man—as well as technical improvements in agriculture and the production of new foods by chilling and canning, have resulted in an enormous increase in the population over the last hundred years with a great improvement in the standard of living. It is undoubtedly true to say that the artisan of today enjoys far more comforts and even luxuries than were possible to the nobles of the Middle Ages, and he leads a fuller life. If it is food that we are short of, let us remember that even today only 30 per cent of the land "climatically suited" to crop growth is cultivated. If any reader conceives the problem in these terms, he is recommended to study Sir John Russell's presidential address to the British Association recently.

In India and China, and perhaps over the whole of the East generally, this increased productivity is not so obvious.

There certainly exist areas that are overpopulated. There are more people than can make use of the available resources, because of lack of knowledge or of capital equipment, and average productivity,

already low, falls with every baby born. There is a relative shortage of good land, and millions in India and China are driven to seek a meagre living from infertile soil—soil that is infertile only because capital equipment (such as irrigation works and mechanical ploughs) and the knowledge that goes with it are not available.

Two problems are involved here—a short-term one and a long-term one. The immediate answer lies in the reduction of the population to the present optimum level, while the long-term solution consists in increasing the productivity of the population and of the soil so that the area can support the same numbers, or even greater numbers, at a reasonable standard of life. Let us examine these two problems a little more closely. There are several methods by which the population can be reduced without having recourse to pestilence, famine and war that, in the past, have been so successful in the East.

One of these methods is emigration. Let us say at once that it had two disadvantages. Settlement in a foreign land is never easy. The attachment of family friends, and to one's own native land is very strong, and much strength of character is required to break it: even the goad of starvation may not be sufficient. Moreover, to make a home in distant lands requires a spirit of adventure that, on the whole, is not strong in the East. The language will be different and there will be different laws and customs, and so far as the countries of the East are concerned, it means settlement among an alien race. In the particular case of many Indian sects, religious observances—including the caste system and the preparation of food—put well-nigh insuperable barriers to the migration of individuals. The mass settlement of people having strong nationalistic or religious traits is in many respects undesirable, this is the cause of anti-Semitism and of the strained relations between Negroes and Indians in South Africa. There remain the practical problems of immigration laws. Would the yellow races, for instance, welcome the influx of large numbers of the brown races? The Indians and Pakistanis are not very happy in one another's company: would either of these raise no objection to the Mongolians? In the New World and in Australia, the entry of coloured individuals is very strictly limited.

The second disadvantage of emigration is that it is usually the young and strong and healthy who go, thus denuding their native land of the very people who are needed for its long-term development.

In addition to this method of reducing the population, there are three passive forms which aim at preventing population from coming into being.



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The first is abstinence from or postponement of marriage; the second is that of moral restraint; and the third is the practice of birth control. The advocacy of any of these methods in the East may well unchain a devil. But both the short-term and the long-term policies require a deliberate restriction of families if we are to avoid the natural checks of disease, famine, and war. Let it be clearly understood that the unrestrained creation of families carries with it the seeds of its own destruction. The problems involved here are immense, and cannot be dealt with here adequately. Perhaps the postponement of marriage and the practice of birth control offer the best cure to overpopulation in the East in the short-term.

Turning now to the long-term view, we have to examine means whereby the productivity of the individual and of the soil on which he so largely depends can be increased. In both cases machinery is indispensable. The countries of the East are largely agricultural. The most superficial traveller through any of these lands cannot but help noticing the deplorably low technique used in tilling the soil. The hard soil is barely scratched by wooden ploughs whose design has not changed in 4,000 years or more. They are pulled by miserable oxen who can hardly drag one foot after another. Dung is used as fuel, so that the soil is denuded of such fertiliser as these animals might provide. Artificial fertilisers are not used, while crops rotation is imperfectly understood. To the primitive farmer one seed is very much like another: the evolution of better strains means no hing to him.

In the primary industries—such as agriculture—diminishing returns set in at a much earlier stage than in the secondary or manufacturing industries. Many people, therefore, fear any increase in the population of the countries of the East, which are mainly agricultural, because of this fact. This criticism leaves entirely out of account the concept of a moving optimum and so denies to the existing population the immense advantages that will inevitably flow from improved agricultural methods. It also neglects the advantages to be derived from co-operation and organisation that can be obtained from a large and increasing population.

In the East as in the West the aim must be a greater division of labour and still more specialisation, with the object of maximising production.

It is wrong for a Chinese peasant to spend a lifeless existence barely succeeding in feeding and clothing himself, when by organising his society he can concentrate in producing what his region can produce with comparative advantage, and exchange these goods against others that he needs produced elsewhere under more favourable conditions. The author knows very well that the pre-requisite of this

is a settled political outlook, but he does not despair of the Chinese people. There is another factor that arises from a large and reasonably prosperous population. Both India and Pakistan, at least, are becoming increasingly important manufacturing countries, and such things as railways and large-scale production can only be economically worked with a large population.

The greatest monument to the British control of India lies in the capital equipment and the knowledge that have been lavished upon the sub-continent. The population increased enormously, an incontrovertible fact that is due to the neutralising of the tendency to diminishing returns by better organisation. This improved organisation took place throughout the world. There was a tremendous increase in the world's production of foodstuffs. New food producing areas were discovered, and distant areas became productive as a result of improved transport. These advantages are at the disposal of the East. With large-scale irrigation works and by canalising rivers to prevent disastrous floods, it may be possible to grow fine cotton in southern China, and even to manufacture this cotton locally. This produce could then be exchanged with advantage against, say, the rice that forms the staple food, and so improve enormously the standard of life of millions. But readers of this review are well acquainted with benefits of international trade, and the point need not be laboured. What must be stressed is that these benefits do not arise without considerable organisation. It has been said earlier in this article that an increase of productivity means the use of machinery—not merely the use of devices, such as farm tractors that enable man to work more efficiently and quickly, but of capital works, such as irrigation schemes, canals and railways, that do work that man cannot do. It is here chiefly that we must seek the method whereby to increase the optimum population.

We cannot gainsay the fact that the agricultural holdings of the East are far too small to make use of mechanical methods.

It is absolutely essential that the system of land tenure throughout the East be swept away and substituted by one that will give holdings large enough to take advantage of modern methods. If necessary the laws of inheritance must be changed. This is a very difficult task, but its achievement is essential to improved living standards in these areas. More than one religion of the Orient teaches us of the salutary effects of difficulties overcome. The mere fact that a problem is difficult is no reason why its solution should not be attempted.

The civilisation of the East is still based on human drudges. At best, man is assisted by animals—and poor specimens, at that—in ploughing or traction. It has been said that these methods are



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used in the East because labour is cheap and machinery dear. But labour is the dearest form of power. Consider human portage: not only are railways much cheaper per ton-mile, but any locomotive will haul weights that are impossible for man, and it does not get tired. This is as true of agriculture as it is of transport or of the manufacturing industries.

Of course, this change-over has already begun in many places in the East, particularly in cotton-mills and in railway transport, but much more remains to be done. In the most important occupation—agriculture—it has not begun. The reward of labour is determined by marginal productivity, and as the productivity of labour throughout the East is low, wages are low. This being so, purchasing power is low and it cannot buy the raw materials, food, and the goods that would lead to a higher standard of life. It is true that the figures of trade between the East and the West make brave showing, but such figures can afford us no satisfaction when we consider what would be the case if the Orient had a standard of life comparable to ours. The world is one economic unit, and poverty anywhere is a threat to prosperity everywhere. Trade is essentially an exchange of the products of labour. If the product of labour can be increased by the use of mechanical devices, then what it will receive in exchange will be correspondingly greater.

The East will contribute to a much greater extent to the wealth of mankind and will itself participate in this wealth much more than it does at present.

While the human muscle is inefficient, the human intelligence cannot be superseded by any machine. It is in the alliance of machine and brain that the future of the world rests. Only in the East are men still wanted as drudges. This must be altered, and to do this a vast scheme of training must be undertaken. In this part of the world illiteracy is the rule—perhaps not three per cent of the population can read or write. Even with an adequate supply of teachers this would take a generation to remedy. This first step must be taken, whatever the difficulty. Through the written page all knowledge comes. Then will follow the intellectual and manual training that are necessary to make use of machines. When this stage has been reached, man will produce more and work less hard. He will have leisure to enjoy the finer things of life: he will have elevated himself to a higher sphere. The overpopulated areas of today will then find that there are not enough men to take full advantage of the resources at their disposal. They will have to increase their numbers to reach the optimum level of population—and this with an incomparably higher standard of living.





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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## Confucius: The Man and His Teachings

In an address before the China Institute in London, in celebration of the 2500th anniversary of the birth of Confucius, Dr. Cheng Tien-Hsi, the Ambassador for China, gave the following short talk on Confucius's life and teachings, as published in *The Asiatic Review*, January 1950:

To-day, thanks to the China Institute, it is my pleasant duty to give a short talk on his life. I may start by saying that in common with all great teachers of history Confucius led a hard life. Not only was his existence one of continual discipline, but more than once he was in actual danger of death from violence or starvation. However, he did not spare himself, for he felt that he had a mission to lead the people into the path of rectitude and righteousness. This he felt was a duty laid upon him by a power outside himself, though, as I said, he never claimed anything like divine powers. Indeed, throughout his writings and the records of his followers, there is no reference to divine inspiration, though on two occasions, when he was in great danger, he, in order to allay the fears of his disciples, did allow to drop from his lips words which indicate that he had a divine mission. One of these passages is: "Heaven having entrusted me with a sacred duty, what can Huan Tui (i.e. my enemy) do to me against the will of Heaven?". The other, which is more explicit, is: "Since the death of King Wen has not the cause of culture (i.e. truth) been entrusted to me? If Heaven had allowed the cause of culture (i.e. truth) to perish, no one who died (i.e. lived) after him would possibly have been permitted to acquire a knowledge of that cause. If Heaven does not allow that cause to perish, what can the people of K'uang do to me (against the will of Heaven)?"

However, he himself would certainly hotly disclaim any supernatural power. Indeed, he insisted that modesty was the seed of virtue, and he was so modest that, somewhat in the manner of Socrates, he felt that there was a watching spirit of some kind which warned him when he was about to encounter error. Once he said: "I am very lucky; because, whenever I am wrong, there is bound to be somebody to point it out to me."

However, like all other great teachers, he died in bitter disappointment, thinking that his lifelong work for the benefit of his fellow-men had failed in its achievement. How surprised he would be to-day if he could see that so soon after his death his teaching was to be elevated to the supreme throne of orthodoxy by the State, and that twenty-five centuries later his teaching would be as firmly based in the national mind as ever it had been, and especially that we are assembled here, without distinction of nationality, to do him homage!

Like all truly great men, Confucius held always the most modest opinion of himself. Many of his sayings could be quoted to show how humble he really imagined himself to be. For instance, he would say, "I am able to do many things because I was born humble." On another occasion he would say, "If I could be given more years after fifty to make a profound study of the 'Book of Changes,' I should be free from great faults." The emphasis is, of course, on the word "great," for he would never say, "If I would ever be free from faults, though he once said, "If

you know a fault and do not reform it, then it is a true fault," that is to say, to err is human but the error really becomes a fault when you know it and yet do not reform it. Moreover, in spite of the high regard in which his teachings have been held for twenty-five hundred years, he never claimed that he was particularly learned; so simple did he consider his teachings, that he constantly urged the rulers of his time to try for themselves how easy they were and how effective they would prove in setting right the wrongs of his time. He disclaimed once and for all the title of seer or prophet in the religious sense when he declared, "I am a transmitter and not a founder (of a system of ethics or philosophy)"—a fact reflected in Voltaire's poem which I have referred to in the line, "Spoke as a sage and never as a seer."

Nevertheless the sages of later centuries, especially those who, with wider advantages than their predecessors, had the opportunity to compare the true stature of Confucius with that of other of the world's great men, have unequivocally pronounced him to be the first sage, and, although he said of himself, "I cannot claim to be learned; all I can claim is that I have always loved learning," yet it is the universal opinion of competent judges that he was in fact a very learned, as well as very wise, man.

Confucius had perceived in the hard school of the world of his day that many learned men were not wise and that many were wise who could not be called learned. In numerous illustrations to his followers he would point out the need for both qualities in the men who would presume to lead the world's rulers and men of Government into the right path. That is why he insisted in his doctrine of the Golden Mean that men should cultivate at the same time, knowledge, virtue, and courage, for, though knowledge, virtue and courage are all admirable qualities, none of them without the others can enable one to reach the peak of excellence. Virtue alone may, indeed, be as luminous as a star, but it is only when accompanied by knowledge and courage that it can shine like the sun, whereas either knowledge or courage, if not accompanied by virtue, may often bring about darkness. Confucius possessed all these qualities *par excellence*.

Mencius, who followed him at a distance of more than a hundred years, was perfectly right in proclaiming that Confucius was *facile princeps* among the teachers of the world. To quote his words, "Since there were human beings there has never been one equal to Confucius"; and in the words of an ancient worthy, "The sages among men are the same in kind, but they stand out from their fellow-men and rise prominent above them all, and, in this, since there were human beings, there has never been one so gloriously decisive as Confucius." That verdict has received endorsement in the subsequent centuries, not only from innumerable Chinese scholars but also from many scholars and teachers of the Western world.

It is no doubt the profound humility of Confucius which is at once the most striking of his characteristics and the basis of the judgment of posterity as to his innate greatness. Yet with this deep humility with regard to himself went a penetrating but kindly estimate of others. Many of his followers earned reproof in their discussions with him, but a kindly tolerance softened the asperity of any criticism which the teacher had to administer to them.

The word "perfect" has often been used of Confucius by scholars not given to easy praise. Only the scholar who has clearly read and treasured all the teachings of Confucius can understand why such a judgment does not appear extravagant when applied to a man who never claimed such a quality for himself.

For it is in the give and take of everyday life when all seems against oneself, that the true character of man is shown. In the words of Confucius himself, "It is only when the time of the year becomes cold that one knows that the pine and the cypress are the last to wilt." The records of the life of Confucius and his followers are sufficiently complete for us to gain a fairly clear picture of his behaviour in all circumstances and under all conditions. His was a life of altruism, which in Chinese is called *Shu*: to act to others as one would act to oneself, or to love others like oneself. On one occasion when he was asked by a leading disciple whether he could formulate in a few words a rule by which one could abide for life, he said, "Is it not altruism: do not do to others what you do not wish to be done to yourself?"

Incidentally to this I should mention that Confucius on a different occasion, in answer to the same disciple, did enunciate the Golden Rule in its positive form. To quote his words: "The man of perfect virtue, wishing to have himself established, endeavours also to have others established, and, wishing to have himself enlightened or advanced, endeavours also to have others enlightened or advanced. To be able to judge of the wishes of others by one's own, and then act to them as one would act to oneself, may be said to be the means of attaining perfect virtue." But on the particular occasion when he enunciated the Rule in the negative form, it was intended to be observed by the average man, moreover, when it is put in the negative form no one could say that he was unable to conform to it, inasmuch as no man could reasonably say that he would do to others what he would not wish others to do to him. In short, Confucius sought nothing for himself, and all he wished was to give his life for the benefit of others.

It would have been only human if, with all the disappointments he had to meet and all the tribulations and dangers he had to endure, he had become embittered and impatient. On the contrary, to the end of his life he sought the fault for his failure only in himself, and not in others. He would say that he alone was unworthy and that, had he himself been better, the teaching he had to give and the ideals he had to set forth to men, would not have been obscured or thwarted by his unworthiness.

This example of his was crystallised in a precept by Mencius, a sage destined to expound his principles and ethics a little more than a century later, namely:

"If you love others and they do not attach themselves to you in return, examine your own benevolence to see if it is perfect. If you govern others and they are not well governed, examine your own wisdom to see if it is perfect. If you behave to others politely, and they do not do so to you in return, examine your own respects to see if they are perfect. Whenever in your action you fail to achieve a desired effect, examine yourself for the cause of your own failure."

But in fact, Confucius did not fail. What was denied to him in his lifetime has been universally and heartily conceded by succeeding ages. If he were to know how widespread his opinions would become and how strong his hold on the mind of the Chinese people would be through the centuries which were to follow, he would be glad for the people—not for his own success.

During his lifetime, the devotion he was able, by sheer force of character and personality, to inspire in his followers, shone through their lives, and in their record of his sayings and doings. One whole section of the

Analects is devoted to details of the Master's life: his preference and dislikes showing the path of rectitude, his customary actions and habits showing the examples of correct conduct and good manners. But this is far from being all that we can gather of him. Throughout the Analects and other books of the Confucian Canon we find detailed references to his character and wisdom as well as details of his teaching and learning.

The emphasis everywhere is on righteousness and correctness. Whether it is in dealing with reigning rulers, affairs of State, or the simplest matters of daily life, the invariable rule is that things must be done with a singleness of purpose and in strict accord with that which is right and correct.

This, moreover, is not a mere rule and pattern, dry-as-dust correctness; it is a human and warm love of the right thing because it is right and because it makes the man who does it feel in tune with the rightness of nature, which is the will of God.

The more one studies the works of the Confucian school and the longer one lives among the people who have lived their lives according to the discipline of the ethical system of Confucius, the more readily is seen the explanation of the hold of Confucius and his teaching upon the Chinese mind. It no longer puzzles the man who knows that the great appeal is not merely to faith nor simply to the heart—but to human nature itself, with its vast range of emotions and frailties.

Speaking of the Confucian Analects, the well-known philosopher Ch'eng Tze of the Sung Dynasty said:

"There are people who, having read the Analects, feel nothing at all; there are others who, having read them, feel they have found one or two sentences to their delight; there are others who, having read them, begin to love them, and there are others who, having read them, feel themselves in such an ecstasy that they dance with joy without realising what they are doing."

To the above I may add that the teachings of Confucius are so true to nature, so noble in diction, so lofty in conception, so full of wisdom, and so rich in good sense, that, in hours of joy, they give us moderation; in hours of trouble they give us guidance; and, at all times, they serve to purify our hearts, strengthen our character, and pacify our souls. The fact that they are sporadic is itself an additional proof of their genuineness, and the fact that, when put together, they form a coherent and systematic whole, pointing in the same direction—from purification of the heart of the individual to the love of mankind—shows convincingly that truth, as they reveal it, is not obscure, transient, or accidental, but clear, permanent, and certain, and that the path of duty for man is one and the same.

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A superficial acquaintance with Confucian theory has led some foreign writers to assert, wrongly, that the system is rigid and unyielding. This is so far from being the case that many foreigners who have come to live in China for purposes of teaching or trade, have themselves been attracted by the wide applicability of the Confucian thesis. Primarily designed for the Chinese of two thousand five hundred years ago, it has not only stood the test of time for my own countrymen, but has also exercised a profound influence on men of all nations and beliefs.

One instance will suffice; his conception of the world as one must have caught the imagination of mankind in these days when the inter-dependence of nations is keenly felt. In order that my audience may have an idea of this conception of his, let me quote his words:

"When the ideal social order prevails, the world is like one home common to all; men of virtue and merit are to be elected to be rulers; sincerity and amity pervade all dealings between man and man; people shall love not only their own parents and own children, but also those of others; the aged, the young, the helpless widows and widowers, the orphans, the destitute, the incapacitated, and the sick shall be well provided for and well looked after, while the able-bodied shall exert themselves in their aid; men shall be appropriately employed and women suitably married; one detests that things are abandoned or wasted on earth, but when gathered or stored up, they are not to be retained exclusively for oneself; one detests that exertion does not proceed from oneself, but its fruits are not to be regarded exclusively as one's own. Thus there will be no, and no cause for conspiracy, robbery, theft, or rebellion, and no need to bolt one's outside door. This is a true Commonwealth."

Many Western psychologists have devoted special study to the Confucian teaching for the very reason that it is based on the fundamentals of human nature—not on human nature as it should be, but as it is. For, after

all, it is the business of the Confucian ethics to discover what the nature of man is and wherein it falls short, before proceeding to rectify that which is wrong and to improve that which falls short of correctness.

Thus we see that the Confucian teachings deal with the very essence of man; they go to the heart and soul of humanity. The broad sympathies and deep understanding of Confucius show throughout all his teachings; and that is the true explanation of the firm hold he has exerted for so long upon the minds and hearts of my people.

### Workmen's Compensation

The Workmen's Compensation Ordinance, No. 19 of 1934, which came into force in 1935, requires all accidents resulting in the death of a worker within seven days or causing a worker to absent himself for that period to be notified to the Commissioner of Workmen's Compensation. It also provides for the payment of compensation by employers to workers in the occupations enumerated in the second schedule to the Ordinance, for personal injury by accident arising out of and in the course of employment.

Among the thirty-two occupations listed in the second schedule are vehicular transport, manufacture, mining, port labour, quays and wharves, building and roads, estates, outdoor work in Government departments, railway and telegraph services, etc. The Ordinance excludes from its provisions members of the defence forces, the police and persons whose employment is of a casual nature and who are employed otherwise than for the purpose of the employer's trade or business.

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In order to qualify for compensation, a worker must be engaged in any of the listed occupations on wages not exceeding 300 rupees a month, and the injury must have resulted in total or partial disablement for more than seven days. No compensation can be claimed (except in the case of death) where the accident is directly attributable to the worker's own fault, such as drunkenness, disobedience of express instructions or rules and disregard of safety devices. Where death results from the injury, compensation is payable to the dependants as defined in the Ordinance and may vary from 500 to 4,000 rupees depending on the wages of the deceased. Where the disablement is temporary, a half-monthly payment varying from half a month's wages (where the wages are under 10 rupees a month) to 30 rupees (on wages of over 200 rupees a month) is to be made. Where injuries result in permanent total disability, amounts varying from 700 to 5,600 rupees, according to the worker's wages, are payable. For permanent disablement resulting in partial loss of earning capacity the amount is proportional to the loss. Total disability is presumed where both eyes are lost or where the combined percentage loss of earning capacity from several injuries as specified in Schedule I to the Ordinance amounts to 100 per cent. or more.

The amount of compensation is arrived at by negotiation between the employer and the worker concerned. A memorandum of agreement is submitted to the Commissioner of Workmen's Compensation, who may register it on being satisfied that the compensation is adequate. If no agreement is reached, the matter may be referred to the Commissioner for adjudication. Where the compensation is payable to a woman or to a person under legal disability, it is made by depositing the amount with the Commissioner; the amount is then suitably invested or is paid over in monthly instalments.

Compensation is also payable under the Ordinance where a worker contracts anthrax or any of the seven

occupational diseases scheduled in the Ordinance, namely, poisoning by lead, phosphorus, mercury, arsenic or by benzene and its homologues, chrome ulceration and compressed air illness. No compensation is payable in respect of any other disease, unless it is directly attributable to a specific injury by an accident covered by the Ordinance.

The Ordinance does not require employers to insure themselves against their liability under it, but permits them to do so with a company specially licensed for the purpose.

The following table shows the number of cases and amount of compensation paid under the Ordinance during the period 1943-1948. It is based on returns furnished by employers.

Table X. Number of cases and amount of Workmen's Compensation Paid, 1943-1948

Year	Number of cases	Amount of compensation paid Rupees
1943	5,972	269,432
1944	5,925	302,996
1945	5,565	400,361
1946	5,826	343,612
1947	9,933	436,501
1948	6,670	457,215

Source: Labour Commissioner's Reports, 1945 and 1947; Administration Report of the Director of Social Services for 1948.

During 1948, the number of fatal accidents was 71, involving 203 deaths, for which compensation amounting to over 131,000 rupees was paid. Accidents resulting in permanent disablement numbered 214, involving compensation of nearly 153,000 rupees, while 6,331 accidents causing temporary disability led to the payment of some 165,000 rupees in compensation.—*International Labour Review*, January 1950.



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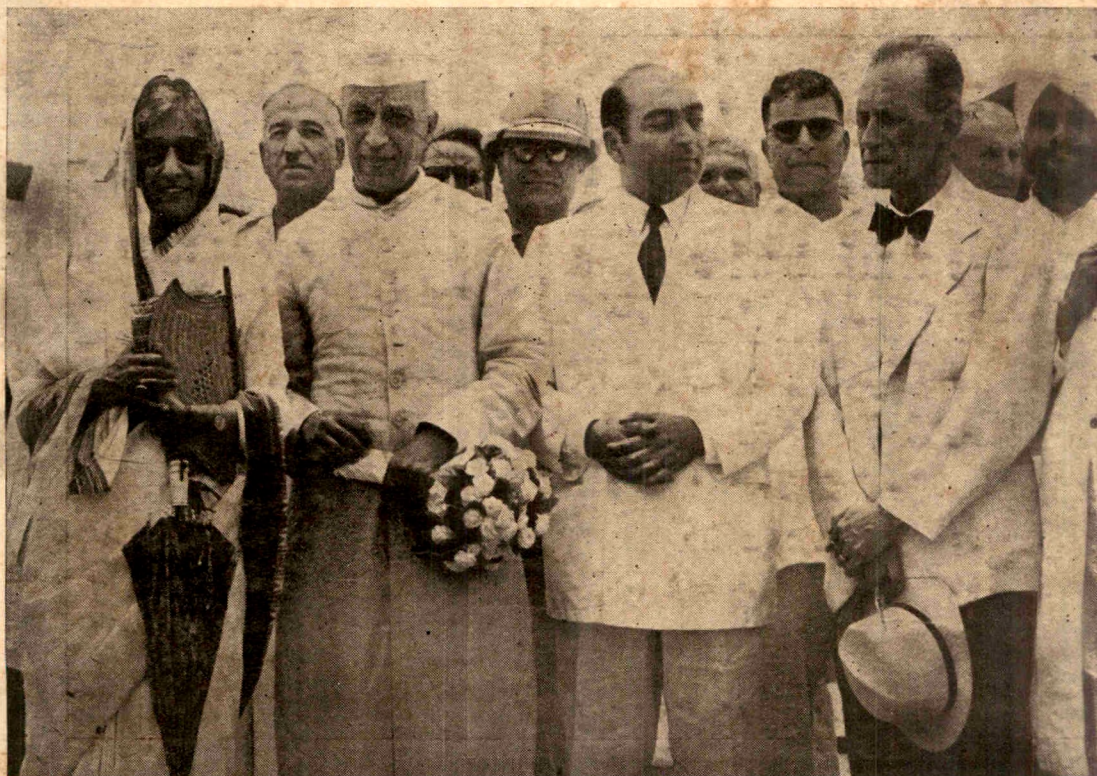
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Pandit Nehru and President Soekarno of Indonesia driving through the crowded streets of Djakarta on June 7, the day the Prime Minister of India arrived at Djakarta



This group photograph was taken at Palam aerodrome on June 26 after the conclusion of Pandit Nehru's goodwill tour to Indonesia and other South-East Asian countries. Along with him are seen Rajkumari Amrit Kaur, Shri Hare Krishna Mahtab, Sardar Baldev Singh, and Sardar Najibullah Khan, Afghan Ambassador in India





MIDNIGHT  
By Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury

Prabasi Press, Calcutta



# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## NOTES

### *War in Korea*

The Americans are grimly fighting a last ditch battle in Korea. We learn that a "death or victory" order has been given to the American forces that are barely holding on against vastly superior odds as regards ground forces and armour. The only favourable elements acting for the Americans are air superiority and artillery fire-power. It is evident that there are difficulties and delays regarding the supply of armour to the American troops that would be comparable in weight and fire-power to that thrown into action by the North Koreans.

The North Koreans on their side seem to be well aware that time is of the essence. They are fighting all-out, regardless of losses and wastage. Up till now they have exhibited a degree of elan and discipline in their assaults, over difficult terrain, and in the face of terrific aerial strafing, that can only be attributed to very considerable toughening under actual conditions of active warfare. Indeed their tactical moves and general strategy indicate a fairly highly trained staff directing seasoned troops under good Commanders and with most modern equipment.

The struggle as it goes at present is an object-lesson to the World in the sharp contrasts it has high-lighted as between the North Koreans and the South Koreans. The lesson it reads is indeed that of the contrasts between the shape of the Neo-Imperialism of the Soviets, which aims at the creation of powerful auxiliary states, and the Neo-Colonialism of the U.S.A. which aims at totally dependant satellites fashioned on the British or French models.

The overall picture therefore is that of a fairly big campaign in the lines of modern warfare, under conditions that would continue to impose serious

handicaps on the forces that are trying to stem the onrush of the invaders.

On the U. N. O. front the latest move is from the U.S.S.R. As yet we have learnt only of their decision to re-enter the Security Council. There are many conjectures regarding the strategy that would be initiated by M. Malik, the Russian delegate, based on the reply given by Marshal Stalin to Pandit Nehru's move for peace and on the course of the talks between M. Gromyko, the Russian Deputy Foreign Minister and Sir David Kelly, the British Ambassador. It is useless to speculate or to build up hopes or fears, as a few days will show which way the Sphinx is going to turn. We can only watch the new phase with calmness.

We in India have learnt to be a little cynical with regard to these international conundrums. Even so we have gathered considerable edification by comparing the contrast between the Security Council's quick reaction to Korea's distress and its dilatoriness of 30 months in the matter of Kashmir. So the majority of the politically-minded millions in India do not find it possible to get excited over this smouldering phase of the "cold war" between the United States and the Soviet Union.

And it happens that the other great Anglo-Saxon Power, Britain, is almost as lukewarm in this affair. "Second thoughts" appear to have invaded its mind. At the start of the American action the conservative *Evening News* and Lord Beaverbrook's *Evening Standard* were found thinking aloud that

"At this phase of the affair we in Britain are in the sidelines....we are spectators, but intensely interested spectators, of the Americans' resolute and swift reaction to open invasion of a free country on the Nazi pattern."

"They are not directly involved in the Korean war.".....

"The Government of North Korea is a satellite of Russia; that of South Korea a satellite of the United States."...

"The invasion of South Korea offers a direct challenge to America. No doubt that great nation can take care of it."

The Liberal *Manchester Guardian* was in the same ruminating mood. The paper asked :

"How does the North Korean Army manage to be so efficient?"

"It is as disquieting to see what Communist discipline can do with an anarchic people like the Koreans as it is to see what the American Military Mission failed to do with the South Koreans."

The paper was distressed that though the Western Powers act with rectitude, they often find themselves saddled with "rather deplorable allies," such as Dr. Syngman Rhee and Emperor Bao Dai.

Within a week, however, Press Agencies reported that there had come "a sudden change in outlook" in Britain. It had been forced on the British people that this war could not be "localized," as the *New York Times* early realized.

"At stake is the prestige and the future Pacific policy of the United States."

The case was no better with the Soviet Union. Bertrand Russell has predicted in an interview with the *Sydney Sun* (Australia) :

"I do not believe Russia can afford to lose face in Asia."....."Soviet Russia considers she is better prepared for active war against America now than at some unspecified later date when the hydrogen bomb has become a fact instead of a theory."

The realization of this prospect by the United States and Britain has led both of them to seek the causes of the initial defeats suffered by the U.S.A. forces rushed from Japan. As early as the 27th of June the *New York Times'* military editor remarked that

".....internal weakening rather than external assault was the chief danger in the Republic of Korea."

"The unpopularity of the Syngman Rhee Government as attested by the last election and the questionable political and military reliability of the army and the police force are the greatest weaknesses of the defending forces in the struggle against Soviet domination."

Hanson Baldwin, outstanding military theoretician in America, has underlined the play of "political pacts" such as that signed at Yalta and at Potsdam as constituting the major weaknesses. At Yalta Roosevelt and Churchill had "promised in effect strategic domination over Manchuria" to Russia; this had "committed the United States to a political guarantee of Korea—a commitment almost impossible to back up militarily." From this followed all the other weaknesses that the war in Korea has exposed to the world's gaze. Baldwin has referred to strategic and tactical "errors" also "under-estimation of the enemy"; over-estimation of air power; under-estimation of tanks; "reduction of Marine ground units and an

under-estimation of the importance of amphibious lift." They could not trust their proteges, the Southern Koreans. Writing to the *Baltimore Sun*, Owen Lattimore warned his people that President Syngman Rhee "should not be made a personal symbol of American policy;" he is "a little Chiang Kai-shek who was losing his hold" over his own people, the Southern Koreans. Brigadier-General Williams, Military Aid Mission Chief in Korea told a California Press Conference on July 14 that "South Korea was not given heavy military equipment by the United States before the Korean war began, mainly because South Koreans wanted very much to attack North Korea." This had put the American Mission in "a skittish position"; "we gave them no combat air force, no tanks and no heavy artillery;" South Korea had an army of 100,000 men, 50,000 policemen, a coast guard of 7,000 and an air force of 39,000. But the equipment in the light of events was inadequate."

There are other factors playing their part in American discomfiture. Lt.-Colonel Thomas MacLure, who had spent about four years with the United States occupation forces of the Military Government of South Korea indicated as early as July 8 last the nature of the "gigantic" task that his people have taken upon themselves; he also laid his finger on the greatest danger-spot in the whole situation :

"The South Koreans hate us. They hate most white men and our biggest danger will be sabotage and ambushes."

"It will take at least 100,000 American servicemen and a year before the Korean war is won."

"South Koreans will work in rice paddies during the day just as peaceful as you please, but at night they'll form into gangs of marauders crippling equipment and killing every American they can. I know that will happen because we had to contend with it during the years I was in South Korea. The South Koreans are not interested in fighting, and quite a few of them are Communists."

This is a pattern that is likely to be revived in every war between nationalism and imperialism, and in the modern age in wars between the coloured and "colourless" peoples. During the Japanese war we saw it in Burma. In the overseas edition of the London *Daily Mail* of March 28, 1942, the following appeared :

"As the Japanese moved north the truth of the campaign in Southern Burma is emerging from the smoke, and the full extent of Burmese disaffection can be revealed."

"Numbers of Burmese went over to the enemy. The Japs formed them into 'Burmese' bands with blue uniforms, and it is believed that there were in action against us. Certainly, these were active in sabotage. The civilian population also to some extent were anti-British."

Jack Belden, special correspondent of the *New York Times*, wrote from Burma :

"The open hostility of the people caused us to fight blindly.....Intelligence broke down almost completely."

As during the Japanese war so during the last 30 days complaints have been heard that American leadership in the war-field has been at fault just as British military leadership was in Burma. It appears to be a case of history repeating itself. The summary of an article by Walter Simmons in the *Chicago Tribune* has been wired from the "Korean Front" on July 16 last. This paper has been a consistently vitriolic critic of the Democratic Party and Administration in the U.S.A. Simmon's words are here :

"Defeats suffered by the United States Eighth Army troops here, although not serious, have convinced many observers that *something is wrong with peacetime training methods.*

Supposedly intensive training has been progressing in Japan for more than a year. Yet *troops went into action green and pimicky.*

Most still cannot tell the difference between enemy and friendly artillery fire. Discipline is poor.

To observers who have followed the front-line fighting from the beginning, these youngsters, quick to run and eager for sympathy, are completely different from the slogging G.I.'s of the Second World War.

*Junior officers are worse than their men.* Soft from sitting around Officers Clubs in Japan, they have infected the G.I.'s with fear instead of providing strong leadership at Platoon and Company level.

Some have been relieved for cowardice under fire. The single desire of many is to go back to Japan as soon as possible !

Failure at this level has put a crushing responsibility on Regimental and Battalion Commanders. One Colonel, a calm and confident leader, observed: "I was cut off all day yesterday with one of my battalions. The boys get panicky unless I am there."

We propose to share with our readers what appeared in the *Indian Annual Register* of July-December, 1941, p. 60 describing conditions in Malaya identical with the above. Major-General Henry Pownall had replaced Air-Marshal Brooke-Popham as British Far East chief :

"Preparatory to the assumption of his new duties he tried to understand the causes of the peril that faced him and his forces. His "greatest disappointment" was the discovery of the "Singapore spirit"—the spirit of "an effete, tired, hyper-civilized society;" "cold storage, electricity and the automobile" had made many Britishers "both officers and men...hazy about the threat to their possessions and habits;" there were "late nights, good times."

But all these explanations leave unanswered a question—why was it that the U.S.A. Administration did not prepare themselves for this evil day? They had fair warning a month earlier from their Ambassador in South Korea, John Muccio.

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee published a report which said Mr. Muccio had predicted: "The undeniable material superiority of the North

Korean forces would provide North Korea with the margin of victory in the event of full-scale invasion of the Republic.

"Such superiority is particularly evident in the matter of heavy infantry support, weapons, tanks and combat aircraft with which the U.S.S.R. has supplied and continues to supply its Korean puppet.

"It has been aggravated also by the recent Communist successes in China, which have increased considerably the military potential of the North, particularly by releasing undetermined number of Korean troops from the Chinese Communist armies for service in Korea."

We know that the British got over these habits of easy going life; so will the Americans. Till then reports from Korea will tell us of retreats by Americans. As we write, just over a month after the war started, two-thirds of South Korea appear to have passed under Communist possession; American bombers have not yet been able to halt Communist advance; there are searchings of heart by America's leaders of public opinion. And the world stands dangerously poised on the precipice that hangs over 20th century's 3rd World War.

### *Nehru-Stalin-Acheson Correspondence*

The correspondence exchanged between Pandit Nehru and Marshal Stalin and Mr. Dean Acheson which includes Pandit Nehru's messages to Marshal Stalin and Mr. Dean Acheson and the replies received from them as well as the replies he sent to Marshal Stalin and Mr. Dean Acheson in acknowledgment have been released.

Message dated July 12, 1950 from Prime Minister Pandit Nehru to Marshal Stalin, Prime Minister of the Soviet Union :

"In the interviews which our Ambassador has had with the Foreign Office in Moscow he has explained India's position in the Korean dispute. India's purpose is to localise the conflict and to facilitate an early peaceful settlement by breaking the present deadlock in the Security Council so that a representative of the People's Government of China can take seat in Council, the U.S.S.R. can return to it and, whether within or through informal contacts outside the Council, the U.S.S.R., the U.S.A. and China with the help and co-operation of other peace-loving nations, can find a basis for terminating the conflict and for a permanent solution of the Korean problem. In full confidence of Your Excellency's determination to maintain peace and thus to preserve solidarity of the United Nations, I venture to address this personal appeal to you to exert your great authority and influence for the achievement of this common purpose on which well-being of mankind depends.

"Accept, Excellency, the assurance of my highest consideration."

Message dated July 15, 1950, from Marshal Stalin to Prime Minister Pandit Nehru :

"I welcome your peace initiative. I fully share your point of view as to the expediency of a peace settlement of the Korean question through the Security Council, the participation of the representatives of the five great powers including the People's Government of China, being indispensable. I believe that to reach an early settlement of the Korean question it would be expedient in the Security Council to hear representatives of the Korean people."

Message dated July 16, 1950 from Prime Minister Pandit Nehru to Marshal Stalin :

"I am most grateful for Your Excellency's prompt and encouraging response. I am communicating immediately with other Governments concerned and hope to be able to approach Your Excellency again soon."

Message dated July 12, 1950, from Prime Minister Pandit Nehru to Mr. Dean Acheson, Secretary of State, U.S.A. :

"In the interviews which your Ambassador has had with officials of the Ministry of External Affairs we have explained India's position in Korean dispute. India's purpose is to localise the conflict and to facilitate an early peaceful settlement by breaking the present deadlock in the Security Council so that a representative of the People's Government of China can take seat in the Council, the U.S.S.R. can return to it, and whether within or through informal contacts outside the Council, the U.S.A. the U.S.S.R. and China, with the help and co-operation of other peace-loving nations, can find a basis for terminating the conflict and for a permanent solution of the Korean problem. In full confidence of Your Excellency's determination to maintain peace and thus to preserve solidarity of the United Nations, I venture to address this personal appeal to you to exert your great authority and influence for the achievement of this common purpose on which the wellbeing of mankind depends."

"Accept, Excellency, the assurance of my highest consideration."

Message to the Prime Minister from Mr. Dean Acheson, Secretary of State, U.S.A., received on 18th July, 1950 :

"My dear Mr. Prime Minister,

"I am deeply appreciative of the high purpose which prompted Your Excellency in sending the message which I received on July 13, 1950, through your distinguished Ambassador in Washington and the subsequent message of the 17th transmitting Prime Minister Stalin's reply to your similar letter to him of July 13. Both the President and I have given the most thoughtful consideration to these communications."

"One of the most fundamental objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is to assist in maintaining peace and the Government of the United

States was firmly of opinion that the United Nations is the most effective instrument yet devised for maintaining and restoring international peace and security. The United States is, therefore, eager to do all that is proper and possible to preserve and strengthen the United Nations."

"The purpose of the United States Government and of the American people with respect to Korea is to support by all means at our disposal the determination of the United Nations to repel the armed attack on Korea and to restore international peace and security in the area. We desire both to prevent the spread of aggression beyond Korea and to end it there—as required by the Security Council of the United Nations."

"We are deeply conscious of the fact that law-abiding Governments and peoples throughout the world have a vital stake in the issues involved in this aggression and in the success of the United Nations in dealing with it. It is painful to realise that there could have long since been a restoration of peace and the saving of the lives of those fighting on behalf of the United Nations had not a small minority of the United Nations failed to meet their obligations under the Charter and refused to use their authority and influence to prevent or stop the hostilities. The acceptance of their obligations and the exercise of their authority and influence in accordance with these obligations would restore peace tomorrow."

"A breach of the peace or an act of aggression is the most serious matter with which the United Nations can be confronted. We do not believe that the termination of the aggression of North Korea can be contingent in any way upon the determination of other questions which are currently before the United Nations."

"There has not been at any time any obstacle to the full participation by the Soviet Union in the work of the United Nations except the decision of the Soviet Government itself. The Security Council has shown that it is both competent and willing to act vigorously for the maintenance of peace."

"In our opinion, the decision between competing claimant Governments for China's seat in the United Nations is one reached by the United Nations on its merits. It is a question on which there is at present a wide diversity of views among the membership of the United Nations. I know you will agree that the decision should not be dictated by an unlawful aggression or by any other conduct which would subject the United Nations to coercion and duress."

"I know that Your Excellency shares our earnest desire to see an early restoration of peace in Korea in accordance with the resolutions of the Security Council, and I assure you of our eagerness to work with you and your great country to establish in the



United Nations a means by which the fear of aggression can be permanently lifted from the peoples of the earth."

Message from the Prime Minister of India to Mr. Dean Acheson, Secretary of State, U.S.A. dated 19th July, 1950 :

"Dear Mr. Secretary of State,

I thank you for your letter which your Ambassador conveyed to me last night.

I am grateful to President Truman and to you for the consideration that you have given to my message of the 13th July and to the subsequent communication forwarding Marshal Stalin's reply to my message to him of the same date. I recognise that one of the most fundamental objectives of the foreign policy of the United States is to assist in maintaining world peace, and that the Government of the United States is firmly of the opinion that the United Nations is one of the most effective instruments yet devised for maintaining and restoring international peace and security. As Your Excellency must be aware, the maintenance of peace and support of the United Nations has consistently been the policy of the Government of India.

My suggestion for breaking the present deadlock in the Security Council, so that representatives of the People's Government of China can take their seat in the Council and the U.S.S.R. can return to it was designed to fulfil this policy not to weaken this. On the voting for the resolution on Korea adopted by the Security Council on the 25th and 27th June, it was our purpose to strengthen the U. N. in resisting aggression. Since the Government of India recognised the People's Government of China on 30th December, 1949, it has been our endeavour to bring about the admission of its representatives to the various organs and agencies of the U. N. Our present proposal was a renewal of this effort.

It was made on its merits and also in the hope that it would create a suitable atmosphere for the peaceful solution of the Korean problem. I do not think that the admission of China now would be an encouragement of aggression.

I am requesting our Ambassador in Moscow to communicate the text of Your Excellency's letter to me and of my reply to Marshal Stalin. Arrangements are also being made to release at 3 a.m. tomorrow (20th July), Indian Standard Time, copies of these two letters, of my messages to Your Excellency and to Marshal Stalin dated 13th July and of the messages exchanged between Marshal Stalin and me on the 15th and 16th July, respectively.

Please accept the assurance of my highest consideration."

Message from the Prime Minister to Marshal Stalin, Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, dated 19th July, 1950 :

"I have the honour to communicate to Your Excellency the reply received from the Secretary of State of the U. S. A. to my message dated 13th July and of the reply that I have sent to him today. The arrangements made for the release to the Press of the correspondence enumerated in my reply to Mr. Dean Acheson appear necessary to us to avoid speculation based upon imperfect knowledge and will I trust, meet with your approval."

### *Mr. Attlee on Kelly-Gromyko Talk*

In the House of Commons, on July 20, Mr. Anthony Eden, Deputy Leader of the Opposition, asked the Prime Minister if he could now make a statement with regard to the recent conversations between the Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister and the British Ambassador in Moscow.

Mr. Attlee (according to an agency report) replied : "Yes, sir. In view of the publication this morning in Moscow of a version of the exchanges which have taken place between H. M. Government and the Soviet Government on the Korean issue I think it desirable to bring the facts to the notice of the House.

"The Soviet Government were not represented at the meetings of the Security Council which discussed the Korean issue and H. M. Government accordingly decided to establish direct contact with the Soviet Government in an effort to secure their co-operation in effecting a peaceful settlement of the Korean conflict. Accordingly, on June 29, H. M. Ambassador in Moscow expressed to the Soviet authorities the urgent hope of H. M. Government that the Soviet Government would co-operate to this end.

"On July 6, Sir David Kelly was asked to call on Mr. Gromyko who asked if H. M. Government adhered to the statement made to Mr. Pavlov. Sir David Kelly confirmed that this was, indeed, the attitude of H. M. Government. Mr. Gromyko then said that the Soviet Government also wished for a peaceful settlement and inquired whether Sir David Kelly had any propositions to make. Sir David Kelly said that it was the hope of H. M. Government that the Soviet Government would use their influence with the North Koreans to stop the bloodshed. A United Nations Commission had been working in Korea to promote the peaceful union of the two halves and we wished to return to the *status quo* and to stop the war.

"Mr. Gromyko said that the position of the Soviet Government was already known from published documents. The Soviet Government wished for a peaceful settlement and he asked Sir David Kelly whether he had any specific proposals to make. Sir David Kelly replied that what he was asking was that the Soviet Government would use their influence with the North Koreans. He added that he would report at once what

Mr. Gromyko had said and would ask to see him again if he received a further communication for him.

"At a further meeting with Mr. Gromyko on July 11, Sir David Kelly said that H. M. Government noted the wish of the Soviet Government for a peaceful settlement which was also the earnest wish of H. M. G. Sir David Kelly said that by specific proposals Mr. Gromyko no doubt meant the offers to be binding if accepted. He explained that the Security Council had made recommendations which had received an overwhelming support of the United Nations and proposals in this sense could only be made by H. M. G. if they carried the assent of the other United Nations chiefly concerned. In view of their collective responsibility, H. M. G. could not run so far ahead as this. Their preliminary suggestion was that the forces making for peace should join together to bring about a cessation of hostilities and the withdrawal of the North Korean troops beyond the 38th Parallel without concerning themselves for a moment with other causes of differences which had arisen in the past in connection with the Korean question.

"Sir David Kelly went on to say that irrespective of other considerations the plain fact was that the hostilities were due to the North Koreans having crossed the 38th Parallel and the best suggestion which H. M. G., as a member of the United Nations, could make was to urge the Soviet Government, likewise a member of U. N. O., to add their efforts to those of the other members by using their influence with the North Koreans. Sir David Kelly made it clear that he was not speaking for any other Government or organisation but only for H. M. G. in the United Kingdom, who felt deeply the dangers of the present situation and who earnestly appealed to the Soviet Government to add their effort to those of the other members of U. N. O. and to use their influence to return to methods of peaceful negotiation.

"Sir David Kelly said that he would be glad to pass on any suggestions which Mr. Gromyko had to make. Mr. Gromyko said that the Soviet Government would be informed.

"Sir David Kelly was again requested to call on Mr. Gromyko on July 17. Mr. Gromyko briefly summarised Sir David Kelly's communication of July 11 and stated that in the opinion of the Soviet Government the best means for a peaceful settlement was the convening of the Security Council with the indispensable participation of the Chinese People's Government. He added that representatives of the Korean people should be heard and that the Security Council should then solve the Korean question.

"Sir David Kelly stated that the general attitude of H. M. G. to the representation of the Chinese People's Government was known but that the question was separate from that of the actual situation which was that the forces representing 53 United

Nations were being attacked in South Korea. He inquired whether it was the view of the Soviet Government that this situation should be referred to the Security Council with the Chinese People's Government participating and that meanwhile hostilities should continue.

"Mr. Gromyko merely replied that it was for the Security Council to solve the broad Korean question. At their previous meetings the exchanges between Sir David Kelly and Mr. Gromyko had been oral. On this occasion, however, Mr. Gromyko, in addition to outlining his views orally, handed to Sir David Kelly a text containing the views of the Soviet Government. In view of the publication today of the Soviet version of these conversations, H. M. G. have decided that to avoid misunderstanding their views will be made known to the Soviet Government in writing. Sir David Kelly has, therefore, been instructed to deliver an *aide memoire* to the Soviet Government confirming and summarising the view of H. M. G.

"These in short are that the immediate issue is to stop the hostilities in Korea in regard to which H. M. G. reaffirmed their support for the resolutions of the Security Council; and that the restoration of peace in Korea cannot be made conditional on a settlement of other issues. Noting the express desire of the Soviet Government for a peaceful settlement, H. M. G. reiterate the hope that the Soviet Government will use their influence with the North Koreans to bring about an immediate end of the hostilities and the withdrawal of the North Korean forces to northward of the 38th Parallel."

In reply to a question, Mr. Attlee said that China's representation on the Security Council was entirely a separate question and the British Government were not prepared to bargain on this point.

### *Soviet Union's "Baltic Wall"*

Some three months back angry protests were sent by the United States Government to the Soviet Union against the shooting down by Soviet coastal guns and disappearance of a U.S. plane. We do not remember the details of the latter's reply, but it justified itself by saying that the U. S. plane had no right to be where it was found and shot at. An American magazine, *Newsweek*, throws light on the subject which goes to show that the American plane was not as innocently engaged as it appeared to be or was represented to be. We summarize below the paper's interpretation of the circumstances of the plane's disappearance in the Baltic area. The aircraft was presumably engaged in some sort of reconnaissance.

"A reconnaissance mission would explain why its 'routine' flight took it so far from its regular station in the Mediterranean.

"The aircraft was equipped with radar and photographic equipment and contained three electronic specialists in its ten-men crew.

Moreover, it was operating in a militarily fascinating area.'

From what western intelligence has learned, the Russians are bulwarking the Baltic sea coasts of East Germany, Poland and the Soviet Union itself with a Baltic Wall which may make Adolf Hitler's Atlantic Wall look like sand dunes.

This wall is studded with an ever-increasing number of rocket installations, air bases with underground hangers, fortified areas, supply dumps, and a network of radar stations directed from Europe.

Acting as a Russian cork in the Baltic bottleneck off the German coast is Rugen Island. Rocket-launching sites facing West have been built fanwise in its dense beech forests.

Two hundred landing craft and a flotilla of ex-German E-boats (now called Potemkins) are supposedly stationed on the island's east coast. Heavy bombers can be based at its modernised aerodrome.

The entire island is strongly fortified and provided with anti-aircraft and radar; among other key Soviet bases in Germany were the rocket experimental station at Peenemünde, where the Nazis developed the V-one and V-two and the destroyer and torpedo-boat next at Warnemünde.

On the Soviet's own coastline, *Lepaya* itself was believed to be a big naval base, handling cruisers as well as lesser craft.

Memel and Riga were being used respectively as the number one and number two submarine bases.

Kaliningrad (ex-German Königsberg) was a major fitting and repair centre where 2,000 German technicians operated German equipment seized as reparations."

Devere Allen in *World Interpreter* (New York) of May 26 last gives a detached view of this controversy which we like for its realistic approach. "European opinion, which always tends to be hard-boiled, leans to the view that both sides in the cold war use reconnaissance flights all the time. . . ."

### "Rivalry for Asian Leadership"

Werner Levi writing in the *Far Eastern Survey Bulletin* of the American Institute of Pacific Relations under the heading "Australia and New Asia" refers to an "underground rivalry" between India and Australia for Asian leadership. Queerer things have cropped up in human mind specially under the impulsion of fear, and in the present instance Australia has reasons to be afraid. So far as we can speak of our own country, India is too conscious of her own insufficiencies in economic and military organization to be able to nurse such an illusion. India's Prime Minister with all his internationalism has repudiated the idea.

Levi says that Australia has grown conscious of her own weakness in the new set-up high-lighted by Japan's aggressive Asianism. And always depending

on Britain for her own defence, she and her ruling class, vowed to the notorious "White Australia" policy, have been under the influence of "mixed feelings" at the British decision to "quit India." And as Britain no longer possesses the power and prestige, associated with an imperial destiny, and the United States has inherited this high position, Australia has come to regard her as "the mainstay of her security," islanded in a sea of brown humanity. Imperial Britain's statesmen, like Field Marshal Jan Smuts, have openly spoken of this new leadership of the Anglo-Saxon world as the next stage in international developments.

This interpretation explains many of the suspicions and fears of the Anglo-Saxon world, headed today by the United States of America, and its animus against India. This is the root cause of "the tension" between the two Power Blocs in which destiny has entangled our country. Levi says that this tension "can be sensed, rather than seen"—an excursion into the region of the unconscious which the Anglo-Saxon world has been trying to rationalize. It is from this angle that we can understand their impatience with the Nehru policy of neutrality. Our Prime Minister is being increasingly criticized in Australia "for making a discussion of a joint defence against communism at the Colombo Conference impossible;" on the question of a Japanese Peace Treaty they have differed; and in the matter of recognition to Bao Dai of Indo-China India has refused to toe the line of the Anglo-Saxon Powers.

### London "Economist's" Malice

The Malan Government of South Africa, by passing the Group Areas Bill, has demonstrated once more that its white constituents of 25 lakhs are in no mood to deal decently with the 80 lakhs of non-whites, 94 per cent of whom are original inhabitants of South Africa, the whites being mere interlopers who cannot trace any history of their relation with this country longer than 300 years. The Bill referred to above is intended to set up separate areas to house the different peoples, coloured and "colourless"—the word within quotation marks was coined by Mrs. Besant to describe the white peoples.

When the Bill was introduced into the South African Legislature, the Government of India objected on the ground that in view of the forthcoming Round Table Conference between India, Pakistan and South Africa, the Bill was un-called-for, to say the least. But the Malan Government was obdurate; it has got the Bill passed in spite of the protests of the majority. The Government of India was left no choice but to decide that it would not join the Round Table Conference; the Pakistan Government appears to be of undecided mind.

In view of these developments, the comments of the London *Economist*, weekly organ of British capital, are malicious in the extreme—if not dishonest—

when it suggested that "the original purpose of the Round Table Conference was to find a way either of persuading South African Indians to emigrate to India or of bringing an end to the everlasting friction between the Indians and the rest of the racial groups in the Union." The *Bombay Chronicle* has characterized this misrepresentation of the Round Table Conference's objective as the "effect of besotted racialism which moves in sympathy with Dr. Malan's 'apartheid' (segregation) extravagances and seeks every opportunity to render service to the racialism of the whites." We call it malicious because British die-hards cannot get over the shock that India has got beyond their clutches.

Our contemporary of Bombay has quoted the U. N. O. resolution of May, 1949 passed by 47 votes to 1 (South Africa) and 10 abstaining, suggesting discussions between India, Pakistan and South Africa "with a view to achieving an agreed settlement of the minorities problem in South Africa." In contrast to the *Economist*, the Opposition organ in South Africa, the *Rand Daily Mail*, is honest, though it is as colour conscious as any other "colourless" people. In an article, dated 22nd June last, it wrote :

Dr. T. E. Donges, Minister of the Interior, seems to have "tried to put a fast one across the Indian Government," the opposition newspaper, *Rand Daily Mail*, said on the Indian decision not to join a conference on the position of Indians in South Africa.

Dr. Donges claimed to have told Indian and Pakistani delegates, at preliminary Cape Town talks, of the Union Government's intention to introduce the Group Areas Bill for the segregation of races in separate areas; the Bill increased discrimination and was different from what the Indians were led to expect.

"We cannot wonder then that the Indians are both surprised and annoyed or that they feel that they have been made victims of a remarkable demonstration of sleight of hand."

The Indian decision was regrettable but the Union Government had no reason to be disappointed.

"Almost anyone would have acted in the same way for people will not go into a conference room when they are slapped in the face before they enter."

### Near West to India

From North Africa to Iran is Near East to Western diplomacy; it is *per contra* Near West to us. In this area the pot appears to be boiling over, what with Arab-Israel tension, with thinly-veiled competition over oil between Britain and the United States and with Soviet and Far-Western Powers' rivalry. The people concerned—Berbers, Arabs, Turks, Iranians—are naturally worried over their area becoming the battle-ground of rival ideologies and practices; they are afraid both of Soviet Totalitarianism and Far Western Democracy. Their fears find expression in the following comments of the *Moyen Orient*, well-

informed Paris magazine and of the Lebanese *Al Hada* respectively.

"A Pan-Arab Union would serve as a prelude to the setting up of a broader Bloc to include the main States of the eastern Mediterranean which in some respects would play the part of the Brussels Pact towards the Atlantic Pact."

"The declaration of three Governments (France, Britain and the U.S.A. made in May last) is an act dangerous to the cause of peace in the Near East. No matter how this may be camouflaged, the declaration of the three Powers means their intervention in our domestic and foreign affairs and disrespect for our independence. The peoples of the Arab countries will realize that their enemies are those who seek to dominate them, to colonize their territories and build on them military bases, as well as to force the Arabs to defend the interests of foreign imperialists. By their declaration the Western Powers want to turn us into enemies of the Soviet Union, though we are in no way interested in that."

### "Right to Spread Disaffection"

The Supreme Court of India and the Provincial High Courts have been trying to clip the wings of Executive high handedness in its attempts to restrict the freedom of expression of popular feelings and sentiments. We have already commented on the Supreme Court's judgments on the *Organizer* (Delhi Weekly) and the *Crossroads* (Bombay Weekly) cases. These have been hailed in India and outside as a distinct rap on bureaucratic irresponsibility the blame for which cannot be avoided by the Nehru Government itself. The *Washington Post* has characterized the judgements as "an event of great significance in Asia." In an editorial appearing in its issue of May 20 last, the paper "commented on the court's decision that India's constitutional guarantee of freedom of speech and expression could be invoked against the Government itself."

Noting that the ruling specifically protected a pro-Communist newspaper banned by the Madras State Government, the *Post* said: "The significant thing is that the Court is interpreting the Indian Constitution in a judicial atmosphere instead of merely falling in with the executive and legislative policy."

'Apparently, the judicial tradition that the British established in India has taken deep root. When the final separation of the British and Indian Courts was effected a few months ago, the New Delhi Government said that nothing had impressed the people of India more than the sense of independence and impartiality that had marked the decision of appeals from India by the Privy Council.

'If the executive and legislative branches have good judgment to respect this tradition now that it



has been transferred to Indian Courts, the chance for successful operation of popular Government in India will be immediately strengthened.'

Even nearer home, the Executive has not been spared by the Provincial High Courts. Mr. Justice V. Bhargava of Allahabad granted a *habeas corpus* relief to one Ahmad Ali, a detenu, and ordered his release from custody in the Agra Jail. The *Leader* of Allahabad summarized this judgment delivered on May 31 last :

"The applicant was under detention under the Preventive Detention Act, 1950. The main contention urged in support of the application for a writ in the nature of *habeas corpus* was that the grounds of detention disclosed to the applicant were vague and no reasonable person could on those grounds come to a view that it was necessary to detain the applicant for the purpose of maintaining public order.

"The first ground mentioned was that the applicant indulged in fiery speeches in the month of May, 1948, and thereafter he went underground and evaded his arrest. The second ground was that he held a secret meeting on the night between March 22/23, 1949, at the residence of Ram Prasad, a Communist absconder, and therein he criticised the present Government as by law established and appealed to the audience to overthrow such a capitalistic Government. The third ground was that he had been issuing objectionable leaflets off and on and at the time of his arrest several such leaflets were recovered. The last ground was that he organised a procession of ladies and children on April 5, 1949, at Tundla in defiance of orders under Section 144, Criminal Procedure Code, with a view to create disaffection among the people.

"In all the grounds served on the applicant there was no mention that he had ever incited people to violence, or to do any illegal acts. The first ground mentioned that he was there to spread disaffection in May, 1948. There was no mention of the party against whom disaffection was to be created. Presumably the ground was meant to indicate that the applicant was trying to create disaffection against the Government.

"*Spread of disaffection against a party Government cannot be said to be a ground for inferring that public order would not be maintained. It is the right of every citizen in a democratic Government to spread disaffection against a particular party Government. This right is of course subject to the condition that the disaffection should not be so spread as to result in violence and there should be really no incitement to the use of violence or other illegitimate course.*

"The applicant certainly tried to keep his meetings secret and his presence also secret from the authorities, but this secrecy alone cannot give rise to any reasonable inference that the applicant's activities were likely to result in the breach of public peace. The facts alleged in the grounds merely constitute the

*exercise of the legitimate right of a citizen and detention on such grounds cannot in any way be justified. The grounds are either vague, or are such as cannot reasonably lead any one to the inference that it is necessary to detain the applicant for the purpose of maintaining public peace. Consequently the detention of the applicant is not in accordance with law."*

### *High Courts Committee Recommendations*

The High Courts Arrears Committee, set up by the Government of India, has expressed the view that only modification of substantive law and implication procedure "can strike at the root of the evil of heavy arrears and delayed justice." The committee had as its chairman Justice S. R. Das of the Supreme Court of India. The members were Shri M. C. Setalvad, Attorney-General of India, Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer and Shri S. K. Dar. The committee made some concrete proposals to liquidate the arrears of work in High Courts.

Stressing the need for large-scale reforms in various directions including the modification of some substantive laws and simplification of the law of procedure, the Committee has recognised that the right to approach the High Court provided by the Constitution could not possibly be curtailed.

"Nor would it be right," the Committee added, "to deprive a party of the right of coming to the High Court by way of appeal or revision given by certain special legislation for safeguarding the rights of the citizens against arbitrary exercise of powers conferred on the special court or authority set up by such legislation." In the circumstances the Committee has stated that it could deal only with the rights of appeal and revision in the normal civil and criminal proceedings in the High Courts.

The proposals of the Committee fall into three main heads in respect of relieving the High Courts of some work. The following five suggestions are in respect of extending the jurisdiction of the subordinate courts and for curtailing the right of appeal and revision to the High Courts :

(i) In view of the fall in the value of money, appeals in respect of original suits, the valuation of which does not exceed Rs. 10,000 should lie to the district judge and not to the High Court. The Bombay Government has already given effect to this step. Other States can also bring about this change by a simple amendment of local Civil Courts Act and High Court Rules.

(ii) No second appeal should lie to the High Court in a suit for recovery of Rs. 2,000 or below or of immovable property valued at Rs. 1,000 or below except by the special leave of the High Court.

(iii) The revisional jurisdiction exercised by the sessions judges under Section 438 of the Cr. P.C. may be enlarged to enable them to pass orders for acquittals

instead of referring the case to High Courts for such orders. The section may be suitably amended to relieve the High Courts of criminal references under that section by the district judges.

(iv) Revisional jurisdiction at present exercised by the High Court under Section 2 of the Provincial Small Causes Courts Act should be vested in the district judges, the section being suitably amended.

(v) The jurisdiction of a single judge in the High Court in regard to civil matters should be raised to Rs. 5,000 where it is at present below Rs. 5,000.

The Committee points out that the question of curtailing the right of appeal and revision or of extending the jurisdiction of subordinate courts further would be "safe" if the calibre of the subordinate judiciary could be raised higher. It also emphasises that the Government should take proper care in the selection and appointment of the right type of men for such offices.

In regard to appeals the Committee has made three further recommendations :

(i) All second appeals (admission of which, incidentally, takes a good part of the time of the court) should be scrutinised by a single judge outside working hours, those fit to be admitted should be admitted under his orders. Those which appear to him as requiring further consideration or unfit to be admitted, should be set down for hearing before him in court under Order 41, Rule 11 of the Civil Procedure Code. This practice is already current in the Madras High Court.

(ii) A full statement of the case on law and facts should be filed by the appellant along with the memorandum of appeal in all second appeals or soon after it within a fixed time. Rules of the court may be amended to provide this.

(iii) In all civil appeals a concise statement of case with relevant law and authorities should be exchanged between the parties and filed in court a short time before the hearing of the case actually begins in the court. The statement of case may be modelled on the practice obtaining in the Privy Council of U.K. or of American Courts, the parties should ordinarily confine themselves to the points of contention raised in their respective statements. Fresh points may, however, be urged with the leave of the court.

The Committee has also made two general recommendations; firstly, that the working days of the court should be about 200 in the year and that the strength of the judges should be increased in such courts as have a heavy accumulation of arrears.

### A Strange Case

The Judicial Secretary of West Bengal has recently been found guilty of contempt of Court by the Calcutta High Court. On the *ex parte* application of Ramlal Rajgharia and Gorak Singh, the Chief Justice and Mr. Justice J. P. Mitter issued a Rule on

the opposite party Mr. S. K. Sen, Judicial Secretary to the Government of West Bengal, to show cause why he should not be dealt with for alleged contempt of Court in respect of a letter addressed by him to the Additional District Magistrate of 24-Parganas. The Rule was heard on July 20 and the Judicial Secretary was found guilty of contempt of Court. Mr. Sen made a full and frank apology.

The case is of extreme public importance and reveals a curious state of affairs in the administration of West Bengal.

The petitioners' case was that the petitioner Ramlal was the General Manager of Textile Machinery Corporation Ltd. (Texmaco) at Belghuria and the other petitioner Gorak was the head jamadar in the service of the company. On August 2, 1949, there was a strike in the factory and the next day the management declared a lockout. It was further alleged that on August 12, 1949, when the petitioner Ramlal was coming out of his quarters there was an attempt on his life by the mob which had assembled at the mill gate, whereupon the Armed Police pickets who were there on duty opened fire and in consequence Subodh Kumar Sarkar, Secretary of the Texmaco Labour Union, was killed. Thereafter, two enquiries were held and the findings were that Subodh was killed as a result of police firing.

On September 15, 1949, it was alleged, Anurupa Debi, widow of the deceased Subodh Sarkar, filed a complaint in the Court of the S.D.O., Barrackpore, charging the petitioners and others with offences under Sections 302/149, 324, 325 I.P.C. and it was alleged that petitioner Ramlal gave orders and the other petitioner shot at the deceased who was also assaulted with lathis. A Judicial enquiry was held and then summons were issued against the petitioners under Sections 302 and 302/114 I.P.C.

On February 13, 1950, the petition stated, Sri M. K. Sen, Additional District Magistrate, on the application of the complainant, appointed her own lawyer Shri Girija Bhusan Mukherjee, Advocate, as Public Prosecutor to conduct the prosecution case but at the cost of the complainant. Subsequently the Superintendent and Legal Remembrancer, West Bengal, appointed G. B. Mukherjee Esq., Public Prosecutor in the case on certain fees to be paid by the Government which appointment however was cancelled by the opposite party on April 12, 1950.

Thereafter, the S.D.O., Alipore, acting under Section 495/492 Cr.P.C. appointed the Court Inspector to conduct the prosecution case. Subsequently the petitioner alleged that they were informed that on July 7, 1950, the opposite party (S. K. Sen) wrote a letter to the Additional District Magistrate, 24-Parganas, as follows :

"Dear S. K. Sen,—In the Texmaco firing case against the manager Ramlal Rajghoria and the durwan Gorak Singh, pending before the S.D.O.,

Alipore, the complainant has submitted a representation against the order of the S.D.O. directing a Public Prosecutor or a Court Inspector to take charge of the case. As the Government are not at present interested in the prosecution and the prosecution is being carried at the instance of a private party, Government desire that no Public Prosecutor or Court Inspector should appear at this stage and that if one has already appeared under the order of the S.D.O., he should be directed to retire. I am directed to request you that the S.D.O. and the Public Prosecutor, Court Inspector, if any, appearing in the case may be informed accordingly."

It was submitted that the writing of the letter by the opposite party amounted to a gross contempt of Court and the same interfered with the course of justice.

The main point to be noted in this case is that murder has been alleged against some specific parties, but the police did not take cognisance of it. On a petition to the S.D.O., Barrackpore, the widow succeeded in getting the Magistrate to issue a warrant against the accused persons. When the case was at last started and the question of the appointment of a Public Prosecutor came, the Court Inspector was finally appointed. The victim's widow apprehends that if the case is conducted by the Court Inspector, who is a police official, she will not get justice and hence her application to the Government of West Bengal. The Judicial Secretary, who is also the Legal Remembrancer, has powers to appoint Public Prosecutors and in this case nothing in law prevented him from appointing the widow's pleader or any other Advocate as Public Prosecutor. Instead he did something for which he has merited a sharp rebuke. Finally, the accused persons in this murder case are eager to retain the Court Inspector as Public Prosecutor and have opposed his removal. This is extremely strange, to say the least. The victim's widow thinks that justice will not be done if the police conducts the case and the accused persons seem to feel safer if the case remains in the hands of the police. This is the crux of the present case and justice would not only have been done but it would have seemed to have been done if the High Court moved *suo moto* and thrashed the main issue.

### India's Present Population

India's population has increased by over 28 millions during the last ten years, from 319 millions (of the present Indian territory) in 1941 to 347.31 millions on March 1 last, an annual increase of 3.19 million, according to an estimate made by the Census Commissioner for purposes of the coming general elections.

The figure represents the total population of the 27 States included in Parts A, B and C, comprising the whole of the Indian Union.

These estimates have been prepared by means of two methods: First, after taking into account the

population figures of 1941 census after making due adjustment for births and deaths since then and also the movement of persons displaced from the original places of residence by reasons of the setting up of India and Pakistan; and secondly, on the basis of the mathematical projection of the trend indicated by the population figures as ascertained at the last five decennial censuses, after taking into account the movement of displaced persons.

Although the estimates are provisional, the Census Commissioner is reported to hold that they would be almost 95 per cent correct, except perhaps in the case of Assam where the figures are not found to be very reliable.

Of this increase, the largest, of nearly 5 per cent occurs in the States of Bengal, Bihar, Rajasthan, Orissa, and Punjab; while the lowest, of less than 1 per cent, occurs in Madras, Travancore and Cochin. The variation in Bombay and C. P. is estimated to be about 2 per cent.

The populations of different States as estimated by the Census Commissioner in millions on March 1, 1950 are as under:

*Part A.*—Assam 8.51, Bihar 39.42, Bombay 32.68, Madhya Pradesh 20.92, Madras 54.29, Orissa 14.41, Punjab 12.61, Uttar Pradesh 61.62 and West Bengal 24.32.

*Part B.*—Hyderabad 17.69, Jammu and Kashmir 4.37, Madhya Bharat 7.89, Mysore 8.06, Patiala and East Punjab States Union 3.32, Rajasthan 14.69, Saurashtra 3.96 and Travancore-Cochin 8.58.

*Part C.*—Ajmer 0.73, Bhopal 0.85, Bilaspur 0.13, Coorg 0.17, Delhi 1.51, Himachal Pradesh 1.08, Kutch 0.55, Manipur 0.54, Tripura 0.58 and Vindhya Pradesh 3.88.

### Food-grains Committee Report

The Food-grains Procurement Committee has submitted its Report to the Government. Its main recommendation has been that decontrol of food-grains is not advisable at the present moment. It says that in the present circumstances, the Government has no alternative, except by means of control for establishing a stable and reasonable price-level for food-grains and ensuring supplies to the consumer at such prices. Without establishing such level of prices decontrol is not possible. The Committee was appointed in February 1950 with Shri Thirumal Rao as Chairman and Shri C. P. K. Menon, Shri E. N. Mangat Rai and Shri R. P. Noronha as members. The Committee was asked to examine the existing systems of procurement and distribution in the States, and make recommendations for their improvement so as to reduce imports and the disparity between open market and procurement prices. It was also to suggest any changes in organisation which these recommendations might involve.

The report states : "A controlled food administration is but the other aspect of the Grow More Food campaign. Without more production, self-sufficiency cannot be achieved. Even with it, unless the conditions and psychology of security which can only come through a reasonably secure level of prices are created, any attempt at freedom in food will be unsuccessful and will mean a reversion to control, in circumstances possibly even more difficult than 1948. The situation demands that our resources in food should be better administered till the country can look on its food position with confidence and thereby remove the need for control".

The Committee says that subject to variations in detail, uniformity in procurement and distribution is possible and necessary. It recommends a uniform system of procurement which gives monopoly of purchase of grain to Government at the first point of marketing.

This "monopoly procurement" is the minimum uniform system to be adopted throughout the country. This means that all transactions in grain outside the individual village will be through Government or agents controlled by it, at prices determined by Government.

This system rules out free markets and free market prices ; it limits the use of the trade to functioning as agents of Government. It does not involve the collection of individual surpluses from each producer, but the voluntary surrender of grain by him by creating the conditions for such surrender. The levy is not, however, ruled out in all areas. The Committee is of opinion that a levy will be necessary where the deficit is large, and where in consequence, grain will not be made available in a system, which leaves a farmer free to market grain when he wishes. The levy is, therefore, to be used as a means of working the monopoly in States with large deficits.

From the monopoly follow certain distribution commitments. If the Government establishes a monopoly at the market, it must arrange to feed all those who receive supplies at or subsequent to it. Distribution is, therefore, not only a means of supplying consumers at a controlled price, but is essential to the success of the monopoly. This involves (a) the rationing of towns of and above a population of 50,000, (b) the informal rationing of other towns, (c) the supply of food-grains to villages to the extent and when necessary.

The Committee states that the system of procurement and distribution recommended assumes a high standard of efficiency in the administration. "Unless State Governments can spare personnel from amongst their best officers for at least the supervisory senior posts both in districts and headquarters, it is impossible to make any headway with the food problem.

"It has been tragic to notice that in many States officers with long experience of food work have been withdrawn to other jobs, and replaced by persons who have had to buy their experience from scratch. Such purchase is inevitably at the expense of the people." In the view of the Committee a substantial and decisive contribution in reducing the dependence on imports can be made by greater administrative efficiency in procurement and distribution.

For efficient food administration the Committee recommends a firm announcement of policy both at the Centre and in the States, preferably at the highest Government level, so as to set at rest the speculation on the subject of food policy.

Because of the overwhelming importance of efficiency in food, the Committee suggests that the portfolio of food controls and Grow More Food should be in the hands of the same Minister in each State. "Food is and will be of outstanding importance during the next few years, and should be controlled by Minister of capacity and influence in each State."

The total resources and experience of the country, the committee adds, should be pooled through the Central Food Ministry in achieving the practice of a concentrated, efficient policy, and its determined enforcement. This position and definition of functions should be accepted in practice by both the Central and State Governments. "These functions have been inadequately performed in the past and this is a cause of our present difficulties. The Food Ministry must have the machinery to act effectively and quickly as the co-ordinating and supervisory authority." In this connection the Committee makes recommendations about the organisation of the regional food Commissioners and the co-ordination and supervision of procurement and distribution operations by officers of "sufficiently senior status and practical administrative experience of food work."

The report next deals in detail with the different States describing existing systems of procurement and distribution and recommends how these should be applied to each State. Broadly speaking, the existing systems of procurement and distribution with improvements in details are to continue in Bombay, Madras, the Punjab, Mysore and Travancore-Cochin ; the monopoly procurement system should be introduced in P.E.P.S.U., U.P., Madhya Pradesh, West Bengal, Assam, Bihar and Orissa and a levy-cum-monopoly in Rajasthan, Saurashtra and Hyderabad.

Mr. R. P. Noronha, who favours a system of relaxed control allowing free market prices to operate, appends a minute of dissent. He says: "In a democracy, politics cannot be kept aloof from any subject that affects the interests of the people. If the people oppose a particular course of action, that course must ultimately fail."



### "Crime Wave" in the West (P.) Punjab

In a recent issue of the *Delhi News Chronicle* appeared the following report from its Karachi correspondent. It needs no comment to draw attention to the evil :

"Although the Federal capital itself does not feel safe from organized crime, a major crime wave of Chicago variety has gripped Lahore and other principal towns of the West Punjab. Partly as a result of faulty refugee rehabilitation but mostly because of an organized link between the local politician and professional "goonda," it has paralysed the whole civil life of Lahore. These "goondas" hold at ransom the life and property of peaceful citizens, and the police the guardian, dare not infringe upon the "liberties" of the "gentlemen robbers and abductors of women."

"Organized crime has further assumed alarming proportions because two powerful gangs of "goondas"—one consisting of local elements and the other constituted from the Amritsar refugees—have fallen out over divisions of spoils and spheres of influence; and when there is a split among the "goondas" it is not strange if hell is let loose on the city. Street battles between "goonda" factions in which even sten-guns are used have become a daily occurrence.

"These "goondas" have cars and vast quantities of modern arms and ammunition at their disposal. Trade people and cinema-owners are living in constant peril.

"As one newspaper recently described it: 'Forcible abductions, sometimes in broad daylight and under the fire of sten-guns, extortions of ransom money, exactions of 'taxes' from licensed prostitutes, daylight murders on public thoroughfares, armed dacoities, gruesome cases of rape and various forms of blackmail and harassment constitute part of their regular operations.'

"Till recently these "goondas" had struck such terror that none, not even newspaper men, could open their mouth against them. It was only when a Karachi paper from a distance of 800 miles drew the authorities' attention to this public peril No. 1 that the Lahore papers joined in chorus and the hitherto helpless police felt fortified to plan anti-bandit measures.

"The local magistracy and police officials held hurried consultations as a result of which a three-month ban on carrying of weapons in the open was imposed. Plans were also chalked out and put into operation for organised rounding-up of organized criminals. According to reports the police has so far bagged 42 'goondas' in a two-day swoop and has discovered clues to widespread ramifications throughout the Province especially in Rawalpindi, Sialkot and Gujranwalla.

"A clue to the link between the local politician and the "goonda" can be had from a recent Multan

report which mentioned the arrest of five members of an alleged gang and including their ringleader who is the Vice-President of the Dera Ghazi Khan Muslim League and a member of the District Board.

"The 'goonda' activities are not confined to daylight rapes, street robberies and open murders—one on a daily average in Lahore—there is also traffic in illicit liquor and a wide network of gambling dens, etc.

"It is hoped that as a result of the authorities' strong and prompt measures such 'goonda' activities will be sufficiently curbed to let citizens live a peaceful life and that the reportedly regular links between the politician and the 'goonda' will be torn asunder."

### Bombay's Milk Schemes

We had recently had occasion to discuss the possibilities of the Milk Scheme of West Bengal Government, centred at Haringhata, a "cattle colony" growing up under their auspices at this place about 32 miles distant from Calcutta.

In this connection it is desirable to know what the Bombay Government have been doing to provide pure milk to their people. More than once we have referred to their Aarey Scheme at a place about 25 miles distant from Bombay City on the B. B. C. I. Railway system. It is estimated to cost about Rs. 2½ crores when "carried to its logical conclusion," to quote the words of Sree Dinkerrao Desai, Civil Supplies Minister. We are told that this particular scheme had "a double objective, namely, to assure the people of a reasonable supply of milk and to remove the insanitary stables" which infest the city, and thus insure its health.

We heard that the Haringhata Scheme had also such an objective to relieve Calcutta of its 30,000 *khatahs*—stables. At present we do not hear of it. The Bombay Minister told us that at first the cattle people had been unwilling to shift their cattle; but when they saw the provision made for the reception of their animals, the healthy housing accommodation for their servants, they withdrew their objections and offered their co-operation. Aarey can accommodate about 15,000 cattle. It can grow about 50 per cent only of its fodder requirements while we have been assured that Haringhata can be made self-sufficient at least in theory.

The Bombay Government have another "Cattle Colony" at Anand in Guzerat whose milk is cheaper than that from Aarey though it is sold at annas fourteen per seer; the profit thus made meets the cost of distribution and pasteurization. They have another Scheme at Palghar where dry cattle would be sent during the time when they were dry; this arrangement is more profitable than sending them to the slaughter-house. Another is under contemplation.

All these schemes are desirable. But the question yet remain un-answered—how can you make the villager interested in the matter? Surely not by buy-

ing buffalo milk from the villager, adulterating it half-and-half with skim milk and selling the product as "toned" milk, as per the latest brilliant idea of Haringhata's Director?

### *Side-light on Bihar*

Since the "Molasses Scandal" days (end of 1947) our neighbour Province has been having its internal tensions that do not receive as much notice in the Press of India as these should. One reason of this indifference may be that all of us are tarred, more or less, with the brush of corruption in the higher rungs of Ministerial and Administrative life, and none of us can afford to be critical about these little lapses of human nature. There have been other "scandals" in Bihar which appear to have drawn upon her head the anger of the Working Committee of the Congress, if we are to believe the news-items published in the *Bombay Chronicle* in its issue of May 12 last:

"The Working Committee is totally unable to accept the explanations and excuses offered by the Chief Minister of Bihar and is firmly of the opinion that the transactions with regard to the Bettiah Raj land with 60 prominent Congressmen of Bihar were immoral and the lands must be returned to the Raj administration under the Court of Wards. For this purpose, if necessary, legislation may be speedily passed.

In the event of the Bihar Government not acting up to the Working Committee's directions, it will have to be considered how far the Government represent the Congress and should continue to function as such.

Referring to the B.P.C.C. President, Mr. Prajapati Mishra's reluctance to part with his shares of lands (lands which were settled in his favour from the Sathi lands) it said: "It should be pointed out to him that the Working Committee might be compelled to take other action."

What this "other action" can be or could be, the communication never took the trouble to explain. The above in short was a communication said to have been addressed to the Chief Minister and sent by the General Secretary of the Congress, Mr. Kala Venkata Rao.

To sum up in one simple sentence it tried to threaten the local Ministry with dismissal 'en masse' and removal, if it failed to abide by the instructions and directives of the Working Committee."

The correspondent, evidently reflecting the opinion of Bihar's Congress leadership, has brought the question of constitutional propriety into this matter, and asks, "Does the Working Committee have the mandatory jurisdiction to superimpose its wishes on a Government as such? Are the State Governments to be only the handmaids of the Congress Executive? Do the public opinion and the State legislatures come nowhere in the picture?..." he quotes Art. 365 of the Constitution of India wherein the President is competent to interfere "where any State has failed to comply with, or give effect to, any directions given in the exercise of the executive powers of the Union under any of the provisions of the Constitution, it

shall be lawful for the President to hold that a situation has arisen in which the Government of the State cannot be carried on in accordance with the provisions of this Constitution." But he hopes that "Dr. Rajendra Prasad will not be carried away by the Working Committee bosses." If we understand the feelings behind this complaint, the leadership of the Bihar Congress which has been having their own way in relation to the Congress High Command because of Babu Rajendra Prasad's influence over it has been upset by this unexpected hardness; therefore, "bosses" of the Congress have been brought specially into this argument as a term of reproach. We are told that this interference of the Congress Executive in Bihar affairs will "soon" make her a "pawn in the game of high politics."

The Bihar Ministry also is, therefore, in an angry mood. This came out in course of the discussion on the "Sathi Lands Restoration Bill" of 1950, introduced into the Bihar Assembly about a fortnight later. An opposition member, Janab Amin Ahmed who had resigned from a high government post about 15 years back and had been a leading light of the Muslim League in the Province, could not lose such an opportunity to dish Congress people; he began to cite instances of certain of them benefiting from the "unfair and partial policy of the Bihar Government regarding the Bettiah Raj Estates which are under the Court of Wards." Naturally there was an uproar. But the revealing fact of the discussion was focussed by the Revenue Minister, Sree Krishna Ballav Sahay, where he said:

"The Bill was being moved against the wishes of the Government and under duress only to preserve the prestige of a certain important member of the Central Cabinet, who had suggested the moving of this Bill to right the alleged wrong done by the Bihar Government to certain individuals by its policy in regard to Sathi lands."

In this wicked world, darkness is more intense under the lamp-post. We are having an illustration of this natural phenomenon in Bihar.

### *"Vanaspati" Manufacture*

The conductors of this new industry have been advertising the worth of their venture reckless of the share-holders' money. They have been quoting Ministers, Central and Provincial, leading scientists and others, with stray certificates gathered from their speeches and statements. One of their pleas is that more than Rs. 20 crores of Indian money have been sunk in their industry, and on its strength they demand public support. They appear to forget that Animal Husbandry carried on in India's 6 lakhs of villages is financed by crores of people, and crores of India's money running to more than Rs. 4,000 crores, according to an estimate we have seen; the annual value of the products of this rural industry is about Rs. 1,000 crores a year. (*Vide* Satish Chandra Das

Gupta's *The Cow in India*). A study of these figures should tell us where India's real interests lie in this matter of fat production.

Apart from this over-riding consideration, the propaganda tactics of the *Vanaspati* people call for criticism. The following letter, addressed by Shri Chandra Bhan Gupta, Uttar Pradesh's Civil Supplies Minister to the Secretary of the *Vanaspati* Manufacturers Association, draws attention to their methods of popularizing their stuff. We quote it :

"I have seen your advertisement concerning the hydrogenated vegetable oil issued by your association and appearing in a number of newspapers. In this advertisement extracts of my speech which I delivered in U. P. Legislative Assembly while reporting on Pure Food Bill have been put in such a way as if I were in favour of hydrogenated vegetable oils. I am sure that speech of mine, as a whole, does not give any such impression as has been displayed in the advertisements in support of the *Vanaspati* cause. I hope you will stop publishing this sort of advertisement immediately."

### *Naval School on Chilka Coast*

Vice-Admiral Parry, the Commander-in-Chief of India, was on a two-days' visit to the Chilka coast in Orissa with a view, a Puri news-item told us some time ago, to find a suitable site for shifting the Naval School now at Vishakapattam.

In an interview with the *Press Trust of India* Vice-Admiral Parry said : "At this stage it is not possible for me to say if the lake is suitable for any Navy development. The lake itself is most suitable for boat work and if the school is established on shore the cadets can be given instructions on boats under sail which is a necessary part of the naval training. As the Navy develops we undoubtedly want more of such sites."

He said that the Indian Navy had still to be developed a great deal and for this there should be an improvement of the merchant navy also. In fact, an expanded Merchant Navy of India would provide the necessary background for its development. Coastal shipping had also to be greatly increased; it has been more in existence on the west coast of India than on the east. Now that Orissa was developing into an industrial State they should find out a suitable port between Calcutta and Vizagapatam to meet the increased maritime trade of the future.

In view of the past policy of the Government of India in recruiting the men to the defence forces mostly from the Punjab, they had found after the partition of India that most of the men in the Navy had gone to Pakistan. It was the intention of the Government of India now to see that the recruitment to the defence services should be as widespread as possible.

On Chilka coast Vice-Admiral Parry met the Raja Bahadur of Khallikote and Mr. U. C. Patnaik, M.L.A. who submitted a scheme to the Government for the

conversion of Chilka Lake into a naval base and discussed with them the local aspects.

### *Gandhiji's Programme*

The Nehru Government has been paying lip service to Gandhiji's programme of constructive work leading to a fuller and more balanced life for the people. The reaction on the "constructive workers" themselves to this attitude has been well expressed by Shree G. Ramachandran in the *Gram Udyog Patrika* of July 1 last :

Constructive workers will not break their hearts if their erstwhile comrades, who have become the rulers of India, repudiate the constructive programme. That will only put them on their test. What is heart-breaking, however, is the lack of clarity in the situation for the common man. The common man who worships Gandhiji is misled into the idea that the Central and State Governments are dedicated to carry out Gandhian programmes. Why should not our leaders come out openly and declare that the Gandhian constructive programme with the villager at the centre is impossible, that Khadi and village industries cannot occupy the centre of national economic reconstruction, that the Hindustani Talimi Sangh's pattern of Basic Education has to be considerably modified, that the Go-Seva Sangh's opposition to *Vanaspati* is wrong? The painful tragedy is that our Governments wish to keep alive the false idea that they are carrying out the Gandhian programmes while at the same time they are doing most things contrary. This psychological rift will some day act as a boomerang. It will hurt constructive work and the Governments. Confusion is not good for any programme of work. Why should we not then clear the issues beyond any doubt for anybody?

### *Linguistic Division of the Punjab*

Master Tara Singh, an outstanding leader of a section of the Khalsa, has been holding fast to his demand for a Sikh State to be carved out of East Punjab on the basis of Gurmukhi and Hindi. We believe in this old Congress programme of a division of the Indian Provinces and States on this basis. We do not believe that such a division will create difficulties in the way of the evolution of a centralized administration; we rather think that smaller States and Provinces will remove any threat to it, and the people concerned will settle down to constructive activities freed from a tension. The case of Orissa integrated is a case demonstrating the validity of our argument.

We know that the Nehru Government has developed a fear complex with regard to this problem. They are being pressed to fall back upon all manner of contrivances to avoid fulfilling the Congress election pledges. The latest of these is the "Sachar Formula" applicable to East Punjab. Giani Kartar Singh, Education and Revenue Minister of the Province, in addressing the Principals of Colleges and

Education Inspectors assembled in a conference on June 23 last, has put this matter in a nut-shell as follows :

"Under the Sachar formula Hindi in Devnagri script and Punjabi in Gurmukhi script were recognised as the *media* of instruction in the State on a regional basis. The formula was adopted after a two-day conference in Delhi in October last between leaders of the Punjab."

This formula could not have been unacceptable to the Nehru Government. Yet they loudly speak of their opposition to Linguistic Provinces and States !

### *Hindi as State Language*

Hindi has been accepted as the State language of the Republic of India. But almost half the country has received the decision with mental reservations. This fact should be recognized by the over-hasty reformers. And this reminder has become all the more necessary today in view of what the *Organizer* (weekly) of Delhi has said in its "Notes and Comments" of July 10 last :

"The Patna Conference of the All-Bharat Hindi Sahitya Sammelan has distressingly ended in a purposeless squabble of irreconcilable opinions instead of concertedly deciding upon anything concrete.

"For the representative literary organisation of the national language of Bharat to come to grief in this fashion is unbecoming in the extreme, as the Sammelan has been honoured with a very grave responsibility since Hindi has been constitutionally recognised as the national language.

"In the first instance Hindi has to supplant English, which means Hindi must fulfil all the requirements of national life that English fulfilled not only in Bharat but even in England. There is the question of a rich literature. There is the question of the requisite fund of technical terms for the thousand and one sciences. There is also the question of purifying and standardising the spoken tongue. All these have to be attended to, so that Hindi may rightfully take its place as the national language.

"To attend to all these problems must be the mission of the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan. And the path of this mission is not without dangers, for as Sri Tandon pointed out in his address there are still positively anti-Hindi elements in the Congress as well as the Government. Therefore the duty to mount guard and keep vigil for the interests of the young National Language devolves upon the shoulders of the Sammelan. The Sammelan must never let this out of sight and instead of expending its mental resources in fruitlessly acrimonious squabbles forge ahead organisedly in the interests of both the literary body itself and the language it has to build up."

### *Gurukula University*

The institution founded by Lala Munshi Ram later known as Swami Shraddhananda—a name that will remain enshrined in India's struggle for freedom—has developed into the Gurukula University. About 3 months back it celebrated its Golden Jubilee. Placed at the foot of the eternal Himalayas near Hardwar, the students and teachers have during this period been living strenuous days in tune with Vedic tradi-

tions trying to revive in the 20th century the philosophy and practice of life described by Prof. Guiseppe Tucci, President, Institute Italiano of Rome, in a letter to the Vice-Chancellor, Prof. Indra Vidyavachaspati, on the occasion of the celebrations.

"India should again revive the faith in the values of the spirit; it should help all those of goodwill to find a way so that mere intellect as a cold wind does not kill with its frost the splendid meadow of poetry, and those truths or imaginations which make us dream and discover in the world the traces of God. A civilization cannot be based only upon techniques and numbers; humanism should be revived in order that the equilibrium may be restored between mind and soul which is on the verge of collapse..."

The modern-educated Indian is generally unaware of the valuable work being done in such centres of ancient knowledge. May the next fifty years remove from their minds the film of such indifference !

### *Tanganyika and Popular Government*

The Indian Association of Tanganyika complaining that Europeans were trying to monopolise government, has presented to the U. N. Trusteeship Council a detailed plan for a new type of Government in that territory. The Association, which claimed to represent all Asians in Tanganyika, declared that the territory, which is under British Administration, is ready for a more advanced, popular and democratic system of Government. Tanganyika is at present governed by officials appointed by the British Colonial office.

The main points of the Indian Association's proposals, which have also been sent to the Constitutional Reforms Committee set up by the Government of Tanganyika, are :

1. The Asian community should be given more civil service opportunities. "Colonial service has so far been denied to the Asian community," the petitioners declared, "with one exception." Although Asians were playing a "greater part" than any other immigrant community in the economic and social development of Tanganyika, "they were restricted to doing clerical work in mines, on estates and in commercial houses," the group maintained.

2. The Government's suggestion to set up provincial councils should be put into effect, with municipalities serving as electoral colleges.

The Indian Association warmly supported plans for having equal African and non-African representations on the electoral colleges as a first step.

"While strongly supporting the common roll system based on adult franchise for non-Africans, the Asians would welcome the election of Africans through their representative bodies as a step in the right direction," it stated. It also stressed that the provincial councils should comprise unofficials only. Government persons would serve as technical advisers.



3. A 40-member central legislature, comprising non-Government representatives from 8 provinces and 2 municipalities should be created. Members of the proposed central legislature would elect an executive council from amongst themselves.

### *"The Agricultural Situation in India"*

Under this peculiar name the Economic and Statistical Adviser to the Ministry of Agriculture issues a monthly journal from New Delhi; its annual subscription is Rs. 45; it attempts to present a factual and integrated picture of the agricultural situation in India month to month. There is another journal *Indian Farming* by the same Ministry.

The March issue of the journal presents a charter of the current rainfall of the season (on and from December 1 to the end of February, 1950) showing the uneven distribution over the country which explains the scarcity of food-grains bordering on famine conditions in areas as far spread as Bihar to Madras.

Rainfall has been in excess of the normal in Assam and about normal in East Uttar Pradesh, Vindhya Pradesh, East Madhya Pradesh and Travancore-Cochin, elsewhere in the country rain-fall has been generally below normal, the deficiency being more than 60 per cent of the normal in Gangetic West-Bengal, Chota Nagpur, Rajasthan, Madhya Bharat, Gujarat, Sourashtra and Kutch, Konkan, Deccan Desh and Rayalseema. Regarding the condition of the crops it is reported that in parts of Bombay and Deccan the crops suffered from the effects of deficiency of soil moisture; crop prospects in Madras, especially in the South-east, remained gloomy because of the withering of crops before the rains set in. Famine conditions are feared in parts of Jodhpur and Udaipur Divisions of Rajasthan. Reports of rust attack on wheat in parts of Bombay and Uttar Pradesh and diseases attacking Rabi Jowar in Broach and East Khandesh districts of Bombay were also received. Inadequacy of fodder prevailed in four sub-divisions of West Bengal and Saran district of Bihar. Incidence of cattle diseases was reported from Orissa, two sub-divisions of West Bengal, eight districts each of Madhya Pradesh and Hyderabad and from parts of Bhopal.

There are many interesting figures about various kinds of commodities. We take those of sugar only. The world production of sugar beet has been estimated by the U. S. Department of Agriculture at about 77.8 million tons during 1949 as against about 80.9 million tons in 1948. The pre-war average was 83.2 million tons. In India, the total production of sugar by the central sugar factories up to the end of January, 1950, amounted to 125.31 lakh maunds as against 95.69 lakh maunds in the corresponding period of the previous year.

### *Indian Citizenship*

The trek from East Bengal of about 40 lakhs (4 millions) of Hindus since August 15, 1947 has raised

this problem to a new urgency for solution. In constitutional law they are aliens to India, and the West Bengal Publicity Department has done well to clarify the difficulties for them and other foreigners by issuing the following Press Note:

"Enquiries are often made by foreigners regarding the procedure that should be followed for acquisition of Indian Citizenship under Article 5(c) of the Constitution. This is to be done in two stages in the following manner: Firstly, they will have to make and deposit their declarations of domicile with either of the officers: The Inspector-General of Registration, West Bengal, Writers Buildings, Calcutta for the whole of the State; or the District Registrars for the Districts within their jurisdiction. Secondly, they will have to apply for citizenship, along with a copy of the declaration thus made, before any of the respective authorities: The District Officer, including Additional District Officer, 24-Parganas for the district of 24-Parganas excluding the Calcutta Municipal Area falling within it; other District Officers, including Additional District Officers, for the districts in their charge; or, The Collector of Stamp Revenue, 3, Charnock Place, Calcutta for the Calcutta Municipal Area.

Under Article 5(c) of the Constitution, a person would be a citizen of India if he satisfied the following conditions, viz.: (1) he had his domicile in the territory of India at the commencement of the Constitution, i.e., January 26, 1950; (2) he had been ordinarily a resident in the territory of India for not less than 5 years immediately preceding the commencement of the Constitution; and, (3) he had not voluntarily acquired the citizenship of any foreign State, i.e., by naturalisation.

The application to be made by a foreigner for this purpose should contain his or her (i) name, (ii) father's name and address, (iii) occupation; (iv) the period during which he or she has been living in India and particulars of his or her residence during 5 years preceding January 26, 1950 and (v) whether he or she is already a citizen of any foreign State or has voluntarily acquired citizenship of any foreign State, i.e., by naturalisation."

### *Mackenzie King*

The greatest of the British Dominions has lost its only "elder statesman," Mackenzie King who for 21 years was Prime Minister of the Federation. It is not possible for us from this distance to appreciate the principles and policies of Canadian Liberalism of which Mr. King was leader for such a long time. One thing that convinces us of the greatness of their contribution to Canada's integrity was the way in which they have been to reconcile French "Nationalism" centred at Quebec with the British-Roman Catholicism which the former held fast to with Protestantism and its various expressions. Time was when there had developed a "two-nations" theory in Canada, one based on

French traditions, the other on British. But somehow they managed to negotiate this difficulty. The Liberals in Canada played a considerable part in this great achievement.

### *Yusuf Meherali*

The death of this Socialist leader of Bombay at the age of 44 years only has created a void in the ranks of Indian Socialists that they cannot fill up soon. He has been called by a Western India publicist as "the conscience of the Socialist Party." This is an estimate of Yusuf's life and work which any public man can envy. Today we can grieve for a life cut short in the most promising moment of its career.

To us Yusuf Meherali has ever represented the youth of India—free from all sectional feelings, bold in the pursuit of truth as they have seen it, with a sensitive self-respect, individual and natural, and determined to assert the equality of their motherland in the comity of modern nations. Since the early twenties he has led a life of self-dedication, untempted by domestic life and unswayed by personal considerations.

The citizens of Bombay, exacting judges, early realized the sterling worth of this young man, and they made him Mayor of their "no mean city"—the youngest in its annals. Finishing his law education Yusuf Meherali could have risen high in the profession; but the Judges of the High Court required of him a recantation of his political opinions which he refused to do. Weak health had dogged his life, but he managed to put in service to his people that will secure his name a place in their modern history. Today his aspiring soul finds peace in the bosom of his Maker!

### *Despoilation for Rehabilitation*

We have received serious complaints against West Bengal Government's land requisition policy, specially with regard to the rehabilitation of refugees. Permanent residents of many places, living there for generations, are being asked to surrender their land which is in profitable use for "public purpose" and orders for requisition are being issued under the West Bengal Land Development and Planning Act 1948. Under this Act, definition of "public purpose" includes "the settlement of immigrants who have migrated into the Province of West Bengal on account of circumstances, beyond their control." We have full sympathy for the refugees and we want them to be rehabilitated. But we wish to make it clear that any attempt at rehabilitation of refugees by ousting local people from their land will not only be useless but will frustrate the very purpose for which it was aimed and will become a source of irritation and conflict between the local people and immigrants. Extreme care must be taken to ensure that whatever land is requisitioned is either fallow or willingly offered by its owner. Utilisation of the provisions of the Act to circumvent the

owner's knowledge and consent in the fact of requisition will be a source of constant friction. The requisition procedure must be full and frank. We are giving here an example of how the Act is being applied to the detriment of the local people's interests and thus frustrating the very purpose for which the Act was designed.

The West Bengal Government issued an order for requisition of 26.95 acres of land in the village of Shankaripukur in Burdwan, in which they stated that the land is "likely to be needed for a public purpose, viz., for the settlement of immigrants who have migrated into the State of West Bengal on account of circumstances beyond their control." This plot includes 6.56 acres which is the property of Shri G. N. Mitra, an original resident of Burdwan. In a memorial to the government, he has pointed out that the notified plots of land have been wrongly declared to situate in village Shankaripukur, they actually lie at the very fore (townside) of Ward E of Burdwan Municipality, presumably to deprive the owners of adequate compensation if finally acquired. Thus the first subterfuge has been played in the very notice published in the *Calcutta Gazette* by shewing town property as village land. It has also been pointed out by the owner that acquisition of that land will be injurious to their interests on the following grounds, viz., (a) beside the land included in the notified area, the owners possess other lands in the same cadastral survey plots. The acquisition of the land in the notified area will block all entry to other lands of the same owner. The contemplated requisition will render a paddy land fallow and unproductive by entirely blocking all approaches; (b) some portion of the same notified area is used as a brickfield, the soil being suitable for first class bricks. Brick from this field is supplied to the Irrigation Department. To meet the requirements of this department and the Damodar Valley Corporation, a Soorkey Mill has been erected there. The proposed acquisition will block all passages, entrance or exit to the mill; (c) the land sought to be acquired is suitable for brick and soorkey-making, its requisitioning for rehabilitation of refugees, that is house building, will deprive the owner from his source of income from brick and soorkey business.

Sj. Mitra offered other lands much more suitable for the purpose of rehabilitation within the municipal limits having both electric and filtered water connection. He also offered more than 300 acres of land in village areas.

A perusal of the memorial leads one to believe that there are other motives at work behind the requisitioning of the said land, than is apparent on the surface. The petition deserves serious attention and a thorough enquiry must be ordered to find out the actual reason for earmarking this plot for requisition.

This is but one case out of a myriad. We are constrained to believe that there are unscrupulous persons and fools in the Land Requisition Department of the West Bengal Government who are working in concert with a pack of knaves masquerading as refugees. The main idea behind this concerted move seems to be to dispossess the children of the soil in West Bengal of their birth-rights.

### *The Refugee Problem in West Bengal*

The refugee problem, whether in Eastern or in Western India, is the direct product of the partition of India as agreed upon by what is popularly known as the Congress High Command. Therefore, it is an all-India problem and the question of its solution is a Central responsibility and not the responsibility of any particular State of the Indian Union, although, it must be admitted, the Central Government of India must receive the loyal, sincere, and whole-hearted co-operation of the constituent States of the Union for the solution of the problem. Nor should these constituent units forget the elementary fact that whatever measure of independence they are enjoying to-day is practically due to the partition of Bengal and the Punjab.

According to the Memorandum (1950) submitted by the Government of West Bengal to Sir C. D. Deshmukh in connection with the question of the allocation of Income-tax, etc., the density of population in West Bengal was originally 751 per square mile on the basis of the 1941 census. This was the highest figure, as compared with the position in other Provinces of India. After the partition of Bengal and the coming of refugees to West Bengal, the density of population had gone up to a thousand per square mile, according to the same Memorandum. This was the position before the new refugees began to pour into West Bengal after the February-March disturbances of this year in East Bengal. The density of population to-day in West Bengal must be above one thousand per square mile.

Since the partition of Bengal over forty lakhs of refugees have come over to West Bengal from East Bengal alone, and it has naturally created many complicated problems of social, economic and political character for the people and Government of West Bengal. On the top of it, it is being seriously proposed by some influential East Bengal leaders to settle further forty-to-fifty lakhs of East Bengal refugees in West Bengal and a plan is being chalked out accordingly. This *must be prevented*. The settling of seventy or eighty lakhs of East Bengal refugees in the tiny, but already over-congested, State of West Bengal will very seriously affect the whole economic and political life of its indigenous population. Nor will it prove in the long run beneficial to the refugees themselves. Besides, it will lead to serious discontent on either side and to many bitter and unpleasant

consequences. The situation that has developed today in Assam will be reproduced here a hundred-fold. (Moreover, there will be a complete breakdown of the economy of West Bengal.) Any talk of *rehabilitation* of the State of West Bengal through the settlement of 60 or 70 or 80 lakhs of East Bengal refugees here is a sheer smoke-screen and camouflage, and should not mislead or deceive anybody. We must take into our consideration not merely the immediate consequences of such measures, but also their remote and far-reaching consequences. We must also bear in mind that the native population of West Bengal will grow in number by natural causes. It may be pertinently asked in this connexion why some East Bengal leaders are anxious for the immediate conferment of voting rights, etc., upon refugees who have not yet been able even to settle down anywhere, but whose first needs are proper rehabilitation in some parts of India. Their political motive is obvious.

The density of population in Assam, Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh (C. P. and Berar), and Madras was, according to the Memorandum referred to before, 147, 521, 271, 171, and 391 respectively per square mile, on the basis of the 1941 census. It may be slightly higher now, but certainly considerably less than that in West Bengal. There is, therefore, enough space in these States for the rehabilitation of East Bengal refugees. As the problem of refugees is an all-India problem, pressure should be brought to bear upon the Government of India to settle, *not in thousands but in lakhs*, refugees from East Bengal who have either already come over, or who will come over in future, in Assam, Bihar, Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, and even in some areas in Madras, contiguous to Orissa. Of course, this settlement or rehabilitation of refugees will have to be made with due regard to their social and cultural life and on a planned basis. But this can be easily arranged. We, therefore, feel that those leaders of East and West Bengal who are directly or indirectly discouraging the dispersal of East Bengal refugees to other States of the Indian Union are doing positive disservice both to the people of West Bengal and to the refugees themselves.

The talk of danger to the cultural life of East Bengal refugees in the event of their dispersal to areas outside West Bengal appears to us to be a mere bogey. Anywhere in India they would at least live in Hindu environment. Moreover, they would be in constant touch with West Bengal, the spring and home of what is compendiously called Bengalee culture to-day. Are not even now thousands of Bengalees living in other parts of India?

Before closing this topic, we should like to refer to two other matters. We hear that an indirect attempt is being made in some official circles to put pressure upon the Governing Bodies of some educational institutions, particularly some of those which

are being started in connexion with the Dispersal Scheme of the Government of West Bengal, in favour of refugee candidates, and in virtual disregard of the claims of local candidates. We hope that this information is not correct and that the discretion of the Governing Body of any educational institution, old or new, is not being in any way interfered with anywhere. Appointments in educational institutions should be made on the ground of merits, and other things being equal, preference should certainly be given to local candidates. Otherwise there will be a serious discontent. The cases of refugee candidates may also be considered sympathetically, but there should be no pressure from any quarter. Theirs, however, is a proper case for approach to the Government of India which can absorb many refugee candidates in its various services, and which can also persuade the different State Governments to appoint each some of the refugee candidates from East Bengal. The problem of refugee candidates may be solved in this way. They should not all be allowed to crowd into West Bengal. It may also be noted in this connexion that the decision to start Intermediate Colleges in the mufassil under what is now known as the Dispersal Scheme, had been taken by the Government of West Bengal long before the February-March disturbances of this year in East Bengal, and that the object behind it was to prevent the over-crowding of Calcutta Colleges and the evils arising therefrom. It had nothing to do with the refugee problem originally.

The other matter to which we should like to refer and about which we feel very strongly is the question of unlawful and forcible occupation of lands—not evacuee property—belonging to West Bengal people, by so-called refugees from East Bengal. We have advisedly used the expression “so-called” as our information is that about 60 per cent of those who have thus unlawfully and forcibly occupied other people’s lands, say, round about Calcutta, are not really refugees. They had formerly been residing in Calcutta and its suburbs. They took advantage of the wave of sympathy for genuine refugees flowing in West Bengal, and then forcibly occupied lands owned by others. We strongly condemn any intentional, unlawful, and forcible occupation of other people’s property as such, since such things, if permitted or encouraged or condoned, will shake the very foundation on which the existing economic and political structure of our society is based. And we certainly consider the conduct of those who *pretend* to be refugees and then indulge in illegal activities, nothing short of criminal. We request that the Government should order an immediate, impartial inquiry to ascertain who are real refugees and who are cheats, amongst those who have unlawfully occupied other people’s property, and that it should then adopt proper measures for the rehabilitation of genuine refugees on properly acquired Government land.

In this connexion, we cannot but strongly disapprove of the conduct of those leaders of public opinion in West Bengal who condemn the forcible eviction by Government of trespassers on other people’s property, but do not utter a single word of condemnation against the trespassers themselves. Our civic sense appears to have been so deadened that “we are revolted by an execution, but not shocked by an assassination”. This sort of playing to the gallery and popularity-hunting is not statesmanship; nor will it solve the refugee problem in West Bengal. It will only further embitter the feelings of the indigenous people of West Bengal against the refugees. It is really very unfortunate that some people in responsible position are seeking, in not very responsible manner, official condonation of unlawful activities of refugees. We warn the Government of West Bengal against being misled by such insidious propaganda. And this Government must also constantly bear in mind that *it exists primarily for the indigenous population of West Bengal; that its first and foremost duty is to them; and that the solution of the refugee problem is a Central responsibility, as we have shown before.* We should also like to tell the refugees from East Bengal or from elsewhere that they must not do anything which will alienate the sympathy and goodwill of the native population of West Bengal from them, and that if they indulge in illegal activities here then they have no right to condemn the conduct of Muslim goondas in East Bengal or in West Punjab.

Lastly, we should like to state that when the Government of India and State Governments have been celebrating “Bana Mahotsav” ceremony with a view to encouraging afforestation in the country, some unscrupulous or overjealous officers of the West Bengal Government are using the arms of law for acquiring mango and other fruit-bearing gardens belonging to West Bengal people, for the purpose of settling East Bengal refugees there. Such insidious action must be immediately stopped by the Government; otherwise there will be a very serious discontent against it, with unpleasant consequences in the country.

#### NOTICE

Owing to Pujah holidays *The Modern Review* of September and October, 1950 will appear earlier than usual, i.e., the issue of September on 26.8.50 and that of October on 25.9.50 respectively. Accordingly, subscribers should accept their respective book-packets or V.P.P. in due time. Agents should send remittances in due time, so that we may receive the same on or before the respective dates of publication. Advertisers and Advertising Agents should send all new copies for the September issue within the 15th of August and for the October issue within the 15th of September, 1950 respectively. The November issue will also go to press by the 14th of October, hence all orders for that issue should be supplied within the 10th of October, 1950.

MANAGER, *The Modern Review*.



for Great Britain. The production of fish in a predominantly ravine province with a large marine fishing ground like Bengal is only 5 per cent of the estimated requirements. Meat and eggs are, of course, out of question." Therefore any artificial source wherefrom protein could be obtained by fairly simple means is of special importance at the moment.

(a) *Protein from molasses*: Molasses can be considered valuable from this point of view. Carbohydrates are the chief constituents of molasses, which by the action of yeast get converted into wine. Again yeast is formed by the fermentation of thin molasses. If some nitrogenous and phosphorous salts are added to a sugar solution containing some living yeast, the latter gradually increases in volume and then is converted into wine and carbonic acid gas. In the research laboratories of Europe a special type of yeast has been invented, which when added to a sugar solution gives rise to a greater amount of yeast than wine. This is known as food-yeast. "Besides the high protein content, which amounts to between 45 to 50 per cent food-yeast represents a potent source of B-vitamins. It is readily mixable with flour," thus observed Dr. A. C. Thoyesen of Teddington Research Laboratories. Nearly .2 million tons of molasses are obtained each year as a by-product from all sugar factories in India. Even, if a small proportion of this is employed for the preparation of food-yeast it would then provide a good and regular source of protein at a surprisingly low cost.

(b) *Soya-bean*: Some time ago there had been considerably commotion in the scientific press with soya-bean. While some favoured the wide use of soya-bean there were adverse comments against it too. The Indian Research Fund Association, later on, appointed a committee to investigate thoroughly the nutritive value of soya-bean. It is admitted generally that processing is a pre-requisite before soya-bean should be considered for human consumption. But it is rather unfortunate that most of the I.R.F.A. workers carried out their research with unprocessed beans and that neither milk nor curd nor sauce nor any such preparations were included in their studies.

"In view of the absence of precise work on the above lines in India and analysing the evidence from scientific literature and experience in other countries a balanced view on the uses of soya-bean would appear as follows:

1. Presence of a strong cellulose envelope in the bean presents to a varying degree difficulty in the action of digestive juices on the protein. A major part of this difficulty could be obviated by 'processing' the soya-bean before using for food, like steaming for some time or steaming under pressure.

2. A good variety of dishes can be prepared from processed soya-beans suiting well Indian palate. In view of the impracticability of stepping up production of protective foods to the extent desired for some

years to come in India, soya-bean preparations should be welcomed as additional items to Indian diets.

3. The bean lends itself to manifold industrial uses which might be tried here.

4. It is easily grown at various altitudes. The yield per acre is not only higher than the ordinary food grains and pulses, it enriches the soil too. The cost of growing soya-bean crop is also comparatively cheap."

Dr. V. Subramaniam of Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore, is the solitary food expert who created a team to study this problem in quite a good bit of details over a rather long period. His results are produced below:

TABLE XI  
*Nutritive value of Soya-bean*

	Digestibility coefficient	Biological value	Net assimilation
Milk from germinated ground-nut	96.2	55.4	53.3
Cow's milk	89.7	82.8	74.3
Soya-milk	90.9	79.2	72.0

*Preparations from Soya-bean*: Soya-bean can be used directly as a vegetable, as a source of artificial milk and flour.

To prepare milk artificially from Soya-bean, ripe seeds are to be dried, grinded and then filtered. The powder obtained therefrom is then to be added with 8 times of water by volume and boiled. The milk is slightly deficient in calcium-carbonate and sodium-chloride. Its natural taste is a bit bitter but if supplemented with a small quantity of sugar and some sweet scent like vanilla it turns out really delicious. Thus prepared, not only from the point of nutrition but also in taste very nearly it resembles that of natural milk. It is recommended to babies especially suffering from summer diarrhoea. Flour can be prepared from soya seeds by fairly simple means. The method consists in heating the seeds for 10 to 15 minutes in steam and these heated seeds are to be grinded. Soya-beans flour can safely be stored for a comparatively longer period without impairing its nutritional components. Furthermore, it may be added that besides protein, soya-bean is also rich in vitamin A and B fat but deficiency of starch makes it extremely suitable to diabetes.

*Cultivation*: The plantation of soya-bean does not call for any special attention except in that high lands and mixed soil are very well-suited for their proper growth. Water should not be allowed to stand for long in soya-bean field. Hence places with heavy rainfall must have proper drainage system and places with scanty rains must be assured of regular irrigation at an interval of approximately ten days. Application of manure is not considered essential, but cow-dung may be used. About 10 lbs. of seeds are needed per

*bigha* of land. The bean can be harvested within three months since plantation, yield per acre approximating at least 800 lbs. Lands of C.P. are capable of producing even more. Mammoth yellow type of soya-bean has been found to be particularly suited to Indian soil.

*Cost of Soya-bean:* Even allowing for the general rise in the cost of food-materials, thus estimated Dr. Subramaniam, a fair price of bean produced locally will be about 2 annas per pound. Nearly 5 to 6 lbs. of milk could be obtained from 1 lb. of bean. Therefore, normally it should be possible to distribute the milk, at a price not exceeding one and a half annas per pound.

*Industrial Possibilities:* Not only as a food substitute, soya-bean has got immense industrial potentialities. Plastics, celluloid, water-proof, glycerine, flour, cogen, paints, enamel, candles, fibre, artificial coffee, margarin and many other products are obtained as by-products from oils of soya-bean in U.S.A.

(c) *Ground-nut (Arachis hypogae linn):* Ground-nut, which has an oil content ranging from 40 to 50 per cent and protein content of about 30 per cent, readily yields a milk on grinding the white kernel to a fine paste and boiling afterwards with adequate quantities of water. The flavour, taste and digestibility of the milk thus prepared can be improved by steeping the kernels (with the silver skin) in water and allowing it to undergo germination for 1-2 days. The milk prepared out of the germinated kernel (after removing the silver skin) has the following average composition: Total solid 10.5 per cent, protein 3.7 per cent, fat 3.5 per cent, carbohydrate 3.0 per cent, minerals (ash) 0.37 per cent vitamin B, content of the milk is 45 g in 100 c.c., and nicotinic acid 0.9 mgm. in 100 c.c.

The protein content in ground-nut is of relatively low biological value than that of the soya or cow's milk, but if the nutritive value of ground-nut milk could be enhanced by the introduction of new techniques in processing and by the incorporation of suitable supplements, it will be of distinct advantage in the present stringent food position. Table XII will show how with the addition of different supplements the biological value of ground-nut milk is brought very near to that of natural milk.

TABLE XII

Source of milk	General properties of the milk	Biological value
1. Milk from germinated ground-nut.	Good taste but flavour reminiscent of ground-nut, milk turns rancid on prolonged heating.	1.5
2. Milk from germinated ground-nut (germinated for 2 days).	Better taste than (1), flavoured ground-nut, turns rancid on heating and develops off-flavour on standing.	1.75

- Milk from a Better taste and flavour mixture of ger-tham (2), ground-nut flavoured ground-nut largely masked, does not turn rancid on heating or extended standing. bean 25 p.c. 1.85
- Milk from a Best in the group in mixture of ger-gard to taste and flavour, minated ground-nut does not turn rancid on heating or standing. 1.97
- Milk from a Emulsion unstable, the ragi mixture of ger-protein separates on strong minated ground-nut heating or on standing 1.64
- Milk from a Satisfactory in regard to mixture of taste and flavour, does not ground-nut 75 turn rancid on heating or p.c., soya-bean standing. 1.83
- Milk from a Better than (6), milk fair-mixture of ly stable, does not turn ground-nut 75 rancid on heating or on p.c., soya-bean standing. 1.91

Analysis of the foregoing will bring out two striking features. Addition of even 15 per cent of soya-bean stabilises the milk and protects the oil from turning rancid. Soya-bean is rich in vitamin E and this may have a protective action of the oil in ground-nut milk. Addition of soya-bean and malted barley seems to be yielding best results. Apart from improving taste and flavour, the protein is also balanced much better and the biological value of the mixed proteins in the milk attains a value very nearly equal to that of the cow's milk.

It may not be out of place to mention here that India stands first amongst the producers of ground-nut in the world. This average produce figures round about 3 million tons and only Madras accounts for 71 per cent of the total yield.

(d) Tobacco seed meal constitutes 69 to 75 per cent of the seed content. It consists of 23.63 per cent protein, 31.41 per cent of carbohydrate, but the protein is deficient in lysine. Biological value and digestibility co-efficient of tobacco seed meal are 51.4 and 78 compared with 78.5 to 98 respectively for skim milk. When mixed with lysine the former has a biological value of the same order as that of milk products.

(e) So much progress has been made recently in the field of technological extraction of food that the section will be incomplete if a brief reference is not made here. The complicity involved in these processes and the vastness of the subject prevents detailed discussion in a paper of such limited scope as this. Only one example will be quoted to impress the importance of it.

*Butter from Coal:* A brief note in the *Chemical Age*, June 1, 1946, makes a very interesting disclosure of the successful production of butter from paraffin, a by-product of coal, in Germany. It is reported that during the war, the Germans were producing this synthetic butter at the rate of 150 to 200 tons per month. This production has since been stepped up to 350 tons per month as greater supplies of paraffin are being available. The process first invented in 1935 by Arthur Imhausen can be briefly summarised as below:

"The paraffin is first oxidised and then heated to extract the fatty acids. On further distillation, the fatty acid is used either for making butter or soap. For butter, the acid is distilled again, glycerin and carotin are added to the distillate, 100 tons of paraffin yield about 80 tons of fatty acids from which 40 tons of either butter or soap is obtained. Butter produced by the Imhausen process contains no acetone and can be safely recommended to diabetics."

#### V. PREVENTION OF WASTAGE OF FOOD

Few are aware of the figure and extent of losses incurred at different stages starting from sowing right up to the harvest. Improper storage is also responsible for a considerable loss.

(a) *Wastage from Insects:* Full statistics for India are not available but in places where actual data have been compiled, it has made startling disclosure. A report released by U.S.A. department of agriculture, for example, states that only insects destroy \$200,000 worth of food-stuffs. The Government there did not rest, of course, in forming sundry committees to enquire into the matter and then finally throwing off the recommendations to the four winds as a useless dump. Vigorous field work followed the disclosure to get a more comprehensive report and the Government put their whole might to implement the recommendations suggested by the expert committee. And rightly too, Americans can boast now to have combated with the situation.

Besides rats, weeds also affect seriously the yield of a land.

Growing more food will be meaningless if wastage is not controlled strictly. No longer farmers in the West depend on red squill and the simple fluorides, but the inventions of tremendously effective Antu (1-naphthyl-2-thiourea) as well as 1080 (sodium fluoroacetate), 2, 4-dichlorophenoxyacetic acid (2, 4D) has provided them with a deadly weapon against herbs. The development of weed-burning machines and such other devices show the invaluable contributions which the scientists have made in response to the clarion call of their motherland. Will Indian scientists lag behind?

(b) *Heavy losses are also sustained due to imperfect methods of corn storing:* Corns, if they contain more than a certain maximum content of moisture, cannot be stored in bins, the only really

large-scale storage available for shelled corns without undergoing heating. This heating, if it goes unheeded, can completely destroy its value as a food for human consumption in a very short time. Much improvement in storing methods is thus deemed urgently necessary.

(c) *Prevention of Putrefaction:* Green vegetables, fruits, potatoes, etc., decompose very quickly and the loss on that account is in no way negligible. Cold storage which has proved very successful in preserving the more perishable type of food elsewhere should be employed extensively in our country too. Even fish, meat, etc., stored thus may be used for a much longer period. With all the hydro-electric schemes coming into operation, this will prove quite economic too.

(d) *Disease of Crop-plants:* A great deal of crops are damaged, it has been reported, by plant diseases. To quote an example, attack of rusts to wheat plants destroyed nearly 20 million tons of wheat worth about 60 crores of rupees in C.P. in the year 1946-47. In India this disease is present amongst wheat crops in a very acute form. While only one type of rust is commonly observed in other parts of the world, three types, namely, black, brown and yellow have been noted in India. In Canada, Australia and U.S.A., where this disease is also observed amongst wheat plants, apart from Government laboratories, extensive research in minutest details has been planned and is being carried out in University laboratories, private agricultural farms and organisations. Contrary to the above, only the Agricultural Research Institute in India is reported to be carrying out investigations on this problem on a rather modest scale. From the scanty results published it is difficult to predict as to whether the method evolved will be a commercial success.

Not only wheat but all crops without exception are prone to diseases. Incalculable wastage is caused to paddy by blast and foot-rot diseases.

In the case of potatoes, generally small seed potatoes or eyes of big potatoes are sown. But even in this case the average yield is much less compared to the yields elsewhere. While in Belgium the yield per *bigha* is 224 maunds, in Great Britain 183 maunds, in the case of India, it is only 109 maunds, evidently a very low figure. In the course of transit the seeds, it is said, are contaminated with a disease which has very adverse effects on the final yield. A virus disease, according to agricultural scientists, is one of the main causes of such low yield. Bacterial diseases could be combated rather easily by suitable rotation of crops. But the virus and fungi are violently damaging in the sense that they bring in serious epidemics. The true saprophytes inhabiting the soil soon crowd into the parasitic bacteria invading the soil, and the soil gets free from infection within a year or two. But in the

case of fungi, the organisms can live for a longer time, usually five to ten years or more, and compete with the natural soil inhabitants thus necessitating very long and judicious crop rotations.

#### CONCLUSION

Thus, it will be abundantly clear from the foregoing, that the problem is more scientific than anything else. Compilation of actual data based on field survey, clear and proper understanding as to the real nature of the problem, less craze to form sundry committees, coupled with a well-thought-out plan backed by the sincerity and honesty in the top

and down below the ranks is the crying need of the hour and the perusal of this may "transform in 5 years a helpless, famished and ignorant starving people, resigned to vagaries of fate, into a self-reliant, literate and well-fed mass of men united together by a vigorous willing effort into a co-operative team. And therein lies the salvation of our country."\*

\*The author expresses his deep debt of gratitude to innumerable authors in general whose materials have been used without reservation and to Sri. A. K. Guha, B.Sc., of Indian Jute Technological Research Institute and Miss A. Chanda, M.A. in particular for the invaluable help rendered by them in preparing this paper.

—O:—

## KASHMIR AND KOREA

"Look at This Picture and at That!"

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"Mark you this, Bassanio,  
The devil can cite scripture for his purpose.  
An evil soul producing holy witness  
Is like a villain with a smiling cheek—  
A goodly apple rotten at the heart;  
O, what a goodly outside falsehood hath!"

—ANTONIO in *The Merchant of Venice*

"... he is come to ope  
The purple testament of bleeding war."

—KING RICHARD in *King Richard II*

KASHMIR and Korea! Let me warn my readers beforehand: the juxtaposition here is not like that of Captain Fluellen with respect to Macedon and Monmouth. The resemblance *there*, it will be remembered, was much deeper than "there being an 'M' in both": there were rivers in the two places, and there were salmon in the two rivers. Nothing, to be sure, could be fairer (and squarer) than that! Those who come out with the carping criticism that the resemblance might, with advantage, have been carried further do not, obviously, know when they are well-off. They do not, obviously, know that, in this world, we must learn to count our blessings one by one and that there are situations where we must reconcile ourselves to enough being as good as a feast.

There is nothing, therefore, to cavil at in that celebrated comparison of Captain Fluellen. But the question now arises whether the same happy state of affairs prevails on the Kashmir-Korea front: whether, that is, the resemblance between the two does not begin as well as end with "there being a 'K' in both", and there being a monstrously premeditated aggression in both. Even if we scrutinise it with the immortal Sam Weller's "pair o' patent double million magnifyin' gas microscopes of hextra power" we shall not, I am afraid, find any more points in common between the

two —Kashmir and Korea, for our present purposes, occupying opposite sides of what I may call the 38th Parallel of U.N.O. ideology. And thereby hangs a tale, a terribly sad tale, the telling of which, to put it mildly, can never redound to the glory of that world organization. Still, someone has to undertake the thankless job of relating the story, so why not I?

#### THE 38TH PARALLEL

I am writing this in the second week of July, and, so swift-moving are events round about that *other* 38th Parallel that has recently shot up into world prominence, that it is manifestly hazardous to make any rash prediction of the shape of things to come. It is, however, not only the future that is shrouded in an impenetrable veil of mystery: the past—both the recent and remote—is equally enveloped in a thick mist of nerve-wracking doubt and distraction. The only indisputable fact in this bewildering maze of developments is that there *had* been aggression (of whatever degree of intensity) by one of the sundered parts of Korea against the other in the early hours of Sunday, June 25: the rest is anybody's guess, yours being as good, or as bad, as mine. That item of information is all that we have to go by, with any pretence to certainty, amidst the vast array of facts



and fancies that has, since then, been sedulously built up by both the antagonists, "even as the shepherd saveth from the mouth of the lion two legs and a piece of an ear." From that tiny acorn giant oaks of breath-taking propaganda have grown, oaks of a size to obliterate the sky altogether. Two World Wars have taught us that the chasm dividing reality from fiction so far as this propaganda is concerned can be at least as wide as, if not, indeed, wider than, the present notorious "dollar gap"—astounding as *that* is, judged by whatever standard.

#### "INSPIRED" BALLYHOO

It is incumbent on us, therefore, to be chary of accepting, at their strictly face-value, the statements emanating (often at break-neck speed) from the various chancelleries and purporting, in every instance, to be nothing less than the gospel truth. The pitcher, as the saying is, may go to the well once too often; and, having twice been woefully cheated already by these accursed fomentors of global strife, these valiant despisers of "the cankers of a calm world and a long peace," these arrant war-mongers who unashamedly echo Tennyson's hysterical lines:

"No more shall commerce be all in all, and Peace  
Pipe on her pastoral hillock a languid note  
And watch her harvest ripen, her herd increase,  
Nor the cannon-bullet rust on a slothful shore,  
And the cobweb woven across the cannon's throat  
Shall shake its threaded tears in the wind no more,"

—having, I repeat, twice been woefully cheated already by these accursed fomentors of global strife, we shall do well to be on our guard against being taken once again by "inspired" ballyhoo. If, on the other hand, we "fall for" that ballyhoo, history will be repeated—with a vengeance, as it were. Let me fervently hope that there is a limit to that repetition and that it is no longer possible for anyone to fool all the people all the time: there has been enough of that fooling, Heaven knows!

#### UNCERTAINTY

The first thing to be noted about the Korean hostilities is that it has not yet been established, with any degree of certainty, as to who started them—the North Koreans or the South Koreans. We have been assured by the Western Powers that it was the former who, heedless of all moral restraints, of all humanitarian codes of conduct, opened the floodgates of Armageddon; but the other side, it is only fair to acknowledge, has not been slow to tell it in Gath and to bruit it about in the streets of Askalon that the boot is on the other leg and that it was the Southern Koreans who had gone berserk on that fatal Sabbath morning and pounced on their unoffending Northern brethren for all the world as though the great United Nations Organization had suddenly stopped functioning at Lake Success. Now, in this welter of accusations and counter-accusations, it is manifestly not

easy to disentangle truth from falsehood and to point the finger of scorn at the real perpetrators of that hideous outrage. I seem to remember having read somewhere that even the U. N. Korean Commission which was on the spot had never specifically mentioned that there was a Northern invasion. At any rate, what they *did* mention was not pellucidly clear. As the *London People*, which has, we have been informed, a circulation of one million and is published by the official Labour press, says:

"The United Nations Commission's report is quite the woolliest document ever produced on a vital international issue, since it certainly does not prove that the North began it all."

Then there is another question. Even if this can be proved it is not so easy to prove that *Russia* was behind the North Korean invasion. The same paper proceeds:

"Is the United Nations Organisation, the great peace-making instrument of the whole world, entitled to brush the Russian case aside without careful investigation? In fact, no proof whatever has been given to the world that Russia instigated this war and still less that she is taking any part in it. She may be suspect, but she cannot be found guilty on suspicion."

#### U.N.O.'s ALACRITY

The second thing to be noted about the Korean hostilities is the unaccustomed activity at U.N.O. headquarters. The Kashmir issue has been pending at Lake Success for nearly three years, and pending, too, because we ourselves, in a thoughtless moment, had taken it there without there being any overpowering necessity for our doing so. It has not only not yet been settled: it looks as though it will take another three years to be settled, *and to be settled wrongly in the end*. So far as poor Kashmir has been concerned,

"There was no hurry in its (U.N.O.'s) hands,  
No hurry in its feet."

It has not, to this moment, been able to screw its courage to the sticking place and to dub Pakistan as the aggressor, although Pakistan itself has, in so many words, given her case away. Throughout the whole unsavoury episode it has moved in its mysterious way its wonders to perform. Its intriguing silence on the theme (the all-important theme) of the aggression of Pakistan was so thick that we could have dug bits out of it with a spoon. With the thinly-veiled intention of completely absolving Pakistan from its avowed guilt, it has been performing amazing feats of acrobatics on the political trapeze, feats that have not passed unnoticed by the outside world, with results that are there for everyone to see. In the light of our past unfortunate experience its *most* amazing feat will probably be to wind up the entire business by handing over the whole of Kashmir to the tender mercies of Pakistan.

This step-motherly attitude on its part towards India is in strange contrast with the eminently business-like mentality it has developed with respect to the Korean imbroglio. Here it has acted with super-sonic speed, having roused itself to unwonted activity from its hitherto notorious stupor. Obviously, U.N.O. applies different standards to different latitudes. In regard to the Korean issue it needs only a few hours to arrive at a cut-and-dried decision: in regard to the Kashmir issue three years do not appear to be sufficient for it to make up its mind one way or the other. The conclusion is irresistible that *not* moral values but enlightened self-interest and the wielding of the big stick in pursuance of it are its standards. That there are any moral standards at all is highly open to question. The Korean imbroglio and the U.N.O.'s reaction to it have high-lighted the Kashmir *impasse* as nothing else has done since the tribal hordes ran amuck in that exquisitely fair valley. How they have contrived to highlight it is my principal theme in this article, though I may have to discuss the Korean imbroglio itself in some detail in passing.

#### THE CRUCIAL ISSUE

One very important point to be noted in this connection is that where, as in the case of Korea, it is still uncertain as to who was responsible for the flare-up the great world organisation whipped itself into spirited action on the side of the party which it professes to regard as the injured innocent; and that where, as in the case of Kashmir, there could, in the nature of things, be no doubt whatever as to who started the conflagration it continues to pretend that it is in no position to apportion blame as between the two combatants. In that matter of Korea accusations are pouring in in a continuous stream, in a torrential flood. that, Western ballyhoo apart, it was the south which invaded the north at the instigation of the United States occupying authorities. Everyone remembers the recent feverish activity of top-ranking American leaders, military as well as political, in Japan and Korea. On one personage, in particular, the fierce light of publicity has been concentrated more than on the rest: this personage is none other than Mr. John Foster Dulles, the Republican "high-up" in President Truman's Democratic Administration. It has been suggested, not without a modicum of plausibility, that it was this gentleman who pressed the button that unleashed the mighty upheaval around the 38th Parallel. He was not only among the Big Three who toured the Pacific area some weeks prior to what I may—taking a leaf out of the Japanese book call the Korean "incident." He went to Seoul also and, while there, according to some authoritative reports, had personally delivered the "Marching Orders" to the U.S. sponsored forces of South Korea. Then there was that address of Mr. Dulles to the South Korean

National Assembly, during the fortnight preceding that "incident," which is understood to be a sort of ultimatum to North Korea and a pledge to South Korea of American support in the impending war.

#### MY CONTENTION

My contention is that the question of aggression in Korea, far from being susceptible of a quick and fool-proof adjudication, is becoming more and more ticklish with the passing of days. For one thing, the presence of the American Big Three in the Pacific area, to which a reference has been made above, at about the time hostilities commenced, and their feverish consultations with the present "Supremo" of U.N. forces in Korea cannot be ignored completely in relation to the heart-rending catastrophe that was precipitated subsequently. That the hands of the North Koreans are not so unclean as may appear at first sight can be gauged from the fact that, in the second week of June, North Korea made a final peace offer to the South alike for the avoidance of war and for the unification of the country. The South rejected it with contumely, and rejected it, it has been hinted, at the instance of its American overlords. As though to add insult to injury it arrested the three North Korean emissaries—again, no doubt, with the connivance of its American masters. That, in a nutshell, was the pre June 25 atmosphere round about the famous 38th Parallel: no wonder it needed but a match to set the accumulated powder-kegs ablaze. Nor did it take long for some miscreant to furnish that match; and since then we have all been having a hectic time, one round of excitement from early morn to dewy eve. The sequence of events that I have narrated does not, however, redound to the glory either of South Korea or of America: far less does it indicate that the "police action" in Korean waters recently undertaken by the U.S. on behalf of the U.N. has any justification whatever.

#### OVER-HASTY AS WELL AS OVER-CONFIDENT

If anything, the facts that have so far come to light, as I have shown above, would seem to suggest that a "police action" undertaken by the *other* side would have been more in order. What follows? Nothing but this—namely, that the United Nations Organisation was not only over-hasty in its decision to dub North Korea as the aggressor in the present instance but that it was *over-confident* of that decision. Within a few *hours* of the commencement of hostilities it met and named North Korea as the guilty party; and within the space of *two days* it directed the U. N. members to be ready for action. And *where, as in the case of Kashmir, the facts spoke for themselves right from the beginning, and where the aggressor, in so many words, confessed that he had been guilty of aggression it has not yet (though it is now nearly three years) seen its way to giving the*

guilty party "a local habitation and a name." Comment, as they say, is superfluous.

#### THE WESTERN POWERS "EDITING" THE NEWS

I have been at pains to point out that, quite apart from the singular alacrity with which that hitherto notoriously moribund organisation, the U.N.O., has acted in the matter of Korea (in contradistinction to its nauseating lethargy *vis-à-vis* Kashmir), evidence is not wanting to indicate that all is not well with our news-services. The Western Powers, it is now clear, have, for some time past, been "editing" the news, permitting only those items that favour them to pass through the "iron curtain" of their own making. My readers may be remembering the strange case of Mr. John Peet, till lately *Reuter's* Berlin correspondent. He relinquished his post to work in the East German Democratic Republic. If that were all, however, it would not matter. It is open to everyone to change his political opinions now and then: "else a great prince in prison lies," to quote from a poet who wrote the line in another context. But Mr. Peet did not merely desire such a change-over: sheer force of circumstances compelled him to cross the border. At the time of his crossing the border we had been given to understand that it was not entirely voluntary and that, in fact, at some stage in the proceedings, he had been subjected to quite a lot of pressure from the East German authorities. It appears now that this picture was a little over-painted. The truth has leaked out at last—as truth will. His inexcusable fault was—*veracity of statement!* He stuck to facts, *not to the Western version of them*. Prior to the Whitsuntide rally of Free German Youth he had reported that perfect discipline would be maintained by them. As it transpired, they *did* maintain perfect discipline. But Mr. Peet's reporting went against the party line. The party line was to report that there would be grave disturbances. The other correspondents cheerfully toed that line. The authorities cracked the whip and they joyfully jumped through the hoop. But not so Mr. Peet. His superiors gave him a bit of their mind for his insubordination. That, naturally, resulted in his resignation.

#### CORROBORATION

The cloud which, at the time of Mr. Peet's resignation, had looked no bigger than a man's hand has, since, threatened to overcast the whole diplomatic sky. Mr. Peet has had corroborators. One such is Mr. Gordon Schaffer, who had once been a Berlin correspondent himself. He says that Berlin has taken the place of pre-war Riga as the propaganda centre of the Western world. Here anti-Soviet stories were constantly invented and sent out to other places. He remarks that even the people who invent the stories come to believe them in the end, because they are published everywhere. He gives one or two of those

stories. He cites the instance which occurred in 1948 of an alleged document identified as "M. Protocol" purporting to give instructions to West German Communists to call strikes with a view to wrecking the Marshall Plan. It later turned out to be a forgery. Describing another method of circulating propaganda he mentions that at Press Conferences "information" is given from "reliable sources." In support of this he cites this instance. Month after month, he says, while the Russian zone of Germany was slowly rebuilding its economy, official American and British spokesmen in Berlin were putting out reports about the impending collapse of Eastern Germany. The funny thing about this impending collapse of Eastern Germany was that, like the celebrated report of Mark Twain's death, "it was greatly exaggerated." Those Americans who toured Eastern Germany at about that time discovered to their consternation that it was quite hale and hearty. Probably Eastern Germany is like the proverbial camomile: the more it is trodden on the more it thrives!

#### STILL MORE CORROBORATION

But this is not all. As Portia would have said: "Tarry; there's something else." The tale of Western duplicity has not yet been exhausted: it appears to possess the quality of "cut and come again." Mr. Schaffer has more stories to relate: from his horn of plenty he pours them forth one by one. The next in his list is the strange case of Mr. Jack Belden of "Collier's" of New York. He happened to send some despatches from China recently and was even complimented by his editor for their excellence. "But what avails the scepter'd race, the form divine"—I mean, what avails the indisputable excellence of such reports if the authorities frown upon them? These despatches of Mr. Belden could not achieve print because they were too complimentary to Mao Tse-tung's regime and so failed to fit in with official propaganda.

Still more recently the chief of General MacArthur's staff in Tokyo informed Mr. Frank Hawley, the correspondent of the London *Times*, that he might be expelled from Japan because, forsooth, his despatches were not sufficiently "objective." Translated into the vernacular it means that they did not follow "the headquarters' line." During a debate in the House of Commons on General MacArthur's warning the Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs stated that "the criticism had been passed on to Mr. Hawley's employers." On this the comment of Mr. Brenden Bracken, a former Chief of British Information Services, was:

"To transmit a complaint from General MacArthur to the *Times* is a form of pressure altogether unworthy of the British Government."

#### THE MORAL

What am I driving at? Nothing but this, gentle reader—namely, that, even if there is a fraction of

truth in these stories, Western propaganda stands condemned for all time and that we cannot trust it even to the slightest extent. If this propaganda habitually frowns upon favourable reports from countries of the Eastern bloc there is no longer any reason to support that the *most* recent stories of all that it has put forth from Korea can be any more trustworthy than the previous ones that I have cited above. The whole case for the two U.N.O. resolutions topples over like a house of cards. As "there ain't no sich a person as Mrs. Harris," there might—who knows?—have been no aggression directed from North Korea towards South Korea in the early hours of June 25: for anything we can tell, whatever aggression there was might have been from the side of South Korea—and at the instance of its American overlords. It is not, as we have been assured, everyone who says, "Lord! Lord!" who can enter the Kingdom of Heaven. By the same token, it is not everyone who ingeminates, "Behold! how North Korea has invaded harmless South Korea!" that can be implicitly believed. The ground, then, has been automatically cut from the feet of the U.N. And this, quite apart from those resolutions being invalidated *ab initio* by the absence of Russia—one of the five "permanent members" of the Security Council—from that august body.

#### ANOTHER MORAL

There is another moral, too. Does it not look strange, in retrospect, that we should have taken the Kashmir issue—an issue in regard to which we can unhesitatingly be said to wear the white flower of a blameless (political) life—to an organization dominated by countries which have the aforementioned record of almost, endless tergiversations? Even quite apart from the aforementioned record U.N.O. has not come out well in other matters, either—especially, in the matter of Kashmir itself. It has consistently evinced its sympathy for the aggressor—the self-confessed aggressor—than for the victim of aggression. *The strangest thing of all is that we continue to eat out of its hand.* The Korean imbroglio has spot-lighted its real character. Its real character is that it is an unashamed stooge, or quisling, of the United States. U.N.O. and U.S.A. are synonymous terms. And what America says today the rest of the Western

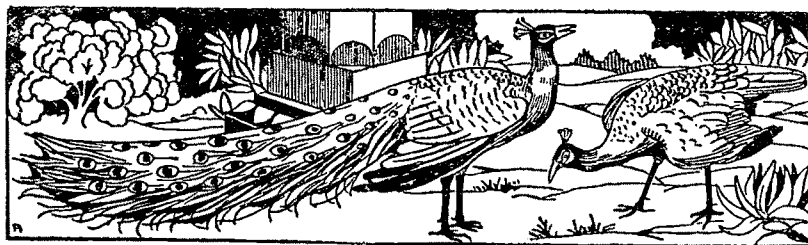
Powers say tomorrow. America is the king-pin of U.N.O., and America (aided and abetted by Great Britain) appears to think that it is in her interests to side with Pakistan than with India. And, curiously enough, India has *again* walked into the spider's parlour by accepting the two U.N.O. resolutions on Korea and thus blowing sky-high its vaunted "non-alignment" policy. India, today is in the Western bloc as much as any other country that had openly aligned itself with it long ago *and without any moral posturings!* And I maintain this even after perusing the reports of Pandit Nehru's recent press conference in New Delhi convened for the purpose of discussing this same subject. Our beloved Prime Minister may say whatever he likes—is he not, after all, our beloved Prime Minister?—but India has abandoned her much-vaunted neutrality, and abandoned it, too, at the behest of America; and this while even such smaller countries as Egypt and Indonesia (countries that had never bragged about their so-called neutrality) have had the gumption to proclaim their independence of judgment!

#### INDIA AND NEUTRALITY

Both the U.N.O. resolutions in regard to Korea are invalid owing to Russia's absence from the Security Council and America has further made the gruel "thick and slab" by *anticipating* the second resolution and going ahead with its military operation in South as well as North Korea; and General MacArthur goes one better even than Mr. Truman by beginning those operations *before* receiving his "marching orders" from his boss. I seem to have read a report somewhere that the General did not wait even for the passing of the first resolution! First, the resolutions have no legal sanction, and second, America acts before even those resolutions have been passed! And this is the inauspicious "curtain-raiser" to World War III!

"The most unkindest cut of all," of course, is India's hasty alignment with the Western bloc—the same Western bloc that has treated her so shabbily with respect to Kashmir, the while rousing itself to set matters right in Korea—where the issue of aggression is not so foolproof as in the case of Kashmir!

Can human folly any further go?





# THE REPUBLIC OF INDIA AND WORLD PEACE

By TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.,

Professor of Public Affairs, New York University, and Lecturer on History and Civilization of India and World Politics, Columbia University

In the history of modern India two dates will loom large in the minds of the people of India as well as other peoples. They are August 15, 1947 when India secured the position of a free and independent nation, a dominion with the British Commonwealth of Nations and January 26, 1950 when India assumed the position of a democratic Republic with the Commonwealth. These dates are of great historic significance in the long history of India which covers not less than six thousand years. On August 15, 1947, the British Commonwealth of Nations which used to be a Commonwealth of Dominions of white peoples had to take in India which contained a population of more than 300,000,000 peoples, Asiatics, who were up to that date beyond the pale and not recognised as equals. On January 23, 1950, India declared herself to be a sovereign Republic of the people of India, discarding the King of England as the supreme head of the Indian Government and in his place a President of the Republic of India assumed the Chief Executive position, but it at the same time established a precedent that a Republic can be a part of the British Commonwealth which dropped "British" from its title and assumed the simple name "the Commonwealth," a Commonwealth which will have more non-European or Asiatic population exercising their sovereign authority within their own territories while co-operating freely in world affairs. These developments are certainly unique in the evolution of the British Empire as well as Indian nationalism, yet they are mere important events in the long history of India.

To understand the true significance of these events and the possible developments in India and the role of the Republic of India in world affairs and furtherance of the cause of world peace, we should have a very brief survey of the history of India; because to get an estimate of the future we must base our conclusions upon the present and the present is nothing but the outgrowth of the past. I am happy to draw your attention to the fact that India had a very glorious past history of civilization, in spite of the fact the recent history of a few centuries has been a history of subjection, degradation, exploitation, struggle for freedom and at the same time assimilation of foreign influences which have become part and parcel of her national assets—cultural heritages.

Modern Western scholars as well as Indian and Western archeologists through their ardent and painstaking researches have revolutionised the conception of the nature and antiquity of pre-historic Indian

civilization. I wish to mention a few of the conclusions:

In 1924, when the late Prof. R. D. Banerji,\* an Indian archeologist, associated with Sir John Marshall discovered at Mohenjo-daro, on the western bank of the lower Indus, remains of what seemed to be an older civilization than any yet known to historians, historians of the world had to recast their notions about ancient Indian civilization. Sir John Marshall, in an article "The Prehistoric Civilization of the Indus", in the *Illustrated London News* of January 7, 1928 wrote:

"These discoveries establish the existence in Sind (the northernmost part of the Bombay Presidency) and the Punjab, during the fourth and third millennium B. C., of a highly developed city life, and the presence, in many houses, of wells and bathrooms as well as an elaborate drainage-system, betoken of a social condition of the citizens of at least equal to that found in Sumer, and superior to that prevailing in contemporary Babylonia and Egypt. . . . Even at Ur the houses are by no means equal in point of construction to those of Mohenjo-daro."—*The Story of Civilization*, Vol. I. (Our Oriental Heritage) by Will Durant, New York. Simon Shuster, 1935, pp. 394.

Some Western scholars believe this amazing civilization was influenced by Sumeria; while others believe that the Sumerians derived their culture from India. It may be of interest to you to know that the word "Sumeria" is derived from the Sanskrit word "Sumeru" meaning good mountain and Sumeria may be corruption of the derivative from Sumeru, meaning the good mountain (land). Some others believe that the Sumerians and the ancient Hindus have the common culture of the people who originally lived near Beluchistan. V. G. Childe in his work *The Most Ancient East* writes:

"By the end of the fourth millennium B.C. the material culture of Abydos, Ur, or Mohenjo-daro would stand comparison with that of Periclean Athens or of any medieval town. . . . Judging by the domestic architecture, the seal-cutting, and the grace of pottery, the Indus civilization was ahead of the Babylonian at the beginning of the third millennium (c. 3000 B.C.). But that was a late phase of the Indian culture; it may have enjoyed no less lead in earlier times. Were then the innovations and discoveries that characterise proto-Sumerian civilization not native developments of Babylonian soil, but the results of Indian inspiration? If so, had the Sumerians themselves come from the Indus, or at the least from regions in its immediate sphere of influence?"

\* The discovery was entirely that of R. D. Banerji, independent of any direction or aid. Subsequent Western scholars have tried to deprive Banerji of his fame, as is usual.—Ed., M. R.

Regarding the antiquity of civilization of Southern India, the *New York Times* in an article published in April 8, 1932, indicated that the recent excavations near Chitaldurg in Mysore, revealed six levels of buried cultures rising from Stone Age implements and geometrically adorned pottery apparently as old as 4,000 B.C. to remains as late as 1200 A.D.

Thus we should not forget the fact that India had the heritage of a great civilization even before the advent of the Aryans who invaded India from the North-west, nearly four thousand years ago.

## II

Of the Aryan civilization and culture the Western world did not have any adequate information until the latter part of the eighteenth century. Sir William Jones startled the world of scholarship by declaring that Sanskrit was cousin to all the languages of Europe, and an indication of our racial kinship with the Vedic Hindus. These announcements almost created modern philology and ethnology. Sir William Jones's translation of *Shakuntala* in 1789 re-rendered into German in 1791 profoundly affected Herder and Goethe and—through the Schlegels—the entire Romantic movement of the West. It may be noted that all these happened during the early days of the East India Company when it was engaged in political and economic conquest of India.

The contribution of Aryan Hindus in the fields of civilization and culture are fairly known to the West from the Vedic literature, the philosophies of the Upanishads and the Bhagabat Gita and also through the Mahabharata and the Ramayana, the epics of India. It may be well to remind you that the Upanishads anti-dates by more than a thousand years the era of Socrates of Athens. It is generally recognised by all impartial scholars that Plato's Republic contains some of the very fundamental ideas regarding soul, immortality and good government which were expounded by the ancient Hindus long before the time of Plato. The Aryan ancestors of the Hindus had the conception of a government which can be favorably compared with those of the Greeks. India under the Aryans had city-states, monarchies, republics and even loose federation of states of all types under a suzerain ruler. The concept of a universal State which the Greeks like Alexander dreamed of and the Romans tried to establish was not foreign to Hindu political theorists, before the days of Alexander the Great.

## III

Several centuries before the days of Alexander Great India had a great political and social revolution by which the then existing caste-system which was already stratified and hereditary was modified. It was the advent of an era of Gautama Buddha. The political, social and cultural history of India during

the Buddhist era can be well understood from the condition of India and the world at the time of the reign of Asoka the Great, one of the greatest rulers of men for all times to come. The Emperor Asoka not only spread his political empire virtually all over India and it was in area even larger than the territory of British India, but the cultural empire of India at the time of Asoka spread far beyond her boundaries to Greece, Rome, Egypt, the whole of the Middle East, Central Asia, Ceylon and other parts of Asia. It may be safely asserted that the world owes a debt to Buddhism and thus to India, as it does to Christianity.

However the thing that should not be forgotten that during the Buddhist period of Indian history positive and applied science flourished in India. The world owes a great deal to Hindu medicine, chemistry, astronomy, etc. I wish to emphasise that the Buddhist political scientists fully recognised that in a State sovereignty should ultimately reside with the people, and the ruler must serve the people and promote their welfare by assuring internal security and defending the country from foreign invasion. Lord Ronaldsay and others in their researches on Indian institutions have established that in Buddhist India representatives of the people took part in making the laws of the land. The concept of supremacy of law was not unknown to the people of India long before the days of Magna Carta or even before the recognition of supremacy of law in Rome.

## IV

The era of Buddhist India was superseded by the revival of Hinduism; and India like other countries had her internal troubles and foreign invasions. But during the days of Hindu Empire in India, India had her expansions, primarily cultural expansion of most significant type. Sir George Sampson, in his recent work *The Western World and Japan*, writes:

"The power of Buddhism we have already noticed in its movement overland to China. It was also spread in countries east of India, by migration of population that began at a very early date but reached its height during the first five centuries of our era.

"This expansion of India was part of a considerable movement of colonization, which established Indian political influence in the regions known as Burma, Siam, Cochin China and Cambodia as well as in Malaya and the islands of Sumatra and Java. With political power and a flourishing commercial intercourse there went a strong cultural influence exercised principally through the medium of religion. . . . Today the vestiges of this early Indian influence are plainly visible in the civilizations of both regions. Burma, Siam, and Cambodia are still Buddhist countries. Archaeological evidence (such as the ruins at Angkor) through Farther India testifies to a once flourishing Hindu culture, which persisted for centuries. . . . It is clear that geographical proximity—and the monsoons—made it possible for India to influence both Farther India,

and China to an extent that was certainly not open to any non-Asiatic country. . . ." (page 26).

Here may be said parenthetically that the present influence of free India on other parts of Asia specially Eastern Asia and South-East Asia has its root in what happened in cultural expansion of India nearly two thousand years ago.

None should forget that social, economic and political condition of free India—Buddhist India and Hindu India—was much higher than what was the position of European countries in those days. Records left by Greek scholars, Romans as well as the Chinese pilgrims testify to that effect.

#### V

Free India fell partially victim to lightning expansion of the Arabs—Islam—which at first barely got a foothold on Sind and the Punjab. Later on, came the invasion of India by the Gaznavites, the Afghans and still later the establishment of the Moghul Empire in India during the sixteenth century. It is often suggested that Hindus succumbed to superior Arabs. I shall not argue on this point; but I shall point out that the Byzantine Empire was wiped out by the expansion of Islam and not only all of North Africa, but Spain, Portugal and South of France were conquered by the Moslems. The Mongols of Asia also over-ran a very large part of Europe and ruled over Russia for centuries. We also know that Turks after conquering the Balkans and Hungary were at the gates of Vienna. They were driven away from the heart of Central Europe, only through a concert of European—Christian—Powers, but the Turks controlled a very large part of Europe for more than four centuries. The Moslem conquest of India is a part of world history which indicates that at times flourishing civilizations were overwhelmed by less civilised peoples. It is also a fact that often the conquered peoples have conquered the invaders culturally as Greek culture influenced the Romans. So Indian culture influenced the Islamic world immensely and later on the Arabs influenced European culture in many ways.

The nature of the Moslem invasion of India at its very beginning was nothing less than adventures for plunder and taking a large number of people as prisoners who were sold as slaves and also to carry on forceful conversion of the victims. But later on Indian—Hindu—spirit of toleration of other creeds at least influenced some of the Moslem conquerors—Moghul emperors—specially Akbar the Great. It was during his reign, the Moghul Empire in India was solidified with the support of the people of India—the Hindus—who were given equal rights in holding highest positions of the realm. Indeed, there were Hindu Prime Minister, Commander-in-Chief and Finance Minister during his reign. But the Moghul Empire went into decay and destruction by the time

of the reign of Aurangzeb, the great grandson of Akbar the Great, primarily due to his policy of intolerance and discrimination against the Hindus. When the Moghul Empire was in the process of disintegration due to internal situation, it was also faced with the growing encroachment of Western powers which were trying to establish themselves economically, politically and militarily. It is on the ruin of the Moghul Empire and the Hindu States of the Marhattas, as well as the Sikhs, the British Empire was firmly established after the end of the Napoleonic war, although the British first secured their firm political foothold in Bengal in 1757 after the Battle of Plassey.

#### VI

Lack of time will not allow me to discuss the vast field of the rise, growth and the end of British rule in India. Nor can I discuss in any detail the role of India in expansion and rivalry among European Powers in Asia. But I wish to suggest to you that the efforts to find the sea-route to India which was discovered by Vasco de Gama in 1498 led to Portuguese expansion in Asia during the fifteenth and the sixteenth century which culminated in Portuguese-Arab rivalry in Asia and Portuguese ascendancy over the Arabs. It was the success of the Portuguese and the Spaniards in Asia and America respectively in exploiting these regions that roused the British and the Dutch to explore commercial and political possibilities through their East India Companies at the beginning of the seventeenth century. It was through Anglo-Dutch opposition the Spanish-Portuguese Power was humbled and the Portuguese were virtually eliminated from Asia. It may be pointed out that the rivalries between the Spanish-Portuguese Powers on the one hand and the Anglo-Dutch on the other during the seventeenth century became world-wide and the main characteristic of the world politics of that era. After the elimination of the Portuguese in the Orient, the British and the Dutch were in conflict in their efforts for mastery over certain parts of the Orient. This was settled by Britain maintaining her position in India while the Dutch established themselves in Java and other islands of South-East Asia. The French appeared in the arena of India during the latter part of the seventeenth century; and by the middle of the eighteenth century Anglo-French rivalry in India and world politics in general became the chief feature of the age. It was during the Seven Years War (1756-63) when the British were fighting the French all over the world, Clive representing the British was doing his best to eliminate the French represented by Duplex in India. With the elimination of the French Power in India, the British began their systematic work of conquering India. Although the British East India Company was chartered during the last week of December 1600 by Queen Elizabeth, it did not

establish its political foothold in India in an effective manner until 1757, *i.e.*, after 150 years of the inception of the company.

## VII

How did the East India Company succeed in defeating the forces of the Nawab of Bengal in 1757? What was the process of British expansion in India? What was the nature of the British rule in India under the East India Company? What was the reaction of the British Government in England regarding the misrule of the East India Company? What was the nature of efforts to remedy the misrule in India? What was the reaction of the people of India? What was the character of the Sepoy Mutiny of India in 1857 which ended in British victory and also termination of the rule of the East India Company in India, the rise, growth and success of Indian nationalist movement and its relation to British efforts to bring about political reforms and introduction of modified form of responsible government? What was the role of British efforts to control India and its reflex in world politics of the eighteenth, nineteenth and twentieth century world politics, twentieth century conflicts among Great Powers and their effects on Indian Independence movement? These are a few of the subjects which should be pondered to understand the historic process of the establishment of a republic of India. I shall only pass a few remarks on some of these points.

The British, through the East India Company, secured control over India because they were able to use Indian man-power (Indian soldiers), Indian money (profit from the East India Company and money extorted from Indian princes) and support of some of the Indian Princes and treachery of certain Indian influential personages. The last point was a very significant fact in Clive's winning the victory over the Nawab's forces at the Battle of Plassey in 1757. Clive was successful in enlisting the support of one Mir Jafar, the uncle of the Nawab and a Moslem Commander-in-Chief of Nawab's forces, by promising that if he allied with the British, after the overthrow of the Nawab Shiraj-ud-Daulah, Mir Jafar would be made the Nawab, Mir Jafar with an army of 50,000 men during the Battle of Plassey deserted the Nawab's cause and this was the principal factor in Clive's victory.

Secondly, the East India Company with Indian money not only built up a strong Army in which the number of Indian soldiers was five times the number of British soldiers, but made alliance with Indian Princes to subdue those who were opposed to British Power. Thirdly, the British brought about isolation of Indian Princes who were allied to them and reduced them to the position of puppet states and used them to expand their power and suzerainty.

The nature of the British East India Company's

rule was not for the benefit of the people of India in any sense and it was for economic exploitation and political domination. Liberal-minded British statesmen opposed the tyranny; and the best example of it is to be found in Burke's speeches during the impeachment of Warren Hastings. Just as during the American Revolution there were many Englishmen who were opposed to Lord North's government's policy towards the American colonies, similarly there were many Englishmen who were interested in bringing about reforms in the Government of India. But none of them were thinking in terms of granting freedom to the people of India. One may point out that as early as 1833-34, Lord Macaulay during his speech in the British Parliament in connection with the debate of Government of India Act, made the following statement which may be regarded as the noblest expression of British attitude towards India.

Referring to the Article 87 of the Government of India Act of 1834, Macaulay said :

"I allude to that wise, that benevolent noble clause which enacts that no native of our Indian Empire, shall, by reason of his colour, his descent or his religion, be incapable of holding office. I must say that to the last day of my life, I shall be proud of having been one of those who assisted in framing the bill which contains this clause. . . . By good government we may educate our subjects into capacity for better government, that having become instructed in European knowledge, they may in some future age demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert or retard it. Whenever it comes, it will be the proudest day in English history. . . ."

Among other things, this Government of India Act of 1833-34 laid down in very clear and emphatic language that

"Fitness is heretofore to be the criterion of eligibility; and no native of India, not any natural born subject of His Majesty resident therein, shall by reason only of his religion, place of birth, descent, colour or any of them, be disabled from holding any place or employment under the said company."

Let this be emphasised that this promise was never put into effect in all sincerity by the authorities and this failure was one of the prime causes of the so-called Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 which was known as the Indian War of Independence. The other causes for this national uprising was in the fact that the East India Company was interested in annexing territories of various Princes under various pretexts, which resulted in deep-seated discontent among the Indian people and Indian military in general. But the Mutiny of 1857 failed because some of the Indian Princes—Nepal, Hyderabad and Sikh Princes and others—not only kept aloof from this national uprising, but they aided the British with men and money substantially. Then the Indian uprising was not properly co-ordinated which made it easy for the British to crush the movement in piece-meals.



In 1858, the East India Company was abolished and India was brought under the direct rule of the British Parliament and the Queen of England, Victoria, made the historic proclamation re-iterating that all rights and privileges of Indian Princes would be honoured and there will be no discrimination against the peoples of India because of race, religion, and color in matters of their share in the government of the country. Again the failure of their keeping the promises in the Queen's proclamation was one of the main causes of national discontent, the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885 and rise of the Indian nationalist movement.

By the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of twentieth, it was clear that Britain's position in world politics was weak. The protracted Boer War lowered the prestige of the British before the Indians. Intense Anglo-Russian rivalry in world politics induced the British to seek the Anglo-Japanese Alliance of 1902, the Japanese were also anxious to have this alliance to strengthen their diplomatic position. This alliance made the Russo-Japanese War inevitable in which Japan became victorious. The victory of Japan over Russia electrified the whole Asiatic world and Indian nationalist movement, which was up to this time a very conservative one seeking for mere reforms to have a legitimate share in the Government of India by the Indian people, took the form of a revolutionary movement. The British Government was forced to make some concession to the Indian moderates to weaken the strength of the radicals. The Morley-Minto Reform Bill of 1907, while giving the Indian people nominal share in the Government of India, introduced a policy of divide and rule by having communal representation, allowing the Moslems a separate electorate because of their religion. Here it may be mentioned that this deliberate policy of fostering Hindu-Moslem disunity for forty years have resulted in partition of India, creation of Pakistan (one of the greatest political crimes of the twentieth century), and the consequent virtual civil war and vast refugee problems which is taxing the very existence of India now.

During the World War I, India made most valuable contribution towards the survival of the British Empire. India supplied more than a million soldiers and more than 100,000 of them died in foreign battlefields. India spent billions of dollars for aiding Britain. India was in return promised that she would be given "responsible government" or dominion status. This promise was not fulfilled, but on the contrary repressive measures were instituted to crush the Indian Nationalist Movement. Thus came in existence the so called Gandhi Movement in 1920. Again the intensity of Indian nationalist movement forced the British Government to grant the Government of India Act of 1935 by which Provincial Autonomy was granted

and Dominion Status was promised. However, the World War II brought about a serious split between India and Britain, India demanding her freedom before she be committed to fight for Britain. British Government of India declared war against Germany without considering the Indian demand. This precipitated the last phase of India's struggle for freedom from an alien rule. The moderate elements among the Indian nationalists under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi started a movement called "Quit India" suggesting that the British should leave India and Indians should solve their own problems, while the radical elements under the late Subhas Chandra Bose supported the Japanese and with an Indian Nationalist Army of some 75,000 men armed by the Japanese attacked India from Burma. To be sure this army was defeated as the Japanese were driven out from Burma. Later on there were revolts in the British Indian armed forces after the World War II was over. The British felt the pressure of the intensity of Indian unrest, the adverse condition of world politics and also the trend of home politics which was anti-imperialist. The British, however, did not wish to leave India until Indian nationalists agreed to partition of India to appease the Moslem secessionists who were aided by the British and also until Indian nationalists agreed that the Indian Princes will have the right to act as independent States or join either India or Pakistan.

All far sighted Indians opposed Partition, but opportunism or lack of foresight of Indian political leaders such as Nehru-Patel-Rajagopalachari-Rajendra Prasad group and others prevailed. They merely thought that by agreeing to partition, they would be able to get rid of the British quickly. But they were mistaken. Partition of India is a factor in disturbing peace of India and the world. The Government of India has masterfully succeeded in completely incorporating Indian States into India, except in the case of Kashmir where Pakistan in violation of the charter of the United Nations and all international law has invaded Indian territory. The Kashmir case is pending before the United Nations. Although Pakistan is a self-confessed aggressor, the United Nations has failed to name her to be the aggressor. It is the opinion of the Indian officials and public that the United Nations and the Anglo-American bloc of Powers are supporting Pakistan which is a Moslem State and which will be willing to co-operate with other Moslem States in checking Soviet Russian march towards the Persian Gulf. This fact has created resentment in India against the Anglo-American Powers. Pakistan is a theocratic dictatorship where the minority population does not enjoy human rights and recently millions of Hindus have been forced to leave Pakistan because in that State the life and property of a Hindu is never safe. According to the

Indian constitution, India is a democratic republic in which human rights of all, specially the minority communities, are being protected by the Declaration of Rights through the provisions of the Constitution. By this provision "untouchability" has been abolished, and freedom of speech, press and religion has been guaranteed.

Thus from the standpoint of human rights, the Democratic Republic of India has a great deal in common with the Republic of the United States of America. For this reason alone one hopes that there will be closer collaboration between India and the United States for upholding human rights and thus peace based on justice and liberty for all. It is also a fact that the United States of America, specially the American people, always favored Indian freedom as they do favor the cause of freedom of all peoples. This should be a basis for Indo-American co-operation.

### VIII

Today the peace of the world is being threatened by rivalry between Soviet Russia on the one hand and the Anglo-American Powers and their allies on the other. There is no question before any thinking mind that Soviet Russian Imperialism, like the Tsarist Imperialism of old, is expanding in all directions. It seems for the time being that Atlantic Pact Powers with the aid of the United States are determined to check further aggression of Soviet Russia in Europe. Mr. Churchill has on the 17th of March in his speech before the British Parliament advocated fuller co-operation with the West German Government to secure German collaboration against Soviet expansion. In his recent speeches at San Francisco and Berkeley on the 14th and the 16th of March, U.S. Secretary of State has declared that U. S. would not tolerate any further Soviet Russian or Communist-dominated Chinese aggression in Asia. According to Mr. Acheson, the United States will be willing to aid those nations which will be ready to fight against such aggression.

The utter defeat of Japan and also control of China by the Communists who have made an alliance for 30 years with Soviet Russia, and virtual annexation of Manchuria, Mongolia and Tsinkiang and northern part of Korea by Soviet Russia, have completely upset the balance of power in Asia, possibly in favor of Soviet Russia. This situation has rendered the position of India of special significance. If Mr. Nehru's speech at the Columbia University has any meaning, he made it clear that India would always side with the cause of justice and freedom, although she would not sign in advance any binding alliance with rival blocs of powers. Many short-sighted Americans think that the refusal of Pandit Nehru to sign in the dotted line for an alliance means that the Republic of India would side with Russia. They should think of American attitude during World War I and World War II, not so speak of the attitude

of the United States after her independence was attained.

An unwritten alliance based upon common foreign policy, common economic policy and common defence policy is often more effective than a written alliance. It is my conviction that if the United States Government takes the same attitude towards India as it has taken towards Britain in aiding her economically there is bound to develop Indo-American solidarity which will prevent any possibility of Moscow-Peiping-Delhi Axis for which Soviet Russia is working. India is passing through an economic crisis. Can U. S. do anything to aid India on the basis of common interest? Is it not possible for U. S. to sell some of her surplus wheat at a reasonable price and on long-term loan?

In the field of foreign policies, the Government of India is definitely committed to champion the cause of Asian Freedom. If the Government of India by her actions demonstrates her active support to this basic problem of international relations then India will very happily pursue a foreign policy in support of the United States.

### IX

For two centuries European countries specially Britain have been ruling over Asian peoples and they have developed a psychology of superiority—the complex of "bearing white man's burden"—or the idea that the peoples of Asia belong to those of lesser breeds or in other words inferior peoples. On this basis, domination, exploitation and discrimination have been developed against the peoples of Asia. This spirit is not yet dead. In fact, some of the Western scholars are still nurturing this idea under the supposed scientific theory that there is clearly a deep-seated difference between the Asiatics and the Europeans. For instance, in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* of 1911 under "Asia, History," Sir Charles Elliot wrote the following :

"Asiatics have not the same sentiment of independence and freedom as Europeans. Individuals are thought of as members of a family, the sect or religion, rather than entities with a destiny and rights of their own. This leads to autocracy in politics, fatalism in religion and conservatism in both."

I close with the declaration that the above statement of Sir Charles Elliot is absolutely wrong, and assert that there is nothing like a special brand of political autocracy in the Orient; whereas autocracy exists both in the East and in the West and the western brand of autocracy which we Orientals know of is possibly worse than so-called Oriental despotism—I am thinking of Colonialism, Fascism, Nazism and Sovietism—Oriental religions and all great religions that have originated in the Orient, do not support fatalism, but affirm "Law of *karma*" and all Orientals are not conservatives. We understand that there are conservatives in England and other countries of the West as

in the Orient. Mr. Churchill is regarded as a conservative by Mr. Attlee, a laborite. But in the Orient in recent years we hear of the names of many progressive leaders—Rabindranath Tagore, Swami Vivekananda, Sun Yat Sen, Gandhi, Nehru, Mustapha Kemal and many others.

Ladies and gentlemen, we are all human beings and as such brothers and sisters. We are not all equals in the fields of functional abilities. All nations have great men and small men; and all Westerners are not superior to the peoples of the Orient. This fact is being demonstrated tonight by your endeavour to

perpetuate the memory of an oriental, an Indian scholar, Sudhindra Bose, who was also an American and was also your brother, who never accepted the policy of discrimination of any kind. My homage to the memory of our friend, the late Sudhindra Bose. May his ideals prevail.\*

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\* An address delivered by Dr. Taraknath Das of the Department of History, Columbia University and the Institute of Public Affairs of New York University, on the occasion of the inaugural of the Sudhindra Bose Memorial Lecture at the State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa, on March 21st, 1950, in the Senate Chamber of the Old Capitol. President Virgil M. Harcher in the Chair.

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## FINANCING SMALL INDUSTRIES

By NIRMAL KUMAR GHOSH, M.A., B.L.

"Small industries have never had a chance to get working capital anywhere" — this is the testimony not of any irresponsible agitator in India, but of a Member of the House of Representatives, U.S.A., given before the Committee on Banking and Currency in 1934. The working capital of a small industry is invariably built up from its own earnings. So, when any nation-wide economic crisis crops up, it faces prospects of annihilation.

We have never attempted to collect any statistics of small-scale enterprises. We have not yet defined a small-scale industry. Except some shadow attempts in the form of State Aid to Industries Act, no Provincial Government has ever done anything to helping small-scale enterprises. The Central Government was always silent on the matter; the problem did not exist for them.

Besides the Ship-building and Steel-making Plants, Jute Mills, Cotton Mills, Tea, Cement and Sugar industries, which are classified as big industries, small-scale enterprises cover all other items of industrial efforts in India. We can safely presume that more than 98 per cent of our national industrial enterprises are small-scale in nature. By small-scale it is meant that these enterprises conform to either or both of the following factors :

- (i) the total amount of capital is not more than Rs. 10 lakhs in any single unit;
- (ii) the total number of employees does not exceed 100 at any time.

And most of them were started with inadequate capital.

The government have never introduced any licensing system, so that restrictions may be imposed for inaugurating or expanding any small-scale industry, although raw materials in many cases are highly controlled or non-abundant. The government never assumed any responsibility for protecting them; but they assumed rights to annihilate them, by various direct and indirect means, such as innumerable Labour Laws, Factories Act, Income Tax, restricting quotas and licenses of raw materials, curbing the investment

policies of investments of banks, railway movements, import policies and innumerable other means.

"Rights without Responsibility" is always a very dangerous precept. Encouraged in matters of exercising such rights without remaining responsible for consequences, the functionary soon becomes an irresponsible bureaucrat. A democratic country, particularly when passing through one of the worst adverse economic influences in living memory, can not afford to let continue such a state of things.

A planned economy is the corner-stone upon which the national prosperity is built up. Soon after the Congress came into power the Prime Minister of India, during the budget session, declared his intention to form a permanent Planning Committee, which was two years later formed, although the scope and functions of the Committee have yet to be defined. An Industrial Finance Corporation has also been formed, but the general body of industrial enterprises in the country has not been benefited as a result. Only about a score of comparatively bigger enterprises have obtained something about three and a half crores of rupees as long-term loan. So, there remain many more things to do, first of which should be the formation of Regional Finance Corporations to extend helping hands to small-scale industries.

Contrary to the prevalent belief in the U.S.A., more than a hundred bills have been enacted during the last twenty years to create Federal as well as Regional Finance Corporations having the sole object to accommodate loans to small-scale enterprises. It has been realised in that country that most of the small-scale enterprises are under capitalised, and almost all of them suffer from lack of adequate work-running capital. Being guided by District Advisory Boards the Regional Corporations make loans available to the borrowers. The risk taken is more than what ordinary banking investment policy would recommend. The loss was always borne by the Federal Treasury. Yet, the loss was never more than 10 per cent of the total investments in any year.

The Industrial Finance Corporation in our country was incorporated "for the purpose of making medium and long-term credits more readily available to industrial concerns in India, particularly in circumstances where normal banking accommodation is inappropriate or recourse to capital issue channel is impracticable." The object was never abrogated by any subsequent amendment. It will be of interest to reproduce part of the discussions which were held at the Dominion Parliament when the Industrial Finance Corporation Bill was placed for enactment. The Finance Minister was asked "to dispel the fear that a very small but powerful coterie of big business men might control the Corporation." Fear was also expressed "that the Corporation would benefit only big business concerns and not small institutions." The Finance Minister in reply assured the House that "the control exercised on the Corporation was indeed very rigid and there should not be slightest scope for any group of private individuals to manipulate the operations of the Corporation to the individual advantage of any one person or group of persons." Unfortunately, the fear expressed has not been obviated by subsequent activities of the Corporation. The Central Government hold only 20 per cent of the issued shares, the balance being held by Banks and Insurance Companies. So, it has been very logical on the part of the Corporation that "the assistance granted by the Corporation is mainly in the form of loans or advances against a first mortgage of tangible assets." The popular opinion that the Industrial Finance Corporation is being "manipulated by a powerful coterie of big business men" and that it has benefited "only big business concerns" is not altogether untrue. Only 21 Public Limited Companies having a paid-up capital of less than 22.69 lakhs on the average have received Rs. 12.20 lakhs on the average, that is 54.6 per cent of their paid-up capital. In the Bill, it was stipulated that loans would be granted only up to 10 per cent of the paid up capital, but an amendment was accepted which restricted the amount so granted to Rs. 50 lakhs maximum to any individual case. An analysis of the loans granted will show that the Corporation never adhered to the first condition, but their leanings were constantly towards the latter, that in no case the 10 per cent limitation was adhered to. Although the Corporation has not disclosed the names of the borrowers, apprehension exists in certain quarters that undue consideration was made to certain applicants. At least in one case it is known that out of the total amount of available capital—

- 23 per cent has been the subscribed share capital held by individual share-holders,
- 15.4 per cent has been subscribed by the Provincial Government as shares,

30.8 per cent was advanced by the same Provincial Government as loan.

Even then, the funds being inadequate to fulfil the objects, the I.F.C. came forward and granted 30.8 per cent as long-term loan.

The loan obtained from the I.F.C. must be against first charge. If so, then what is the security against the loan previously obtained from the Provincial Government? Unless a "very powerful coterie of big business men" or individual was interested in the borrowing Company, such a loan would not have materialised.

It is not intended to advance destructive criticism. What is stressed upon herein is an attempt to draw sympathetic attention of the Union Government to the state of things any good act may result in. The I.F.C. Bill was drafted by persons obsessed by the principle underlying the British Financing Institutions. In England the Finance Corporation for Industry Limited "is owned by insurance companies, investment trusts and the Bank of England," the I.F.C. is owned 80 per cent by "insurance companies, scheduled banks and the Reserve Bank of India." Whatever might have been put in the Prospectus, the I.F.C. was never to help anybody except big ones, and will never be of any benefit to smaller institutions so long the current investment philosophy be followed.

The economic reconstruction of a country, first and foremost, depends upon the gradual well-being of the smaller enterprises. The whole economic structure of the country is built up on the edifice of countless smaller enterprises. The economic rehabilitation of the refugees can also be possible only through the encouragement received, growth, well-being and protection of small-scale industries and business. The resources at the disposal of the provincial governments are not sufficient to tackle the problem. The Bengal Industrial Committee in its interim report published in 1944 has said : "A Provincial Government in this country can not guarantee the successful working of Cottage Industries (and for the same reasons small-scale industries) in the same way and to the same extent as any unitary government with centralised powers can do. The success of Industries depends upon a number of factors including tariff protection against foreign imports, adjustment of railway freights, etc. These are matters over which a Provincial Government in India has no control." The Director of Industries in many provinces are of course trying their utmost to alleviate the condition of the small enterprises, but due to the reasons stated in the Bengal Industrial Committee report, and mainly for the lack of adequate funds at their disposal, and also for a proper lack of co-ordination between the Centre and other Provincial governments most of their efforts can not bestow any long-standing boon.



The problem of economic rehabilitation of the refugees should also, instead of being dealt separately, be tackled along with the general problem of rehabilitation of small-scale industries and business in India. No finance corporation formed with private capital is competent to undertake the risks involved. The Economic and Political Research Department of the A.-I.C.C. has rightly stated; "The distinction between public finance and private finance is that when the latter looks to cost and profitability, the former must always aim at service." What is most needed at this hour of our national life is to awaken the spirit of service.

Regional Finance Corporations should be guided by Local Advisory Boards, personnel of which may or may not be permanent. The practice in Continental Europe in pre-war days was, as Dr. S. K. Basu has elaborately discussed in his *Industrial Finance in India*, for the

Bank to call "for full particulars about the industrial concerns and then find some authority, not of its own staff, to investigate." The I.F.C. also sometimes seeks advice on technological points from non-permanent advisers; but in many cases, due to profit motive, has not accepted the technical advice.

Huge sums are being and will be expended for rehabilitation of refugees. The existing smaller enterprises are also on the verge of disaster. Before the catastrophe actually presents itself, the Union Government must form Regional Finance Corporations and Industrial Advisory Boards for the smaller enterprises. This financial assistance will act as powerful lever in smoothing out cyclical economic fluctuations, and help to create a peaceful atmosphere in which national prosperity will find scope to expand.

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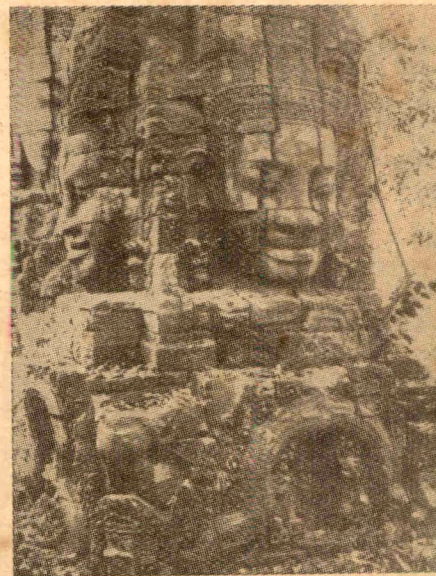
## BUDDHISM IN THAILAND

By PARESH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA, M.A.

THE rise and development of Siamese Buddhism is not only significant from the standpoint of history, but also important from the point of aesthetics. It still influences Thai Culture, develops it and gives harmony to its form. In fact, Painting, Sculpture, Dance, Music and other branches of Fine Arts of the Siamese are nothing but the subtle expressions of Buddhist thoughts, as inculcated in their minds since the propagation of the religion of Tathagata in the Far-East.

Buddhism was introduced in Thailand long ago, possibly, during the days of Emperor Asoka (3rd century B.C.). From the Ceylonese chronicle *Mahavamsa*, we come to know that the mighty Maurya Emperor sent two Buddhist monks named Sona and Uttara to 'Suvannabhumi' (meaning, 'the Land of Gold') to convert the people there. Now, on various grounds it seems reasonable<sup>1</sup> to identify this "Land of Gold" with some region of Lower Siam as opposed to its general location in southern Burma, which has been tentatively done by some Indian and European scholars like Luce, Duroiselle and Majumdar. This identification has been greatly strengthened by a remarkable Thai tradition, according to which the Buddhist missionaries of Asoka first reached ancient Nakhon Pathom (Nagara Prathama i.e., 'the First City') in Siam, in South-East Asia, from the sea. As

Buddhism was first preached in Siam and the adjoining country, the legend runs, the city had been named *Nagara Prathama* (Nakhon Pathom) or the "First City."<sup>2</sup> Now, if the Siamese legend and the testimony



The four faces of Avalokitesvara on the sides of the temple-arch of Bayon (Angkor Thom)

1. There were many place-names in Siam with the prefix 'Kanchana' or 'Suvanna,' viz., Kanchanapuri, Suvannapuri, etc. Strangely enough, there is an ancient city in the country with the very name 'Suphanphum' or 'Suvannabhumi.' See, Prince Damrong: "History of Siam in the Period Antecedent to the Founding of Ayuddha, etc.," *Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol. XIII.

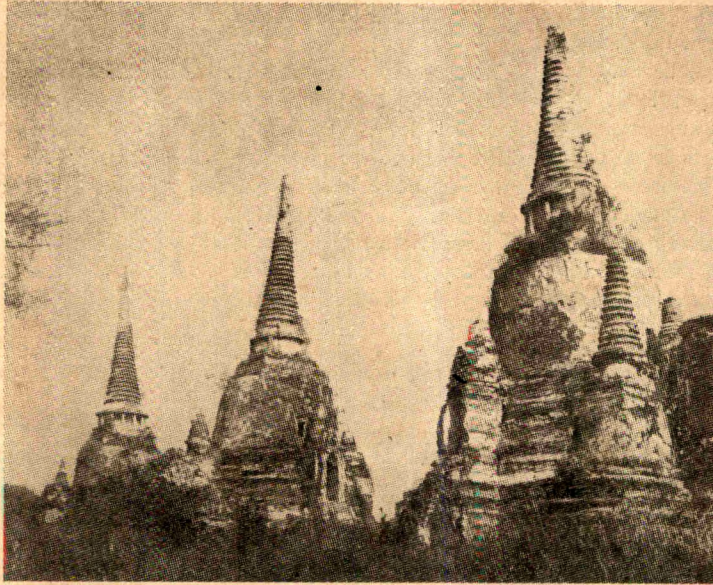
of the *Mahavamsa* stand correct then we shall have to admit that the religion of Gautama got its earliest

2. Seidenfaden: *Guide to Nakhon Pathom*.



adherents on the soil of the Menam Valley during the reign of Asoka. From other historic testimonies we may reasonably assume that Buddhism was introduced and propagated in Siam side by side with the

the early Mons, Khmers, Lawas and the Thais. Gradually, this cult of snake has turned to be the source of a kind of art-motif in modern Siam, where the images of serpents are now generally used for making temple-balustrades as well as other important decorations, and have sometimes even caused the substitution of the common motif of the Chinese dragon.



Several old Phra Chedis or Stupas among the ruins of Ayuthia

dissemination of Hinduism in Indo-China by Kaundinya I, Kambu and Kaundinya II.<sup>3</sup> At that time probably, there was little religious contest or jealousy between the adherents of Hinduism and the adherents of Buddhism in the Indo-Chinese Peninsula on account of the fact that to the eyes of the Indo-Chinese converts the two religions could show but little difference. As a result of this, the numerous relics of both the religions of India (*viz.*, Hinduism and Buddhism) are found abundantly in Siam, Cambodia, Annam and other countries of Indo-China.

As the early inhabitants of Siam were great worshippers of serpents, like many other nations of the ancient Pacific World, they associated Buddha with serpent in the early epoch of the spread of Buddhism in the Far-East. In this way, many an ancient Buddha image of the Menam and the Mekong valleys may be seen sitting on a large coiling snake. This particular iconographic feature was once too popular among

There is little doubt about the great fact that Buddhism has been inspiring the Siamese culture from very ancient days. It has not only refined the civilisation of the Siamese but has also accentuated their zeal for moral upliftment. We have definite archæological data, which tend to prove that once the ancient cities of Siam—like Phimai (Bhimpura), Nakhon Pathom, Lopburi (Lava-puri) and Petchaburi (Vajrapuri, *i.e.*, the 'City of Diamonds')—were great seats of Buddhist learning. The numerous ruins of the Buddhist temples (*wats*), monasteries and shrines, which have been discovered in these places, tend to prove the magni-



A typical Phra Chedi (*chaitya* or *stupa*) of modern Siam

ficient zeal and energy of the Siamese with which they practised the religion of Gautama in ancient days. Thus, the extensive ruins of the Buddhist temples of pre-Thai (circ. 300 B.C.—circ. 1300 A.D.) Siam remain as the silent witnesses of

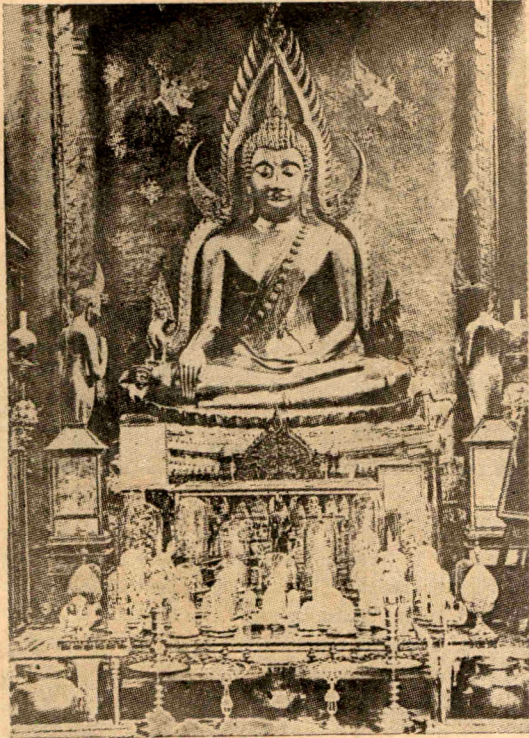
3. R. C. Majumdar : *Champa*, Introduction.



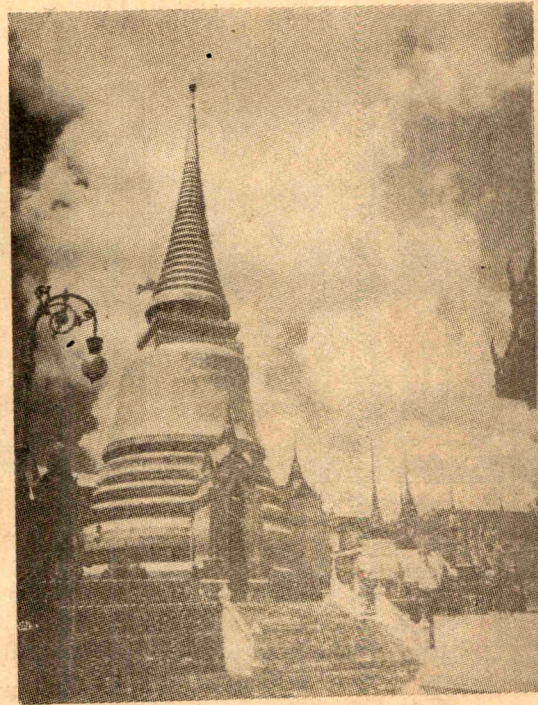
piety and devotion of the ancient Mon-Khmers and the Lawas who built the fabric of the Siamese civilisation in the immemorial past.

In the 13th century the Thais, a new people, invaded Siam hailing from Southern China wherefrom they had been dislodged by the cruel pressure rendered

the 13th and the 14th centuries of the Christian era. Of course, here we cannot ignore the possibility of any adherence to this religion by many Thais even during their stay in South-China long before their migration to the Menam Valley in the Trans-Gangetic India.



Buddha Jinaraj in Vishnulok (circ. 1300 A.D.) with high technique influenced by the Pala-Sena Art (circ. 800-circ. 1300 A.D.) of ancient Bengal



A portion of Wat Phra Keo (Bangkok)

by the war-like Emperor Kublai Khan and his Mongol hordes. The Thais soon defeated the earlier settlers of Siam (*viz.*, the Mons, the Khmers and the Lawas) and founded their own kingdoms in the country, which later on became united together to form the present territory of Siam. Although the Thais were victorious, they never vacillated to assimilate the superior culture of the Mon-Khmers.<sup>4</sup> Since that time, Buddhism became the most popular religion among the Thais. In the successive epochs of their early capitals Sukhothai and Ayuthia, and the modern capital Bangkok or Khrung-thep (lit. meaning 'the city of the gods') Buddhism has been responsible for the growth and development of the excellent art of the Thais. There is no denying the fact that the 'Theravada' Buddhism is the most dominant feature of the Thai culture and history since the conversion of the Thais to this religion in

The Thais had been building numerous temples (Wat-s), *stupas* (Phra chedis) and monasteries (Vihars) in Siam since their final occupation of the territory in Circ. 1350 A.D.<sup>5</sup> Many ruins of these religious edifices may, still, be noticed in different places, the most interesting among them lying at Phimai, Sukhothai, Vishnulok, Chiang Mai, Lampang, Lamphun, Raheng,

4. G. Coedes : "Origins of the Sukhodaya Dynasty," *Journal of the Siam Society*, Vol. XIV.

5. A considerable influence of "Tantrik" Buddhism even may be traced in ancient Siam, Malay and Cambodia. The spread and propagation of this eclectic doctrine may be reasonably attributed to the missionaries and sailors of ancient Bengal and Indonesia. "Tantrik" Buddhism was propagated in the Far East by the missionaries of Bengal during the great epoch of the Pala regime in the country. We have evidences that the friendly Sailendras of Java and Sumatra adopted the religion from the Bengali *Rajagurus* (*i.e.*, 'Royal preceptors') and then in their turn spread it in different corners of their far-flung insular empire in Malayasia, and also in the lands of Indo-China. Possibly, Tantrikism was introduced in Siam to some extent by the train of Indonesian legion and naval fleet in the lands and rivers of Indo-China. That once West Siam had been ruled by the Sailendra Emperors of Indonesia has been partly testified by the discovery of many Mahayanist seals in that region. See, Salmony : *Sculpture in Siam*; B. R. Chatterji and N. P. Chakravarti : *India and Java*, Vol. II, pp. 58-59.





The majestic edifice of Wat Arun on the side of the Menam (opposite Bangkok)

Ayuthia, Nakhon Pathom, Petchaburi, Bang Pa In and Thonburi. These vast ruins show beyond doubt the unlimited piety and devotion of the Thais to the sacred religion of Buddha, which naturally cause the admiration and surprise of the foreigners who visit the interiors of Siam.

solidarity. A three-months' monkhood is compulsory for every Siamese. The king is regarded as the head of the Church. Although, he wields but a nominal authority upon the monks, his spiritual headship has been regarded by the Thais as supreme and unchallenged.



Wat Panchamapovitra (or Wat Benchamapobit) of Bangkok



Buddhist Stupas of modern Siam

At present the Hinayana Buddhism ("Lesser Vehicle") is the state-religion of Thailand and it is practised with extreme reverence by the peasants and princes of the country alike, a matter which not only uplifts the moral tone of the Thais to a high degree but also considerably contributes to their national

The temples are administrated according to the administrative system of the country. *Sangkharach* (Sangharaj) or the 'King of the Church,' is the chief of the temples in Siam and in that way his position is just after the king. Next to the Sangkharach are the four chief abbots or the "Chao Khun Jai." They



are concerned with the different important and essential ecclesiastical affairs. The four chief abbots are helped by eight assistants. These eight assistants form one council which makes the final decision on the religious affairs. The council had been established by a religious ordinance passed in B.E. (Buddha-Era) 2446, i.e., 1903 A.D. Apart from these high priests, there are many lower dignitaries like the "Chao Khun Monton," "Chao Khun Changwad" and "Chao Khun Kweng," who are in charge of circles, provinces and districts respectively. Every temple or Wat possesses head-monks under whom there are a number of ordinary monks, novices and boy-disciples. W. A. Graham supplied the following statistics of the Siamese Church in 1923 :<sup>6</sup>

the names of priests in Japan and the term "Talapoin" may have a probable origin in the Mon world "Talapoi" or "Tala-Khpoi," which is used in Lower Burma to denote a Buddhist priest. The slightly corrupt form "Talapoin" might be the result of Portuguese adaptation of the word "Talapoi" or "Tala-Khpoi" who also confounded the Siamese monks as "Talapoins." Actually, both the terms "Bonze" and "Talapoin" are never current in Siam.

The Buddhist monks of Siam frequently go on tour to visit the holy places just after the Lent or Vassavasa in the rainy season. These wandering monks are called Phra Todong. Among the sacred relics in Siam, the most notable are the big and beautiful 'foot-prints' of Lord Buddha in the regions



Wat Rajapratistha (Wat Rachapradit) of Bangkok

- |   |         |
|---|---------|
| (1) Total number of the monks in the whole country ..                 | 120,000 |
| (2) Total number of the novices in the whole country ..               | 40,000  |
| (3) <i>Sisyas</i> or boys living in the <i>wats</i> ..                | 75,000  |
| (4) Total number of the <i>wats</i> in the whole country more than .. | 8,000   |

Although few, there are also a number of old nuns or *Chi Songs* in Siam, who generally live in small huts in the vicinity of a monastery.

The Buddhist monks or Phras of Siam are sometimes wrongly called as Bonzes or Talapoins by foreign writers. As Graham points out, Bonzes are



The ruins of Wat Chulamani (Vishnulok)

of Chiang Mai, Lopburi<sup>7</sup> and in some other places including the island of Puket (Junk Ceylon) in the Bay of Bengal, which also preserves a nice 'foot-print.'

There are many important religious festivals, which are devoutly observed by the Thai monks and laity. The most important is the Visakha (Indian Vaisakha) ceremony in the full moon, which commemorates the birth, enlightenment and *nirvana* of Lord Buddha.

7. The Siamese believe that Lord Buddha once himself visited their country.

8. A single 'foot-print' of Buddha near Lopburi amidst the mountains is reverently called as "Phra bai" or "Phra Puttha bai" (i.e., "Phra Buddha Pada" or the "Foot of Lord Buddha").

6. Graham : *Siam*, Vol. I, pp. 226 ff.



On this occasion the Thais, particularly, their monks and other members of the Order make a great jubilation by making gay candle-parades and by embellishing the temples in the night with multi-coloured lanterns, which really create a very charming view

under the blue sky of the South. The lights twinkle in the moon-beams and carry our minds to the bygone days when on such a moonlit night Prince Gautama renounced the world causing a great expectation among the gods and the saints.

—:O:—

## GLOUCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS : AMERICAN FISHING PORT

By ROBERT WEST HOWARD

For over three centuries the men of Gloucester have been fishing the cold waters of the North Atlantic. Gloucester is a town of 21,000 inhabitants, located in the State of Massachusetts on the Atlantic Coast of the United States, a score of miles north of the city of Boston. The year 1948 was the richest in Gloucester's history. Back from the ocean, the little city's 250 vessels brought 251,000,000 pounds of fish. Two new plants for the quick freezing of fish were being

meals for stockfeed or fertilizers, and quick-freeze chests—all contributions that have influenced the daily life of America, from barnyard to manufacturing plant. In return, since 1623, the Atlantic Ocean has claimed more than 8,000 of the city's sons, a terrifying list of lost men and ships, from the Virginia Capes to Iceland.

And in 1949, another development was under way, the most important perhaps that Gloucester has ever known. On February 21, in Washington, D.C., capital of the United States, 11 nations signed the Convention for the North-west Atlantic Fisheries. It meant the creation of an international commission to make a thorough survey of marine life in the North Atlantic's waters. It meant, moreover, the creation of a program of ocean conservation, so that the life cycles and spawning places of cod and halibut, rosefish and mackerel will be as well known as a farmer's dairy production. Somewhere out there during the next few years, a new pattern of international co-operation would be established, involving all the coastal nations from Italy around the great northern arc to the United States. It was a pattern that might, finally, turn Gloucester from a frontier pioneer to the capital of a new type of sea-farming.

And this, looking back, is precisely what Gloucester men have been working toward since 1623. This was the theme of the long saga of merchants involved in the struggle with the stark fact that "the fish do not change, but the industry does."

It began in 1623 when immigrants from Dorchester, England, settled on the northern peninsula of Massachusetts Bay. They named their village for the old English port of Gloucester. That autumn, Gloucester sent its first shipload of dried cod to Bilbao, Spain. Then, the town went through the difficult years of the French and Indian wars. In 1716, five fishing craft, comprising one-tenth of the port's tonnage, were lost in a hurricane. Fifty years later another great storm foundered nine Gloucester ships and sent 40 men to their deaths.

Back in 1713 Gloucester men took their first step against the sea. They designed and built a new type of fishing vessel, a big two-master with fore-and-aft



Fillets of ocean perch are placed on trays before being put into large freezing cabinets

built across the harbor. Two-thirds of the 6,000 homes on the gray cliffs were owned by the families who lived in them. North, along the winding roads, the veterans of the last war were building new clusters of bungalows and little cottages.

Yet, in leisure as in business, people stared toward the sea. In their struggle to wrest a living from it, Gloucester men had given the world the first ocean schooner, the first flaked fish, the first "isinglass" glue, the first yellow slickers (oilskin coats), golden oil-



sails, which they called a schooner. With the schooner, carrying a crew of 23 men and loading 10 dories, Gloucester wrested its living from the seemingly limitless supply of halibut and cod feeding off the New England coast, as the area along the north-eastern Atlantic shore came to be called.



Fishermen, whose home port is Gloucester, Massachusetts, clean their catch

Out of this evolved customs that were to become the basis for new Gloucester industries. Fogs and spray made waterproof clothing an essential part of the fishermen's equipment. Similarly, since dories blended quickly with ocean colors when fogs rolled in, fishermen learned to daub their outer clothing with linseed oil. It gave the material a bright yellow sheen, visible for miles on the open ocean. Back in port, sailmakers began to manufacture yellow linseed garments, which were called "northeasters" and "slickers" and became world-famous.

Clipper ships, those sailing vessels built and rigged for exceptional speed, carried Gloucester dried cod to China, India, and Africa. Largely because of Gloucester, the State of Massachusetts House of Representatives voted that "a representation of a codfish in gold, as a memorial of the importance of codfishing to the welfare of the Commonwealth" be placed in their assembly room at the State House in Boston. It hangs there to this day.

Then, a century ago, industrial progress threatened

the prosperity of Gloucester, not for economic, but for sanitary reasons. Early in the 1840's a wholesale fish dealer decided to skin and bone his cod at the warehouse and offer "salt fillets" to the market. One day in 1849 Slade Gorton happened by. Gorton was a cotton-mill superintendent, forced into retirement

when his plant burned. He looked at the fish-dealer's fillets and decided to improve on the idea by packing his own fillets in 1- and 2-pound wooden cartons. Gorton's boxed codfish were immediately popular with New England housewives. He built packing plants along the north shore of the harbor and eventually developed "flaked" codfish and the canned "codfish ball" combination of salt fish and mashed potato. His sons became the most famous wholesalers in Gloucester's history. In 1903, the Gortons merged their business with that of John Pew, owner of the port's largest fishing fleet, to become the biggest fish packers on the Atlantic seaboard.

Long before that, however, the salt-fillet business had met great difficulties. Working hastily to meet the high demand for fillets, dealers had dumped the skins, bones, and heads into the harbor. For a few months, the Atlantic washed this refuse out to the open ocean. Then one day it stopped, and Gloucester

harbor became a smelly, vapid slough of distilling fish scrap. A city ordinance was passed to forbid further dumping of fish scrap into the harbor. Merchants began to make appeals to farmers throughout New England to use fish scraps for fertilizer.

One farmer who accepted their offer was John S. Rogers who spread fish skins on a patch of land one spring evening. He awoke the next morning to find his boots glued fast to the floor. Somewhere he had read that the Greeks once knew a method for making glue from fish. They manufactured it in small batches as needed, for they knew no preservative for it. Later, the process was lost.

Rogers boiled fish skins and distilled the liquids until he developed a method of producing the glassy, amber cake glue known thereafter as "isinglass." Another Gloucester man named Isaac Stanwood had been working on the same idea. Rogers and Stanwood glues were offered for sale at about the same time. The scrap problem was solved. Now both Stanwood and Rogers began to buy the fish skins and scraps



piled along the wharves. The new industry took on national scope when Stanwood hired a young salesman named William LePage. LePage called on a chemist at Harvard University in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and learned that carbolic acid would be an excellent preservative for liquid fish glue.

Out of the glue incident came Gloucester's first awareness of the fact that its sea harvests reaped more than human food. Glue became the first link in a new industrial chain. The scraps, with glue distilled from them, were turned over to processors who dried the residue, ground it, and sold it as "fish meal" to be mixed with poultry and dairy feeds. Pharmaceutical houses, following closely on scientific discoveries, began to demand fish-liver extracts and oils. The Gloucester fleet's total catch for the year of 1907 reached the all-time high of 105,000,000 pounds.

Then, for a third time, a change came, this time from the sea itself. Year by year, the cod, halibut, and haddock had edged further northward. Boat runs extended 50, 100, 500 miles out from Cape Ann, north of Massachusetts Bay. Steam replaced sail. Narrow 100- and 150-ton trawlers and draggers using cone shaped nets, 90 feet long, displaced the schooner and its yellow-slickered dorymen. After World War I Canada expanded its fleets, and built processing plants along the shores of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. By 1921 Gloucester was down to a total catch of 32,000,000 pounds. It seemed that Gloucester was finished. Fresh fish markets were firmly centered in Boston and New York. Canada and Scandinavian countries could undersell on the salt and smoked fish. By 1931 the total catch was only 25,000,000 pounds. Yet, the port was readying for its greatest years.

Across the harbor a former U.S. Government scientist named Clarence Birdseye had settled down to home research. As an explorer in Labrador, Birdseye had eaten frozen fish and caribou meat that was still tender and fresh-flavoured. Now he was trying to duplicate that process. Finally in 1925 he came up with the fact that the faster a food can be frozen, the less chance there is of formation of large ice crystals which tear down cell walls, let out natural juices, and injure the texture of the food. Birdseye sold his quick-

freeze process to a food-manufacturing company in 1929. The following May, in Springfield, Massachusetts, the first quick-frozen foods were offered to the American consumer.

About the same time a squirming little pink fish that Gloucester men had caught for over a century but



Ocean perch fillets are placed over strong lights so that malignant growths or infected areas may be detected

used only as bait was being investigated. Its average weight was 10 ounces and it took 13 years to grow to that size. But the flesh was crisply white; it froze nicely in Birdseye's machines, and was fairly easy to fillet. Rosefish, as the fish were called, went on the order boards along the Gloucester waterfront for the first time in 1933. The port's catch doubled in 1934 and by 1939 was nearing the 100,000,000 pound mark again. Then, as now, two-thirds of the catch was rosefish, the despised bait of a generation before.

The bronze figure of the Fisherman's Statue in Gloucester gleams softly. Behind it, white on its hilltop, stands the mansion where LePage centered his business, turned now to vegetable and synthetic glues as well as isinglass. Northward, the Gorton-Pew canneries curl smoke streamers across the headland. The crowds are still strolling toward the waterfront and the long look to the blue-green wilderness. Out there lie the sorrow and the pride of yesterdays. Out there lie the hopes of tomorrow.—From *Nation's Business*.



## THE METALLIC HEAD OF THE STANDARD OF A BURHANA FAKIR WHO LIVED AT BELWA

By MONORANJAN GUPTA, B.Sc.

IN February 1948, when visiting the sites of Belwa (where two Pala copper-plate inscriptions<sup>1</sup> have been excavated) in the district of Dinajpur, Eastern Pakistan, I was taken to the Chhoyghatir bil (a lake with 6 ghats) and incidentally was shown a high brick-built pedestal (bricks 10 ins. × 10 ins. × 1 in.), revered by the local people as the abode of a Pir (Muslim holy man). By the side of this mound was shown a place grown with tall grass said to be the place now covering the Pir's well. The agriculturists of the place bring their plough up to a certain limit and spare the tall-grass-covered area as a place of holiness. Even cows desist from grazing on this fine grass though not fenced out. I, however, considered this to be the base of a Hindu temple gone into the possession of a Muslim Fakir at the time of a political change-over or thereafter. The Chhoyghatir bil stretches from north to south, and the stair and base of the pedestal resembles according to our opinion the stair and jangha of a Hindu temple.

The villagers said that the last Fakir who resided here with his standard containing an emblem of fish and certain writings was still remembered by the old inhabitants. I enquired about the standard and ultimately from a villager of the adjacent village Singra, the metallic head (made of brass) of that standard was brought to me for inspection. This cherished material was to be returned immediately to its owner and therefore I copied it as quickly as possible and in order to avoid mistakes as far as practicable showed it to Maulvi Rhiyazuddin Sarkar of the neighbouring Hatshyamganj together with the original plate and got his translation with Bengali phonetics in his own hand-writing.<sup>2</sup>

The side with the palm estampage<sup>3</sup> reads:

1st line: *Bismillah Hir Ramanir Rahim*

2nd line: *La Illalv-e-Illallah-Mohdur Rusoolullah*

1. Edited by the writer of this article in *Sahitya Parisat Patrika* 3rd and 4th issues, 1354, 3rd and 4th issues, 1356, and discussed by him in *The Modern Review* for July and December 1947: *Bharatvansa*, Falgoun 1355, Baisakh and Bhadra 1356, and *Prabasi*, Chaitra, 1356.

2. The outline of the head of the standard given here is drawn by my son Anandapran according to my rough sketch. And the script on it has been written by Janab G. R. Abdullah of Kashmir now in the Post-Graduate Urdu Department of the Calcutta University following my copy. The latter has also kindly given the English phonetics and gone through Rhiyazuddin's translation.

3. The hand with its fingers extended is represented on or above doors. The custom is very common in the East among both the Jews and the Muhammadans. The hand thus serves as a powerful claim against the evil eye, and it also distracts and repels evil spirits.—*Hastings' Encyclopaedia*, IV, 850 cc.

3rd line: *Sultan Tottah Burhan Shahsun*

4th line: *Allah*

5th line: *Ya Ali Lafti Illa Ali wa la saif illa Zulfiqar*

6th line: *Nadaiha taina muzharul Ajaib Bi Abdihi Guwaranaik Kawalmaib: Kulu Harun Yadkhulo: (7 times) Ya Mohd ya Ali ya Ali Biwillaithi*



English Translation :

1st line: (I am begging) with the name of Allah who is kind and the benefactor of all.

2nd line: No God but God (is to be worshipped) and Muhammad is the messenger of God.

3rd line: *Sultan Tottah Burhan Shahsun.*

4th line: *Allah.*

5th line: *Ia Ali, Ia Ali, there is no brave man except Ali, and no sword except Zulfiqar (name of Ali's sword).*

6th line: *We loudly pray (Nada, Slogan—war cry) to the wonderful for his kindness through his servant Ali (and it has*



come). Every sinner has to enter into fire; so we call Oh Muhammad, Oh Ali (7 times) with all his (Ali's) devotion to God.

The other side of the plate reads :

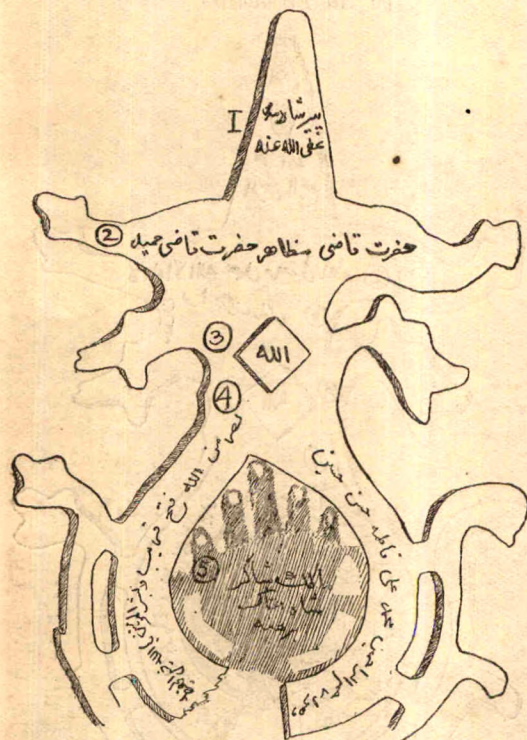
1st line: *Pir Shabe Sadar Afi Allah.*

2nd Hazrat: *Hazrat Kazi Majaher Hazarat Kajihamid.*

3rd line: *Allah.*

4th line: *Nasrun minulla Fathun Karieb wa Bashril, momineer ya Allah Kairul Hafiza : We huwa Arhamur Rahemin<sup>4</sup> Mohd., Ali, Fatima, Hussan, Hussain.*

5th line: *Malek Shaker Shahe Ata Burhana*



English Translation :

1st line: Pir Shahe Sadar, may God bless him.

2nd line: It is perhaps the name of the sovereign of the area.

3rd line: Allah.

4th line: God's help and victory is at hand. He is the best preserver, kindest and most benevolent. Muhammad, Ali, Fatema, Hussan, Hussain.

5th line: Malek Shaker Shahe Ata Burhana.

I tried to link the above with history, if possible.

My search has resulted in the following :

(1) Mauza Baliyadighi in the police outpost of

4. These underlined portions occur in the Koran with reference to Muhammad's encounter against his enemies.

Hemtabad (Dist. Dinajpur), has, since the time of Shah Shuja, been the home of a curious sect of Fakirs whose religious practices are a sort of a compromise between Muhammadanism and Hindu Jogism (*Dinajpur Gazetteer*, p. 38). And Jogism which is a deduction of Buddhism is prevalent in this area. The Buddhist Pala Kings ruled this country for nearly 400 years.

(2) Shah Shuja, son of Shah Jehan, Governor of Bengal, granted by a Sanad (dt. 1659 A.D., on the 21st day of Rajab) to Janab Shah Sultan Muria Burhana the following :

- (a) You may take all articles of Julus (Procession), e.g., banners, standards, flags, poles, staffs, band, etc., when you go out for the guidance of the people.
- (b) After death all your articles will belong to your successor. You will be able to confiscate all *pirpal*, rent-free land or property without any heir in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa.
- (c) When going about throughout the country provision should be supplied to you by the landholders, etc., etc.

From Maulvi Abdul Wali's article in *JASB*, Vol. LXXII, Part III, pp. 61-64.

(3) A village Toogarria about 4 miles east of Belwa is inhabited by about 30 families of Muhammadans, related to each other and every one of them having a name ending in 'Fakir.'

(4) Until recent years they lived a life of celebrity. They possessed large jagirs, given to them by the former kings and lived in great style. In their tours, they carried the fish-standard called *mahi-muratib* and were accompanied by large retinue. Their title is Burhana or the nude.

—Abdul Wali, *ibid*.

#### CONCLUSION

Why did these Fakirs come to Belwa? The writings on their standard show that they are the persons who would be necessary and useful in enthusing a Muhammadan army. And we know that it was the custom in those days to take with the army such inciting Fakirs or holymen. Belwa being originally a place for the Hindus—not to speak of this being a very important place (as many as 14 big and small lakes are in this village still seen with several other relics)—this was deemed to be the fit place of assault by the Muhammadan invaders.

In line with the above conclusion the following facts may be mentioned: (1) No Hindu lived in Belwa even 30 years from now, (2) There was no Brahmin living within a radius of 7 miles of Belwa though the recipient of the Vighrahapala's Belwa grant was a Brahmin residing in Belwa, (3) "The Muhammadan cultivators of the district of Dinajpur generally claim the title of Sheik, though the name that they perhaps



more frequently go by is Nasya, meaning one whose original religion has been destroyed *i.e.*, a convert .....etc." (*Dinajpur Gazetteer*, p. 36), (4) 30 years ago, I found that most of the Muhammadans of the villages near Belwa bore the title of "Nasya" who have since improved to a Sheik or Mandal, etc., in

order to be considered as more respectable Muhammadans. But they still continue to observe certain Hindu customs in their daily life.

I am grateful to Sir Jadunath Sarkar for helping me with certain information of Muhammadan customs in this connection.

—:O:—

## EKLINGJI TEMPLE

By S. I. CLERK

MAHADEVA or Iswara has been the tutelary god of the Rajputs in Mewar from time immemorial. He is worshipped as Eklinga (*i.e.*, with one—*ek*—*lingam* or phallus; we have also Sahaslinga and Kotiswara, with a thousand or a million phallic representations all carved on a monolithic column) either in his monolithic symbol or as Iswara Chaumukhi, the quadri-form divinity, represented by a bust with four faces. All over Marwar there are innumerable temples dedicated to Mahadev.

In the valley of Udaipur about fourteen miles from the city proper on the motor road to Sri Nathji there is a beautiful temple known as Eklingji Temple. The pilgrims on their way to Sri Nathji or Udaipur worship Iswara Chaumukhi idol of this temple. The buses carrying them wait here for about half an hour particularly for this purpose.

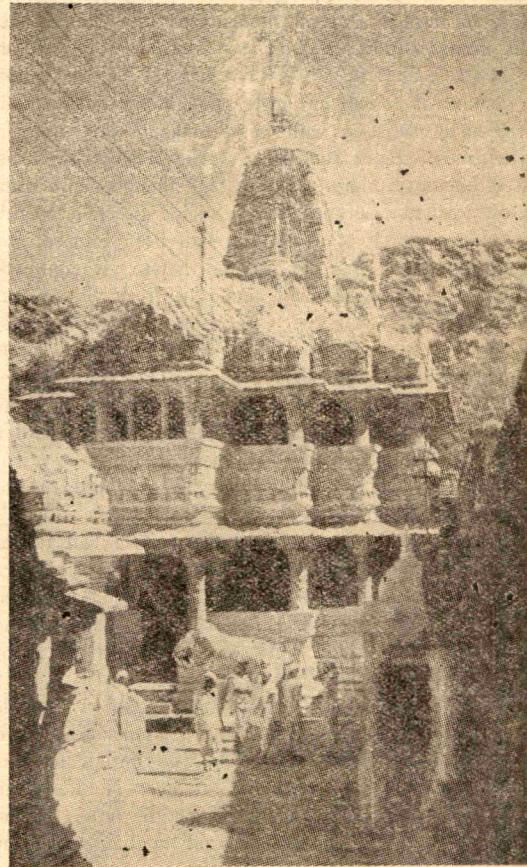
The Ranas of Udaipur officiate as the high priests of this temple. They are associated with this temple right since Sri Bappaka, the traditional founder of the Mewar dynasty. This is proved by an inscription discovered in the store-room of the temple. It is dated A.D. 971 and is a dedication to Lakulisa, a form of Siva represented as Lakulisa-Pasapati. It records the name of a king Sri Bappaka. This inscription, incidentally, also proves that the temple of Eklingji was in existence before A.D. 971.

The *sikhara* of the temple is pyramidal like those of most of the temples of Siva. The apex is crowned with *kalas*. The fane of Eklinga is of white marble and of ample dimensions. In front of the deity is the bull Nandi, the steed of Lord Siva, of natural size and of excellent proportion.

Although with a simple interior, the temple is full of beautiful human figures exquisitely carved on its exterior walls. Indeed, it is difficult to convey a proper idea of a temple so complicated in its details. In its courtyard there are several small temples clustered together. One of these is said to have been built by Meerabai.

The place itself is very picturesque with the

Baghela-talao, a large artificial lake and the remains of the ancient city of Nagda or Nagahvada nearby.



A general view of the temple and its courtyard with hills in the background

The hills towering around the temple are of primitive origin.

Eklingji Temple merits a critical scholastic study which will most likely shed light on the hitherto unknown ancient architecture of Marwar.



## PUSHKIN AND HIS LYRICS

By PROF. BIRENDRA NATH SIKDAR, M.A.

BETWEEN its remote and humble beginnings and its final emergence as a fully developed product of the people in the early 19th century, the Russian literature conceals a void filled up by a few folk-tales, religious chronicles, theological dissertations, miracle plays, apocryphal verses and some empty, high-sounding odes and satires written by poetasters who cared less for art than for the favour of the empress and the proud patron. When in the West popular fancy had gone vagrant with the ideals of chivalry and was battering its way into the old citadel of Romance, Russia was faintly murmuring as if in sleep from her mountain-groves, Archaean rocks and vast plains washed by her great rivers. Even such a great upheaval in the world of European thought as the Renaissance could hardly rouse her from the self-forgetting torpor; and though it electrified the atmosphere of England across the channel, it failed, curiously enough, to touch Russia still serenely satisfied with her formalism and religion. The efforts of Peter the Great (1672-1725) who thrust upon the country, almost brutally, the thoughts and manners of western Europe, were solely directed towards practical reforms. Yet new blood had been infused, and though sometime was to elapse before it could be thoroughly absorbed, the first sign of a fresh vitality was discernible in 1739 with the publication of M. V. Lomonosov's "Ode on the Capture of Khotin." It is the first verse that may be called typically Russian. This distinguished professor of chemistry was a genius who shaped the literary material of his country in the compact style of a scientific treatise. He exerted no mean influence in rescuing the literature of the 18th century from a dull, insipid imitation of the pseudo-classicism of France. Peter's savage energy and relentless rage for reform had taught the Russians to turn their eyes to the West but they were as yet not bold enough to stand on their own. So when we come to A. S. Pushkin (1799-1837) we are struck no less by his adventurous spirit as by his artistic innovations.

Pushkin's advent in Russian literature was made easier by such fore-runners as M. V. Lomonosov (born between 1708 and 1715, d. 1765) who formulated the rules of Russian Prosody and Grammar; N. Karamzin (1765-1826) who freed his tongue from the fetters of the "church-slavonic," "secularized and enlightened the literary material by introducing the new sensibility of Rousseau," and actually tutored many of the young enthusiasts in the Lyceum at Tsarskoe (now Detskoe Selo); V. Zhukovsky (1783-1852) who speedily absorbed influences of English and German Romanticisms and gave to his country excellent translations from the great epics of India, Persia and Greece. When Pushkin appeared he was able to unite in himself all that was best in the 18th century, with the ideas of the 19th.

A born aristocrat, Pushkin's instincts were essentially classical inasmuch as he could not think of form without precision; his life ended in a duel fought on a point of honour. But his impulsive nature that kindled the flame of his imaginative faculty (as also of scandal) soon lured him to strange and wild domains. With his great master, Lord Byron, he presents many similarities in life as well in art. He too founded a cult and gave his name to his age. "The Caucasian Prisoner," "The Gypsies," "The Brother Robbers," "Evgeny Onyegin" and his short lyrics exhibit similar aristocratic misanthropy, voluptuousness, world-weary *tristesse* and sensitiveness to the more exotic moods of nature. He too had been spoilt by his early upbringing; his father used to dabble in French verse, his mother was ease-loving and of a flimsy nature, and none had any real care for the children; had leapt into sudden fame, whirled around in thousand dissipations and amours, squandered away his genius and his life, and had been alternately loved and repudiated by the country not only as a man but also as a poet. Like Byron's again his lyrics are warm with the warmth of his personality, his passions and his longings. In them he seems to dissect his own soul and lay it bare to the world fibre by fibre; they are a singular reflection of his life; truly he learnt in suffering what he taught in song.

Pushkin's blood and breeding had already decided the fate for him. The blood of his Negro ancestor (he was descended through his mother from Ibrahim Hannibal, the 'Negro of Peter the Great') boiled in his veins and lent a fire to his tongue. He broke in his life the hearts of many beautiful and celebrated women of his time; with the same impetuosity he broke in his poetry the traditional archaisms, the false solemnity and dead decorum that still clung to the language and made it heavy. Athirst in spirit he blundered "through the gloom of an unpeopled desert" and in a vision was consecrated the prophet of his people:

And with a sword he clove my breast,  
Plucked out the heart, he made beat higher.  
And in my stricken bosom pressed  
Instead a coal of living fire.  
—*The Prophet*: Tr. by B. Deutsch.

He was on fire with youth and love; passion wrought for him many a consuming agony. Like waves in riot before a storm impulses thrust him forward in life; he loved the festive board where "joy's the one presiding" and where drunken revels continue and "jostling bottles" tinkle till the morning (Cf. *The Gay Feast*). But then the penitential after-thought when "Spring was past and summer over"—

Struck by the storms of cruel fate  
My crown of summer bloom is sere;  
Alone and sad I watch and wait,  
And wonder if the end is near.



—*I've Lived to Bury my Desires*: Tr. by M. Baring.  
Now the poet was living the life of a recluse in the sparsely populated districts of New Russia on the Black Sea where he had been forced to go by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for his saucy epigrams on the regime. In the eddies of the capital's wild life he was in his mood; now his fiery temper and adventurous spirit could not stand for long the physical boredom and intellectual starvation of the exile. His sensual nature, devoid of external enjoyment, started eating up his own heart.

I've lived to bury my desires,  
And see my dreams corrode with rust,  
Now all that's left are fruitless fires  
That burn my empty heart to dust.—*Ibid*

But soon a time was to come when he would be eager to shun society and seek the soothing solitude of Nature, away from the din and clamour of the city-life (Cf. *The Poet*, 1827).

But in the meanwhile he drains the cup of life to the lees, after which the worst can be but be his. The glow of early thought is in decline and the mortal coldness of the soul is soon to descend like death itself.

A weary slave, I plan escape before the night  
To the remote repose of toil and pure delight.  
—*It is Time My Friend*: Tr. by B. Deutsch.

The midnight hours yield no more their hope of rest and he wanders alone in the highways of life, the outlaw of his own dark mind that gives him no peace and freedom from fears. When the entire city is silent and enjoys its "wage of sleep after toil" our poet is obliged to keep weary vigils over the thousand shocks of his past. Seething dreams and sickening memory shut out the light of life from his view and the serpents of remorse hiss and sting him in the darkness. The hours drag out their dismal course and the soul is overburdened with fearful obsessions:

In silence Memory unwinds her lengthy scroll  
Before me, and I must endure it.  
And loathing it I read the record of the years,  
I curse and tremble like one baited.  
—*Remembrance*: Tr. by B. Deutsch.

Pushkin's unmoral cynicism is but an expression of the rebellions element that was in him. "The Dagger," written in 1821, to celebrate the slaying of Caesar and Kotzebue, hurls a bold defiance at the Government which had so unjustly condemned him to a life of solitude. When the fateful conspiracy of December 14, 1825, was foiled and the conspirators rounded up, the manuscript copies of Pushkin's poems were found in the pockets of many of them. To the men deported to hard labour in the Siberian mines he pours forth his love and friendship across "the darkened doors;" his muse goes murmuring round "galley-beds." The undying optimism of ardent lovers of liberty finds an echo in his song. He hears impatiently the summons of his father-land and turns "toward freedom in hope and torment." He is terribly sick at heart at the sorry scheme of things all around him; he can not stand for a moment the fools and the wicked gentry and "those with flunkeys' souls from birth," and looks forward with "a young lover's yearning" to the day "when Russia would rouse from her long sleep"

(Cf. *To Chaadayev* and *To N. N.*). Before the morning star he walks in the desert sowing with "pure and guiltless fingers" the seeds of Freedom and curses the "peaceful nations" who remain idle even at "honour's horn" (Cf. *With Freedom's Seed*).

His lyrics are never long; perhaps the lawless bias of his emotions and his self-absorbing tendencies did not grant him the architectural power of producing long lyrics. But as we find them in translation, they have precision, clarity of expression and above all they have music which haunts even an alien ear. His muse could weave poetry even without any elaborate imagery and always remained strictly true to his experience. When he gives us an image it is usually simple, short and direct:

I shall not miss the roses, fading  
As soon as Spring's fleet days are done;  
I like the grapes whose clusters ripen  
Upon the hillside in the sun—  
The glory of my fertile valley,  
They hang, each lustrous as a pearl,  
Gold autumn's joy: oblong, transparent,  
Like the slim fingers of a girl.

—*Grapes*: Tr. by B. Deutsch.

Pushkin resembles Burns inasmuch as he is touched deeply by the human element in life though he is not free from a feverishness of the sensibility unlike Burns. His moments of melancholy are many, for his soul is not strong enough to resist the mortal wounds of life. Many a line of his verse is crimson with the blood of his own veins; many a tale throbbing with the pulsations of his own heart. He had boarded very lightly in the "morning" the Coach of Life, driven by the grizzly-pated coachman, Time, but ere "noon" he is done with reckless daring and shaken up:

Now Care's the rule,  
Down hills, through gulleys roughly faring,  
We sulk, and cry: "Hey, easy Fool!"

—*The Coach of Life*: Tr. by B. Deutsch.

Sometimes he resembles Keats in his voluptuous touches and surprises us by his fine excess and luscious word-painting, e.g., as in:

Below the dawn-flushed sky, where the green billow  
lies  
Caressing Tauris' flank, I saw a Nereid rise.  
Breathless for joy I lay, hid in the olive trees,  
And watched the demi-goddess riding the rosy seas.  
The waters lapped about her swan-white breast and  
young,  
As from her long soft hair the wreaths of foam she  
wring.

—*A Nereid*: Tr. by B. Deutsch.

or in—

But yonder where the blue is radiant,  
And where the olives from the shore  
Cast tender shadows on the waters,  
You fell asleep to wake no more.  
The funeral urn, alas, is holding  
Your beauty and your sorrow now,  
But the sweet kiss of our re-union—  
I wait—I hold you to your vow.

—*Abandoning an Alien Country*: Tr. by B. Deutsch.

It is a pity that Pushkin could rarely get away from himself in his poetry. But what can a man for whom the world had never any real attraction do but turn to his

own self ever and anon? — A man who had grown tired of the world at a very tender age; one who had grown old in mind and body before his time; one who, despite a hundred amours and escapades of his, was so much alone in his life. The poet's last days unfold a tearful tale. We see him, an unfortunate victim of circumstances, pale in the glitter of the capital, tied to the narrow and suffocating atmosphere of the Royal Court which he now very deeply abhorred, and where his pretty wife passed her days in most frivolous and dishonourable flirtations. We see him fretting inwardly like a caged lion at the thousand insults of unworthy people; shadowed by the State police at every step; with the ill-fitting jersey of a courtier round him thrown; almost bankrupt and struggling in vain to pay off his debts by his pen;

obliged to accept loathesome pittances from the court that badly wanted his wife; treated with all possible contempt by the "high-born knaves and fools" around him; his only hope, *The Contemporary*, broken. Born and brought up untowardly, he lived for self alone and died of it. And he paid. His whole life was like a bad dream. But though broken and foiled at every step he was not to die lowly. In answer to a challenge from a lover of his wife whom he had violently abused, he took up the pistol and was glad when his rival's bullet found his vitals and released his famished soul. But he was too great a poet not to know before his death that "not wholly shall he die" and that "in the lyre his spirit shall survive, incorruptible and bodiless."

—*Cf. Unto Myself I Reared a Monument.*

—:O:—

## THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND

By B. NARPATI

(FEW countries before the war were satisfied with their monetary systems or policies. But they were unwilling to give up what financial autonomy they possessed since close relation between a country's credit and exchange rate system and its employment and national income was by then clearly recognised. Inter-war experience proved that there were certain problems that could only be tackled by international co-operation. These problems fell into three main groups: (1) Unco-ordinated attempts by each country to fix its exchange rate led to policies of depreciation and to instability of trade. After the experience of 1920's no country was willing to regard a fixed exchange rate as an ideal to be pursued even at the cost of deflation and unemployment. (2) Many countries had insufficient reserves of gold and foreign exchange. Temporary disturbances in their balance of payments forced them to take far-reaching measures, such as exchange control or depreciation. (3) Foreign investment—both long and short term—was unco-ordinated and often based on ignorance.)

These then were the problems which Keynes, White and other experts set out to solve in 1943. Before the Bretton Woods Conference took place in July 1944 two different plans — the Keynes and the White Plan — had been put forward. The Articles of Agreement of the International Monetary Fund were based on the scheme outlined by White with modifications by the English and Canadian experts. Forty-four countries were represented at the Conference. The Articles were signed unanimously except for certain "general reservations." India made a reservation as to the size of its quota.

### ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT OF THE FUND

(The Articles lay down the aims of the Fund, its organisation, rules and regulations. The purposes of the

Fund are : Firstly, to provide a permanent institution for international monetary co-operation, which will in addition to its other functions, collect and give information and advice on international matters. The Fund must be seen as a part of the pattern of institutions for international co-operation in economic affairs.

Secondly, to facilitate the expansion of international trade. The Fund's resources will provide a reserve for members. Thus it will enable them to correct maladjustments in their balance of payments without measures which would be destructive of national or international prosperity.

Thirdly, to provide a mechanism for the orderly determination of exchange rates. The Fund will avoid the anarchy of a system of exchange rates in which each is fixed with no reference to the others, as well as the too great rigidity of the gold standard. In difficult circumstances, the Fund may take special measures, such as to declare a currency "scarce," in order to shorten the duration and lessen the degree of disequilibrium in the international balance of payments of members.

The Fund's particular contribution to world economic prosperity will be to remove, as far as it is compatible with national sovereignty, all obstacles to the growth and orderly working of international trade.

### MEMBERSHIP, QUOTAS AND CONSTITUTION OF THE FUND

Those countries which were represented at the United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference and whose governments accepted membership before December 31, 1945, constitute the original members of the Fund.

Membership is open to other countries who have been approved by the Fund. The following countries were admitted as members since December 31, 1945 :

Venezuela, Italy, Lebanon, Syria, Turkey, Austria, Finland, Australia, Siam and Liberia.



Each member is assigned a quota. The quota determines its voting power and limits the amount of resources it can borrow from the Fund. The quotas of original members were set forth in a schedule at the Bretton Woods Conference. Some members, of which India was one, accepted them only with reservations. The quotas of other members will be determined by the Fund at the time of admitting them to membership. The size of the quota depends on the size of the national income, foreign trade over a period of years, and its gold holdings. According to the Keynes formula, the quota of the country was to be determined by the magnitude of its imports and exports during the three last pre-war years. It reflects the difference in the function of the quotas under the two schemes. Each country will have to give the Fund an actual amount of its own currency as well as of dollars and gold (whereas the International Clearing Union created its own money, Bancor), hence the inclusion of its national income and foreign exchange reserves in the formula. The Fund formula results in America having the largest quota. Under the Bancor Scheme, the British quota was the largest. Any other result in a world of dollar shortages and crisis would have been ridiculous.

The Fund must review quotas at intervals of five years. It may, if necessary, carry out adjustments in them. It may consider at any other time the adjustment of the quota of any member which requests it to do so. No quota can be changed without a four-fifths majority of the total voting power and the consent of the member concerned.

The member must pay its quota partly in gold and partly in its own currency. The gold subscription, as a minimum, is the smaller of :

- (1) Twenty-five per cent of the members quota;
- (2) Ten per cent of its net official holdings of gold and U.S. dollars on a specified date.

Every member, except the United States, has subscribed in gold ten per cent of its net official holdings.)

#### ORGANISATION

All power is formally vested in the Board of Governors. Then come the Executive Directors to whom nearly all powers are delegated. And finally, the function of the Managing Director and his staff is to carry out the decisions of the Executive Directors or Governors.

Each member appoints one Governor and one alternate to the Board of Governors. Governors and alternates serve for five years, subject to the pleasure of the member appointing them. The Board selects one of the Governors as Chairman.

The Board of Governors generally holds an annual meeting. But other meetings may be provided for by the Board itself or called by the Executive Directors. Each Governor is entitled to cast votes. The number of such votes is determined in proportion to the member's quota. The Governor for India is entitled to cast 4,250 votes out of a total of 91,260. The Board may (and does) delegate to the Executive Directors any of its powers except certain fundamental powers.

The Executive Directors are given all the powers necessary for the general operations of the Fund for which they are responsible. The Articles provide that there must not be less than twelve Executive Directors. At present there are fourteen. Of these, five are appointed by the five members having the largest quotas. These are U.S., U.K., China, France, and India. India attained membership of the Big Five only because Russia did not join. There is some ambiguity as to the position of India if any other country with a larger quota than hers chooses to become a member. (2) Two are elected by the American Republics, and (3) Seven are elected by the members not entitled to appoint directors, other than the American Republics. If at the second regular election of directors and thereafter the Big Five do not include the two members who have reduced the Fund's holdings of their currencies below their quotas by the largest absolute amount in gold over the past two years, those two members are entitled to appoint a director. Creditor nations are thus ensured of a voice in the Fund's management.

Elections of directors are conducted every two years. Each director appoints an alternate with full power to act for him, including the power to vote, when he is not present.

The number of votes a member is entitled to is computed thus: each member has 250 votes, plus an additional vote for each part of its quota equivalent to one hundred thousand United States dollars. India has 4,250 votes. Except in certain specific cases, all decisions of the Fund are made by a majority of the votes cast. The balance of power in the Fund is reflected by the following percentages of votes held by members :

U.S.	..	..	..	30.62
U.K.	..	..	..	14.62
China	..	..	..	6.34
France	..	..	..	6.07
India	..	..	..	4.69
Latin American countries	..	..	..	9.88

The Executive Directors are in continuous session in Washington, the principal headquarters of the Fund. They meet as often as the business of the Fund requires. The Executive Directors select a Managing Director who is neither a Governor nor an Executive Director. They can also terminate his appointment. The Managing Director is the Chairman of the Executive Directors. He has no vote except a deciding vote in case of an equal division. The Managing Director is the chief of the operating staff of the Fund. Under the direction of the Executive Directors, he conducts the ordinary business of the Fund. Subject to the general control of the directors, he is responsible for the organisation, appointment and dismissal of the staff of the Fund.

The Fund must publish an annual report containing an audited statement of its accounts and it must issue, at intervals of three months or less, a summary statement of its transactions and its holdings of gold and currencies of members.

The Fund can always communicate its views informally to any member on any matter within its field of

authority. If it obtains a two-thirds majority of the total voting power, the Fund can publish a report made to a member regarding its monetary or economic developments which may directly and seriously disturb the equilibrium of the international balance of payments of members. But the Fund cannot publish a report involving fundamental changes in the economy of members.

The Fund's holdings of a member's currency is deposited in its central bank. If it has no central bank, in any other institution accepted by the Fund. The Fund may hold other assets, including gold, in depositories selected by it. The Reserve Bank of India serves as depository for the Far East. Each member guarantees all assets of the Fund against loss resulting from failure or default on the part of the depository designated by it.

The problems facing the Fund are those concerned with the exchange rates. (1) The fixing of exchange rates at correct levels, disorderly changes in exchange rates, multiple currency practices, etc. (2) Those arising out of a temporary shortage in members' reserves of foreign exchange.

Dealing with the first, members must undertake certain obligations as to the expression and maintenance of the par values of their currencies and orderly changes in their values. Thus, every member has to express the par value of its currency in terms of the U. S. of the weight and fineness in effect on July 1, 1944. Since every member fixes the par value of its currency in terms of a common denominator (gold), parity rates between the various currencies are automatically fixed. All computations made by the Fund are on the basis of these par values. The Fund fixes margins for various types of transactions (spot exchange and other exchange transactions in gold), within which alone each member undertakes to permit transactions in its currency.

(In order to maintain exchange stability, members agree not to propose changes in the par values of their currencies except to correct a fundamental disequilibrium, and to allow only orderly alterations in exchange rates. A change in the par value of a member's currency can be made only on the proposal of the member and only after consultation with the Fund.)

(When a change is proposed, the Fund first takes into account the changes, if any, which have already taken place in the initial par value of the member's currency. If the proposed change together with all previous changes, whether increases or decreases, (1) does not exceed 10 per cent of the initial par value, the Fund can raise no objection; (2) does not exceed a further 10 per cent of the initial par value, the Fund may either concur or object, but must declare its decision within 72 hours if the member so requests; (3) exceeds 20 per cent, the Fund may either concur or object, and is entitled to a longer period in which to declare its attitude.)

The Fund must agree to a proposed change if it is satisfied that the change is necessary to correct a fundamental disequilibrium. But no definition of fundamental disequilibrium is offered. It cannot object to a change solely because of the domestic,

social or political policies of the member proposing the change. A member may change the par value of its currency without the concurrence of the Fund if the change does not affect the international transactions of other members. But this is likely to be exceedingly rare.

The rules laid down above do not apply to uniform changes in par values. Uniform proportionate changes in the par values of all member currencies may be made with a majority of the total voting power, provided that each change is approved by every member which has 10 per cent or more of the total of quotas. A member can prevent the par value of its currency being changed if it informs the Fund within 72 hours of this action.

The gold value of the Fund's assets must be maintained whatever the changes in the par or foreign exchange value of any currency.

If a member has accepted the Fund's Articles for all the currencies in its territory, it shall be deemed, when it proposes a change in the par value of the metropolitan currency, to be proposing a corresponding change in the other currencies, unless it declares otherwise.

#### TRANSACTIONS WITH THE FUND

The sale and purchase of one member's currency for another is the basic method of operation. But the Fund imposes certain limitations on members' powers to purchase. Within any 12-month period, a member is allowed to purchase other currencies only to the value of 25 per cent of its quota. This rule is relaxed to the extent of the sales, if any, of the member's currency during the period. It is also relaxed if the Fund's holdings of the currency are below 75 per cent of the member's quota. No member can make purchases if the Fund's holdings of its currency exceeds 200 per cent of its quota.

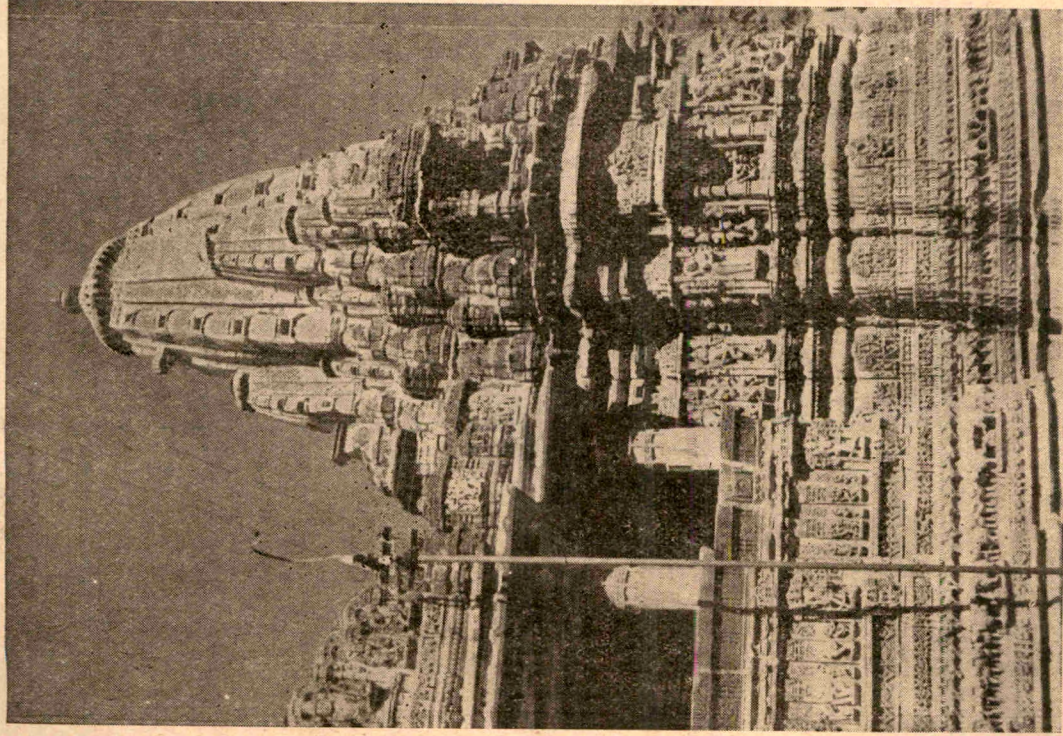
The Fund may, in its discretion, and in exceptional circumstances, waive the above limitations on a member's purchasing power. In making such a decision, the Fund will take into consideration the exceptional or periodic nature of the member's requirements, its record of use of the Fund's resources and its ability to pledge gold or other acceptable assets as collateral security.

A member is also required to purchase from the Fund a certain amount of its own currency with gold or convertible currencies at the end of each financial year. For the determination of this amount, a set of formulae have been prescribed which take into account the increase in the Fund's holdings of the currency, the level of the member's monetary reserves and the size of its quota. The formulae are designed to bring about a balance between these three factors.

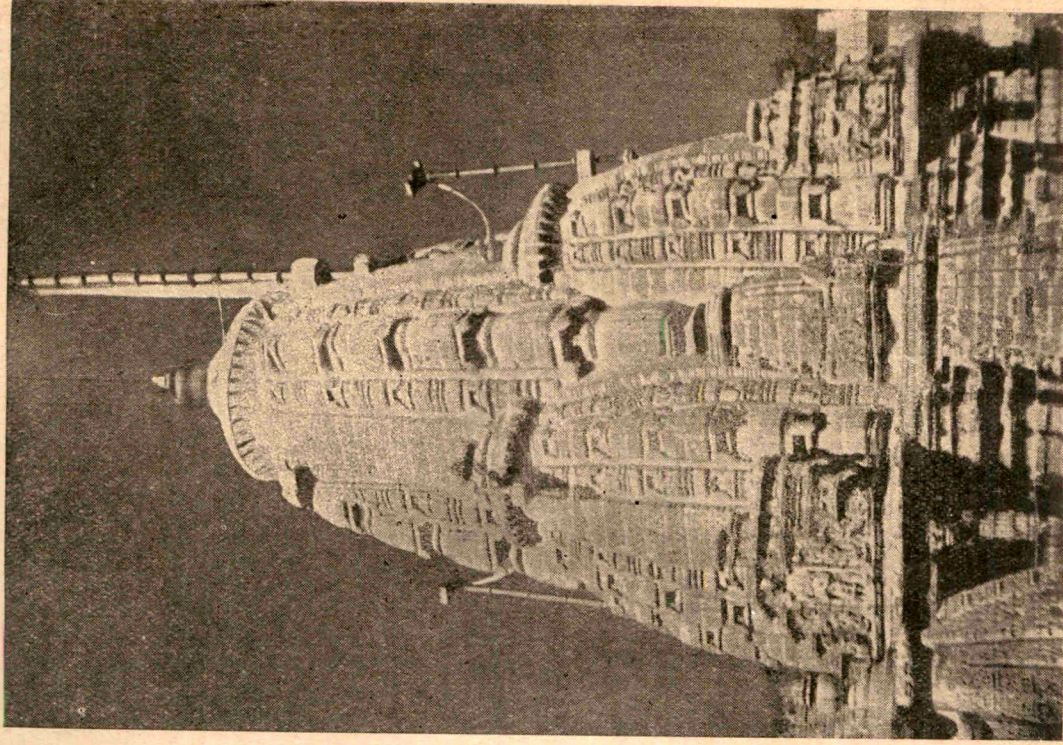
There are certain charges to be paid on all purchases of other currencies from the Fund by a member. These charges are the weapons the Fund uses



EKLINGJI TEMPLE

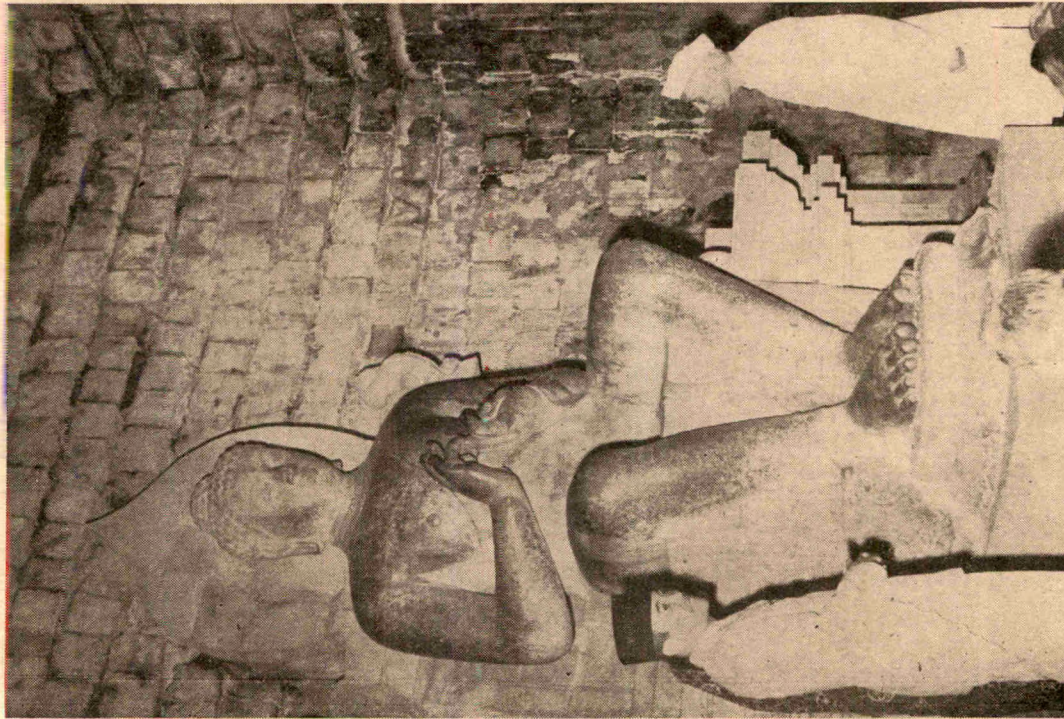


Meerabai's temple in the courtyard of Eklingji Temple

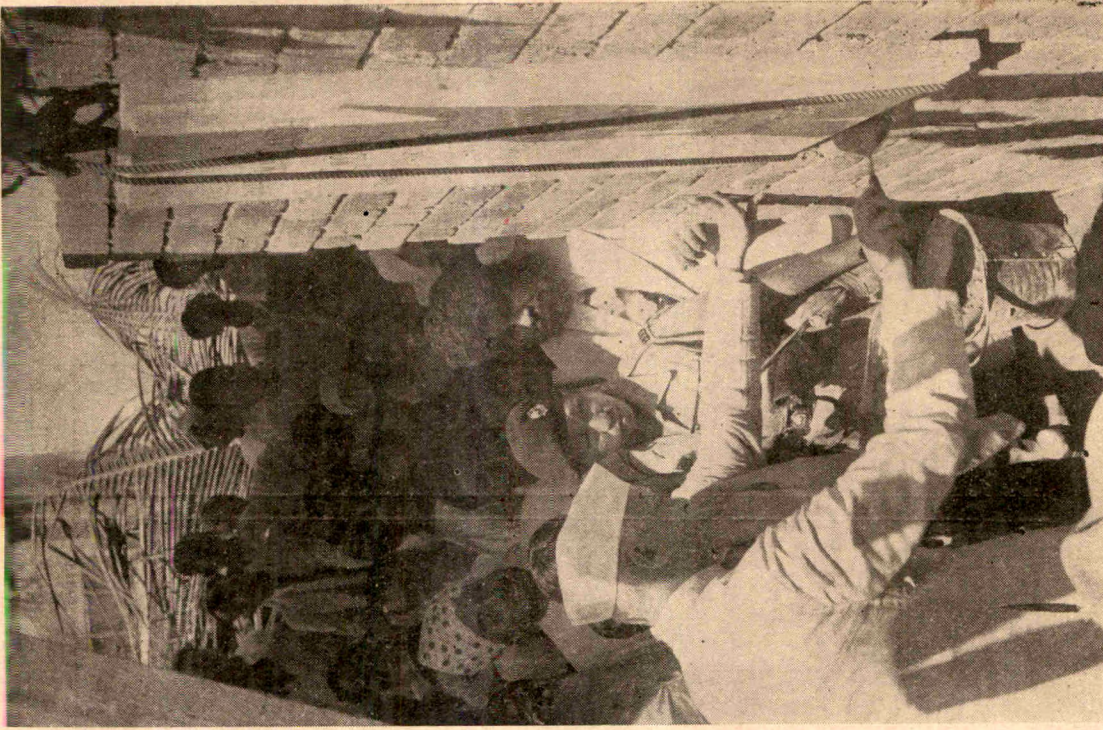


Close-up of the Sikhara of the main temple





A giant Buddha image in Borobudur fascinates Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru during his visit to Java on June 12. At left is President Soekarno



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru laying the foundation stone of the Mahatma Gandhi memorial at Race Course Lane, Singapore on June 18.



to discourage members from purchasing too freely from it. All charges must be paid in gold unless the member's monetary reserves have fallen below a certain level.

In order to secure as much gold as possible to the Fund, there is a rule that if a member wishes to buy the currency of another member with gold, it must do so by the sale of gold to the Fund, provided it loses nothing by it. Any member can sell in any market newly produced gold from its own mines.

#### SCARCE CURRENCIES

As long as members' demands for any currency are within the resources of the Fund, its function of selling is simple. The real test of the Fund's efficacy as a cure for temporary disequilibrium will arise when the demand for any particular currency strains the ability of the Fund to supply it.

The Fund can replenish its holdings of a scarce currency by taking either or both of the following steps: (1) It can, with the member's approval, obtain a loan from the member itself or from some other source. (2) It can require the member to sell its currency to the Fund for gold.

If the Fund fails to increase the supply sufficiently, the Fund must, after formally declaring the currency scarce, apportion its existing and accruing supply among members. It must also issue a report concerning its action.

Once a currency has been formally declared scarce, members are temporarily free to control transactions in that currency. These controls must be relaxed as conditions permit and whenever the Fund declares the currency in question to be no longer scarce. Subject to certain limitations (*e.g.*, all transactions must be on the basis of par value) members are free to impose any limitations they consider necessary. This clause may be contrasted with the Keynesian scheme of exacting charges on credit balances and of automatically compelling the country to lend its surplus.

No currency has yet been declared scarce. If such a situation arises, the ability of the Fund to deal with it will depend partly on its resources of gold and the scarce currency and its ability to borrow that currency. The Keynes Plan would have given the Fund greater resources for this purpose.

#### CAPITAL TRANSFERS

A member is entitled to buy the currency of another member from the Fund only if it shows that the currency is needed presently for settling current payment. Resources obtained from the Fund cannot be held against forward exchange transactions.

#### GENERAL OBLIGATIONS

Members must undertake to avoid restrictions on

current payments unless the Fund approves (*e.g.*, in the case of a scarce currency). No member can permit multiple currency practices or discriminatory currency arrangements unless the Fund permits (*e.g.*, in the transitional period). Except in certain exceptional circumstances, a member must buy the balances of its currency held by another member if the latter can show that the balances have been recently acquired as a result of current transactions or that their conversion is needed for making current payments. The buying member can pay either in gold or in the currency of the other member.

Members are required to give the Fund such information as is necessary for its operation. This means data on official holdings of gold and foreign exchange, gold production, exports and imports, international investment, national income, price indices and exchange controls.

#### WITHDRAWAL FROM MEMBERSHIP

The Fund has various types of penalties for failing to conform to its rules. Some of these are monetary. If a member borrows more from the Fund than it considers desirable, the rate of interest on the loan is raised. Then again, if a member fails to fulfil any of the obligations required by the Fund's Articles, the Fund may declare the member ineligible to use its resources. If a member persists for a reasonable period in its failure to fulfil its obligations or if it continues to differ from the Fund on a vital issue, such as the fixing of the par values, the Fund may require the member to withdraw its membership. This is the ultimate penalty. A member may withdraw voluntarily from the Fund at any time by transmitting a notice in writing to the Fund's principal office.

Emergency provisions are laid down for the temporary suspension of the operations of the Fund by a unanimous decision of the Executive Directors, and for the liquidation of the Fund by decision of the Board of Directors.

#### TRANSITIONAL PERIOD

The Fund is not intended to deal with specific post-war problems, such as international indebtedness or war damages. But it has recognised that there will be a post-war period of great change and adjustment during which members may find it difficult or even impossible to comply with all its rules.

On March 1, 1950, and on the same date of every year thereafter the Fund will report on restrictions allowed by the transitional arrangements. On March 1, 1952, and every year thereafter any member still retaining these restrictions must consult the Fund as to their further retention. The Fund may, in exceptional circumstances, ask the member to withdraw any or all of the restrictions. Members who fail to comply can be asked to withdraw from the Fund.

The International Monetary Fund completed calendar year 1949 with a total of \$101,480,000 in exchange transactions for the year. There were none in the month of December. The total of all Fund transactions thus far is \$777,283,000.

The countries involved, and their purchases of U.S. dollars during the year were Brazil \$37,500,000; India, \$31,680,000; Australia, \$20,000,000; Yugoslavia, \$9,300,000; Egypt, \$3,000,000 and Ethiopia, \$300,000.

During the past three years, the Fund has served as a centre for continuous consideration of exchange policy. It is recognised that under appropriate conditions changes in exchange rates should be an instrument of economic policy.

#### MULTIPLE CURRENCY PRACTICES

The Fund is interested in multiple rates because the manner in which they are administered may have important consequences on exchange stability. The Fund has consulted with several members on this subject during the past year. It has approved certain modifications of their current practice.

In several of the countries where multiple currency practices are in operation, some progress has been made in getting inflation under control. But monetary stability is still far from being fully assured. The problem of controlling credit expansion often presents serious political and social difficulties. This is more so where the inadequacy of domestic savings leads to the use of inflation as an instrument for financing development. The Fund has continued to give advice and technical assistance to eliminate the more objectionable features of multiple rate systems, such as discrimination between countries of destination or of origin.

#### GOLD POLICY

During the year 1948, the Fund reviewed and decided to maintain the policy concerning external transactions in gold at premium prices. The Fund expressed its concern about such transactions on the ground that they directly or indirectly involve exchange dealings at depreciated rates. The Fund has made every effort to avoid interfering with the bona fide use of gold in the industries, professions and arts.

For many years there has been a free gold market in Hong Kong. This is an area in respect of which the Government of the United Kingdom accepted the obligations of Fund membership. Dealings in gold in Hong Kong were prohibited as from April 15, 1949. Possession of gold without permission was forbidden. "The purpose was to eliminate the undesirable international transactions at premium prices for which the free market had become a centre."

#### SUBSIDIES TO PRODUCERS

"It is the view of the Fund that subsidies on the production of gold regardless of their form are undesirable if they undermine or threaten to undermine exchange stability".

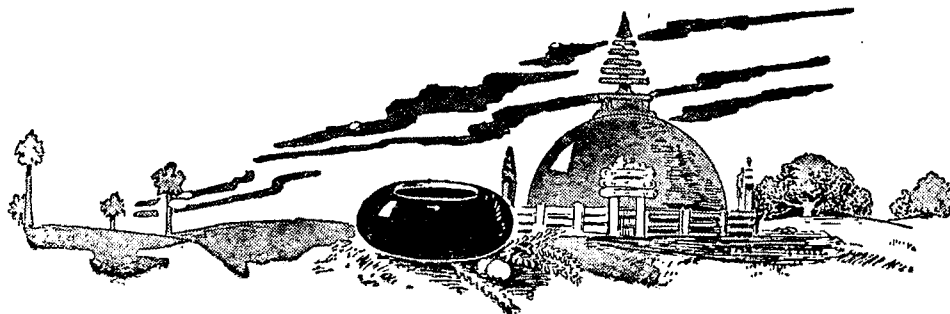
#### FIRST YEAR OF OPERATIONS

"It was on December 18, 1946, that the Fund published a schedule of official par values for the currencies of 32 of its members. The establishment of these par values set the stage for the commencement of active operations by the Fund on March 1, 1947."

An important step taken by the Fund during 1947 has been the approval by its Governors and the United Nations General Assembly of an agreement with the United Nations, defining the terms on which the two organisations should co-operate.

Representatives of the Fund have visited 25 of the Fund's 45 member nations during 1947. The Fund has been able to assist and advise members in the conduct of their own financial affairs. It has given them the benefit of the unbiased and non-political technical competence of the Fund organisation. "The Fund also, on invitation, contributed its advice and technical staff to the Committee on European Economic Co-operation in its financial and monetary discussions."

"Obviously, the effectiveness of the Fund's work will depend in large part on the progress of political stabilization throughout the world. Without firm control by each government of the fortunes of its own country and people, the financial aid which the Fund can give would be wasted. The Fund may be able to help achieve such political stability in countries where this reflects monetary or exchange difficulties."





## WHO KILLED GANDHIJI ?

By PRINCIPAL B. S. AUDHOLIA

ONE morning my little daughter rose from her bed and came on to mine and sweetly asked, "Gandhiji is dead. People observe his death anniversary. He was so great, so big and so just. But who was he who killed him?" This question of my daughter reminded me of an article written by Principal S. N. Agarwal of Wardha on the return of his world tour under the caption "Interview with Prof. Einstein." At once a reflection came to my mind and I felt like understanding that great brains and young innocent brains sometimes act alike in their reactions about inquisitiveness when they feel strongly as to a particular happening of life. Prof. Einstein was shocked to read Mahatma Gandhi's assassination and he asked Principal Agarwal, "But who was that young crazy boy who killed him?" The answer was given in the woeful tale of partition, the acute embitterment of feelings and finally the madness of a young man. I do not know whether Prof. Einstein was in any way particular about knowing the details of a political muddle leading to the saddest episode of our life. He must have known it too well. And really we find Einstein only when he spoke, "But Gandhiji's death was his greatest victory." Just why? Because the greatest of the great are those who die for what they preach and go about. And equally from the same a corollary jumps out that the meanest of the mean are those who put figures and make appearances to show wheat and sell barley in their speeches and actions. Gandhiji lived for a mission to transform the humanity for a better life to live in, and there he was victorious as none else has been during many generations of our life. Indeed Einstein's tribute was great and so is the soul great from where it came: "Generations to come, it may be, will scarcely believe that such a one as this, ever in flesh and blood, walked upon this earth." Who could therefore kill such a one? Not Godse, never his madness. He lives through his teachings, thoughts and deeds. These would remain woven into the sacred texture of our heritage invigorating us and thus ennobling us for guiding standards of human life. That is a treasure. That is our Gandhi. And so long as we do not forget this in our madness for praise, fame or name which we hardly deserve, we have the Gandhi in us. No one could kill him. And if he is killed which only means the killing of his *Atma* and this killing can only come through those who talk aloud, go about and think Gandhiji in words and not in deeds. Unfortunately such a phase the country is

facing at present and it is a woeful phase about which we should all draw 'Caution.' Gandhi shall remain. And that would be for all for which the world looks at us.

These thoughts and a host of others like these flashed through my brain on a little question from my daughter. All the while I was in the midst of these thoughts, my daughter gazed at my face. Her patience was admirable. But at last she chose to break my thoughts and asked for a prompt answer. I was in a fix. Indeed in a great fix for returning a prompt answer and an answer that might touch her for Gandhian philosophy and his great gospel. It was not an easy job. Suddenly I asked her to call her mother. She did and as she did it, I caught the answer for her. I told her :

"You spoke with a voice. This voice of yours must come out for truth and not for lies and deceits. If you do so, and, make a vow for it and practise it, you would have saved Gandhi even when you are too little for her great teachings. Gandhi was Truth, and Truth is saved in speech and doings. Gandhi will thus remain and through him remains the humanity. Thus those who are the murderers of Truth are the real killers of Gandhi, and not Godse about whom you have heard at so many meetings."

Indeed when such a killing is adopted as a profession and as a precept to others by people who claim to be Congressites—sometimes very ardent and close associates of the great personality—humanity is doomed, India is lost and blackmarket remains tiptoe in all phases of our life and then Gandhi is certainly killed. This is something of a feeling which is now widely realised by thinkers and masses alike. India's Government cannot save Gandhi by sending Godse to gallows. It would be only when they begin to take stock of the idiosyncrasies and the allied hypocrisies of a good number of goody goody big Congressites who come to the press and the platform to take cover under the big name of Gandhi to bosom a fire within to kill humanity. This is a realisation of a very large circle of independent and dispassionate thinkers, and as such it needs to be shared by our Governments, both Central and Provincial if they really want to honour the great message and the mission of our beloved Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru which he has given to America and through America to the world.

Jubbulpore

## I DO NOT WANT TO DIE

By DEBESH CHANDRA DAS

A GOLDEN beam of the morning sun leaps into my room. I lie half-awake on my bed. The day is still young. Dawn is just creeping over the corner. I can hear the birds chirp, a flutter in my poultry, a stir in my garden. Bougainvillias and chrysanthemums are creating a riot of colour. Somebody is singing. A faint refrain of an old song comes back to my mind. Let me not die in this world of beauty. 'Joi de Vivre.' Who does? Did he? I become wide awake. I find the letter there on the table. Ten years it has lain there. My friend's last letter. It brings me with a whip face to face with reality. Behind the early dawn in its first flush peeps old Dame Nature red with tooth and claw. I read the oft-read letter once again. Yes, it is ten years hence—ten fateful years flowing down to eternity. Nations rise and fall, perish and crumble into dust. The Phoenix rises again. I can feel the urge and the awe that is in every line. I can visualize the quick pulsation of a mounting heart-beat. Life, Love, Laughter—what not, a young married couple with the world under their feet, with all its music and dream, music still unrehearsed, dream yet unfulfilled. Life with little loads of joy and sorrow was bubbling with the fragrance of honeymoon still round them. Suddenly something snaps. Three small syllables stare. W and A and R. Somebody has unleashed the furies and the four horses of the Apocalypse are again on the gallop. I read the letter again. It seems so unreal in to-day's context. I feel a choke in my throat even now. "Shattered and battered is my wife's country. Mine is quaking before the blast. I am joining the Army on the morrow. It is so sad to leave your beloved behind but my friend, my country needs me." Perhaps a morning as sunny and promising as this. I can almost hear the thud of the boots. Slow. Rhythmic. Poignant. Would its momentum be rising with every step like a tornado, like a mad wave, like a molten river of lava flood, an angry furnace of million volts? His last words are—"May I quote Mon Ami, your great poet's message which you used to tell me. I do not want to die in this world full of beauty." I wonder who does.

Yet what a grim tragedy was not enacted there during those eventful six years of war. Not merely death but something bigger than death did happen. Dare anybody measure it up, its true extent and how deep it went into the innermost essentials of all that constitutes life? Europe I knew before the war, that Europe of mine is to-day like a fleeting dream, fading away in the limbs of the past, yet beckoning

like a beacon star. A weary traveller am I in her battered cities and frightened homes, trying to tune in with bygone days, I could recreate from beneath the memory's crust. But where is she whose charm and beauty and life illumined my inner self, whose imagery and vision are still vibrant in my mind in spite of the gunpowder smoke, whose little pictures still haunt my days and dreams? Would these be submerged in to-day's cataclysm which Human Spirit never desired for herself? Find her I must and in this torn world.

What did Europe teach us amidst all her din and bustle—what was her particular stamp on the Eternal's face? It can be summed up in two words—Man and his feelings, his reactions to love, sorrow and pleasure. Europe has fought through centuries and passed through travail of ups and downs. She has seen revolutions, has seen chains of changes, armies of destruction march past. She has continuously developed her material instinct. But she never lost her soul, never forgot Man. That is why I can see her old outline of a decade ago, stripped of her trappings and in her true colour. I wander through the unknown streets of Nuremburg. I have seen one of her historic forts, its magic face. What is the secret? Here is a room where third degree methods used to be applied to prisoners. Dukes and Arch-Dukes, Captains and gendarmes flash before my mind. But the picture changes. Just behind it, is another room where a fairy princess of the old sighs in vain for her Knight-errant. And a lyre lies low silent and uninspired at her feet waiting for the notes to strike up. The lyre is still there. I take it up. I try to tune it. Crowds flock round me. They think I am a connoisseur and I can hardly suppress my amusement. I also feel a little embarrassed. A Scottish youth comes up and saves the situation. He thinks I am amused and wants to have a share. He greets me heartily. Here is one who knows our Germania. Perhaps he has the key to get to her heart. Did not the poet rightly say :

"You make known so many unknowns." ?

We go for dinner to a 17th century old underground cellar. The atmosphere, the plates, the cups, the dishes, all take us back to the seventeenth century. I feel the Time Machine going back. It probably has had a stop in this basement cafe. We talk and drink arm in arm in the same old fashion in the same old cup as they used to when the Thirty Years' War was raging outside the same old cellar. But to-night ours is not to reason why it should be so. Perhaps there is a greater reason. The Rhine, the Rhine—the ever

fine. Let us drink to the maid of the Rhine. She is more sparkling than the Rhine water. Such a song, such a riot, such a drink going round—who does not feel enchanted? But my friend of the bonnie land of Burns was apparently thinking of a lassie in his Scottish Highlands. Is it the fleeting memory of a love too swiftly forgotten? Or just an exuberance of his heart—a symposium of the subconscious? I am reminded of Burns' lines:

"My heart is sair,  
I dare na' tell."

I begin wondering whether my friend has any hidden pangs. I won't call it pain. If he has it, let the shaft remain where it is. To-night is not meant for misery. Perhaps in such a night as this Omar Khayyam would sigh for his Saki. You would be wrong if you treat this as a mere cafe where you fill your belly and soften your parched throat. No, it is a rest-house for bruised souls. You hear the Rhine flow and sing to its rhythm—the sparkling Rhine. Your very soul imbibes its swift poise and the riot of its waves. Who says that a broken glass and a broken heart don't get set? They do. It depends on the angle of vision. Europe knows how to put its plaster over the damaged goods. That is its peculiar philosophy of life. Its alchemy of dynamism turns even the static dross into shining gold. That is why it survives and does not go under. This is the elixir which she has prescribed and taken age after age. To-day the unvanquished man will again fly in a sky only yesterday clouded with bombers—its wings over the blue firmament. Out of the ashes of the smouldering cities will rise the Phoenix—new green grass will rear its head again over the places where the tanks took their toll.

I am suddenly reminded of that newly-wed Franco-German couple who were my fellow-travellers in the steamer on the Rhine. They were of the Saar. Those were also the days of chaos and confusion, tremor and trouble. I still remember the anxious voice. "Monseigneur, do you think there will be war?" The German groom and the French bride. If war came, where would these two drift, two happy souls which wanted to beat in unison over the prejudices of time and race? There might be struggle between heart and head but the course was clear. They did not know that I had been an unwilling listener to their private talks. It was wrong of course. But why should I break the tete tete of two lovers on a honeymoon trip? If they knew that I was unwittingly eaves-dropping, they might feel confused—why break their romance on the Rhine. After all I was a foreigner, and if any wrong was being done let me bear the consequences. I shall not be afraid on the judgment day on this account.

She—Have you seen to-day's *Tageblatt*? I feel rather anxious.

He—Don't worry. To-day we are on honeymoon.

She—I am not worrying about to-day but what about the future?

He—Don't know. Even if anything happens why should we separate?

She—But will they allow you to keep me with you? Your country will wrest you from me.

He—That can't happen. You are no longer French. You are my spouse.

She—That won't do. During the last war even married wives were interned.

He—Don't let us think of this now. This night is ours.

She—What a shame. Why should I be thinking of this? I am with you, my darling. Isn't that enough?

He—Exactly. Time must stop to make us forget.

They quieten down. Only the ripples of the Rhine splash round the steamer's propeller. The very silence brings aloft a share of their anxiety. I feel it as I feel the very history of those hill-fortresses on the Rhine, the silent spectators of a moving drama where thousand memories have been drowned and hundred hopes frustrated. They too feel the metamorphosis.

He—Really, anxious days are ahead. What if there be a war? Why think of the morrow if to-day is eternal? Come nearer my dear.

She—Don't worry Mon Cher. Nothing will happen, nothing can happen. I am sorry to have spoilt the day by raising this issue.

He—No, no, we must face facts. We have to create public opinion.

She—War and war and war. We saw it during our childhood. Again we may see it.

He—Who knows our children may also.....

'Certainly not,' cried she with a firmness born of mother instinct. 'We won't allow our children to become cannon-fodder. You will see. We women will be the torch-bearers of peace. Everyone of us in every country feel like that.'

The husband kept quiet. Perhaps he did not feel so much assured as his beloved. She stood there over the deck looking at the sparkling Rhine sharing in her sense of optimism.

I was so absorbed that I was startled when he came and asked me—Monseigneur, do you think there will be war?

These few words still vibrate in my mind. I still see the picture—the swift flowing Rhine, a young man and a young woman whose only passport in life was love. They offered to each other not their strength, but their weakness, their desolation, their heart's need. Their union was certainly consecrated though it might not have been approved by statecraft. The modern jingo state with its ego of pseudo-nationalism lulls, like an anaesthetic, all our finer susceptibilities. Politics has a way of dulling and torturing one's sense of right and wrong, pain and pleasure. As if man was



born for this and this alone. Yet one day the dam bursts, out flows the flood sweeping every obstacle in its way. This is the dynamic law of life which brooks no restraint of the human spirit. Prometheus refuses to be bound. That is how Europe has lived from age to age, in every clime, in every land. Europe does not want to die. It recreates.

From the dreamland of golden autumn another picture takes shape. It is an old book-shop. We may call it with candid justice and confidence an old curiosity shop. Somehow or other such a place always stirs me and I begin to feel at home and dream. Suppose I come across a valuable manuscript? Perhaps it will make me famous overnight like Lord Byron or even secure for me a quiet niche amongst the Immortals in the halls of Valhalla. Who knows? When I was a student I used often to imagine how scientists and historians tumble by chance over so many important clues. Life after all was an expression of chance. Will not that old Dame fall in love with me and help me find some forgotten chapter of Humanity in these moth-eaten and rusty books, some untold tale of a Sheharzadi, for instance? It may be that I would just discover a secret code and unearth an underground conspiracy. These old shops attract me, almost drag me to them. I am roused not only by the illumination of the books but by the darkness of the interior as well. It seems so sombre. I saunter down the streets in the Latin quarters of gay Paris and find out just such a shop. In its cellar is a coffee house.

I stumbled over a group of students who are talking of ions and atoms and the process of nuclear bombardment and how previous attempts in this respect had failed. They were discussing all the miracles that could be achieved if that primal energy could be successfully unleashed. Where are those men today? I wonder. Were they devotees of pure Science or were they trying to find a formula for their country's aggrandisement or were they Secret Service agents and fifth columnists? Could they unravel the secret in their laboratories and was it for the greatest good of the greatest number or was it diverted towards death and destruction? To-day the whole world is putting to the Scientists this very question—what made you find this engine of death? Is this your contribution to world's culture? Why open this floodgate of annihilation? Where goes all the human values and our sense of synthesis? One such bomb seems to have smashed them for all time.

If this is the inevitable end then why need we be in raptures over the green earth, its love and beauty,

art and culture, if all that we value most is to be butchered one day. Creation is athirst in man's genius. His poetry, his art, his craft, his knowledge, his finer instincts, his discoveries and inventions, all his accumulations of head and heart through the ages, are they merely to be returned to their primary atomic stage with a whirlwind of the furies? The poet had said, we are like individual islands—the saline brine separates us. Ships and aeroplanes shorten this distance, bring each to all and all to each. But will the future see the sea only bring the enemy ships and the air the winged death? Is this the sum-total of the benefits we get through centuries-old search for truth and knowledge? Human spirit cannot accept it. It must find a way out. That is why everywhere in the East and the West the cry of the unvanquished human soul has gone forth—I do not want to die. Who wins the race—the unsullied eternal Man or his Devilish double?

That Man always lives. His is the creative genius. He sits enthroned in the fulness of life. I have seen in my European rambles this dual man, felt his quickening pulse. But the life principle in Man has a third course. Man creates, Man destructs and out of these two creation *cum* destruction rises a third factor of assimilation of both. It is in our blood. We live and die and again we live. Nobody can say which of these principles would triumph in the end. We could not even if we liked put all our arms in the museum. Yet we ask—*Quo Vadis?* Whither goest Thou?

That is why the West is astir again. She finds a new seed among the smouldering embers and she asks in wonder—Why was the thunder hurled to ruin the green land to a graveyard—was not that cosmic force to be reserved for human welfare? Did the occident want this? Does peace mean only victory over the vanquished? Has the Human Spirit triumphed over itself, its own duality? Let that be the fervent wish of every man. That was the quest in which the East bowed low in deep meditation and remained in patient search century after century—We must get something which would take us above death. What shall we do with anything else? That search is not over. The Holy Grail still calls us. Let the East and West combine in this expedition—a new attempt in the synthesis of age and vitality, and find out the true path beyond the poles, beyond creed, colour and caste, a point of rapport to make a complete whole. The wheels would then come full cycle and in this atomic age we will not miss the Mighty Atom. Thus can Life conquer Death.



# COTTON CULTIVATION IN WEST BENGAL

## An Economical Necessity

By SARADA CHARAN CHAKRABARTY

THE present cotton crisis in India, threatening closing down of many Mills has led the country seriously to consider its solution by increasing staple cotton cultivation to make it self-sufficient like food, regarding its requirements. Though Bengal from past and present history has proved its suitability for cotton-growing of the best varieties, it has not done anything to help the cause. Many foreign travellers and commercial residents of the 17th and 18th centuries have described that "the district of Dacca produces best cotton of the world, and average yield per bigha (3rd acre) is 5 to 10 maunds of seed cotton." Few cotton-growing countries in the world can boast yield in such big quantity. Staple cotton grown in recent years have been found by experts, superior to smaller cotton in other provinces in India. The Dacca Egyptian Cotton, I have been successfully growing, in different parts of Bengal for the last 15 years and now at Fulea Byra, Nadea with its fine strong staple length exceeding 1-5/10 inch, and its yield much in excess of other long staple varieties cultivated in Bengal, has been remarked "an unprecedented thing in the history of India." I have discussed about the necessity of taking up this development work by the Government, Bengal Mill-owners Association, Mills in Bengal, in many papers and periodicals, namely, in *The Modern Review*, April 1949, *Orient*, December 18, 1949, *Manufacturer*, December 1949, *Indian Trade Review for 1949* published in July 1950 by the *Commercial Weekly*, Calcutta. Though some growers under different Government cotton scheme realised 50 to 100 per cent profit from its cultivation, they abandoned the same for reasons as follows :

- (1) Ginning difficulties.
- (2) Sale in quantities as can be offered by small growers, specially of seed cotton which is difficult for growers to gin. Growers even with Government help in having their cotton ginned free and procured purchasers, received price of their produce a year after harvesting.

To extend revival of cultivation of a crop like cotton, which appears new to Bengal, help and subsi-

dies by Government and other interested wealthy organisations are indispensable for the first few years until its cultivation is extended as in other cotton-growing tracts in India.

Average soils in Bengal are richer when compared with soils in cotton-growing areas in other provinces in India. Even in such tracts in Bengal, some long staple varieties are more paying. It is decidedly paying in soils in Bengal which are unfit for growing jute and *aus* paddy especially in extensive tracts of such lands lying in Midnapur, Birbhum, Bankura, etc.

A comparative statement appended herewith will prove that cotton cultivation is not losing, even in areas where jute and paddy grow well.

Government under Muslim League administration, before partition of Bengal, used to spend Rs. 25,000/- a year for cotton works. From a letter I received from the Director of Agriculture, East Bengal, in appreciation of some of my articles on "cotton" recently published in different magazines, I learn, that their Government is taking up the post war scheme of extension of cotton cultivation in East Pakistan. Now that cotton cultivation has assumed such strategic importance, it is mysterious that government here, in West Bengal, has been neglecting this important work, which if taken up, means crores to Bengal.

*Comparative statement of income from cotton and other existing crop from a bigha of land in West Bengal :* Dacca Egyptian cotton with its fine strong fibre-length exceeding 1-5/16 inch can be grown with food crops as *aus* paddy, groundnut, *Kalaï*, sugarcane, etc. The price of the variety is 50 per cent more than other long-stapled varieties. It grows well in Bengal and scarcely in other provinces in India. The cost in collection and ginning of cotton is bound to be many times more than in cotton-growing areas by long-accustomed hands. Cotton is very paying if cultivated in extensive scale and much economy may be effected by use of labour-saving agricultural implements :

	Cotton with Aus paddy.	Jute followed by rabi crop.	Aus paddy followed by rabi crop.
Period occupied by the crop.	April to March	May/June to April	May/June to April.
Suitability of the soil.	Well-drained high lands clay or sandy loam.	High or low lands. Can stand water-logging.	High or low lands. Can stand water-logging.
Yield and income.	<p>1 to 2 mds. of lint @ Rs. 120 per md. Rs. 120/-</p> <p>Seeds 2 to 4 mds. @ Rs. 20 per md. Rs. 40/-</p> <p>Aus paddy 5 to 7 mds. @ Rs. 8 per md. Rs. 40/-</p> <p>Straw Rs. 10/-</p> <p>Total Rs. 210/-</p>	<p>5 to 8 mds. @ Rs. 30 .. Rs. 150/-</p> <p>Winter crop 3 to 5 mds. @ Rs. 10. Rs. 30/-</p> <p>Total Rs. 180/-</p>	<p>5 to 7 mds. @ Rs. 8 .. Rs. 40/-</p> <p>Straw .. Rs. 10/-</p> <p>Winter crop 3 to 5 mds. @ Rs. 10. Rs. 30/-</p> <p>Total Rs. 80/-</p>
Labour.	Expenses almost equal to jute. Many times more of a light nature as can be done by children and female members of a cultivator's family, specially picking and ginning. Cotton and aus paddy	Much labour at a time essential. Cultivator has to borrow or spend from accumulation and savings.	Similar to jute except fibre extracting.
Advantages and inconveniences.	<p>(a) Demand and market steady. Government help essential in ginning and to find market for small growers until its cultivation is extended.</p> <p>(b) Can be stocked.</p> <p>(c) Spare hours may be utilised in picking, ginning and spinning.</p> <p>(d) Services of children and female members may be utilised.</p> <p>(e) Years of drought and rains little affects the crop.</p> <p>(f) Dry stock used for fuel.</p> <p>(g) Lands left hard after harvesting, so more expenses and trouble to make the soil fit for the following year.</p> <p>(h) Cultivation in extensive scale economical.</p> <p>(i) High lands unfit for jute and paddy can be utilised for growing cotton.</p>	<p>Jute followed by a rabi crop</p> <p>(a) Market fluctuating.</p> <p>(b) There is danger in stocking.</p> <p>(c) Different works have to be done within specified periods.</p> <p>(d) Little work for female and children.</p> <p>(e) Whole crop is useless for want of steeping and washing water in years of drought if rainfall does not exceed 45 inch. Excessive drought and untimely rain affects rabi crop.</p> <p>(f) Dry stock used for fuel.</p> <p>(g) Soil remaining loose after rabi crop is harvested.</p> <p>(h) Extensive scale cultivation difficult.</p>	<p>Aus paddy followed by rabi crop</p> <p>(a) Market steady.</p> <p>(b) Can be stocked.</p> <p>(c) Same as jute.</p> <p>(d) Same as jute.</p> <p>(e) Long protracted rains during early period of the crops encourages rank unwieldy growth of weeds which grows uncontrollable. Drought and untimely rains affect rabi crop.</p> <p>(f) Dry stock used as cattle food.</p> <p>(g) Same as jute.</p> <p>(h) Extensive scale cultivation difficult.</p>



*Expenses of cultivation in a bigha of land:* Labour has become costly and in most cases inefficient and irresponsible. Cultivation is economical to one who does most work with his own plough in his own land. If one has to depend on hired labour, he can with difficulty make it a success. For such men mixed farming with dairy and poultry is recommended. He may extend the same in lines he finds profitable.

Period	Expenses	Cotton with Aus paddy		Jute followed by rabi crop		Aus paddy followed by rabi crop.	
		Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.	Rs.	As.
January to April.	Cultivation to begin after a heavy shower in winter in fallow land or after rabi crops have been harvested. 5 ploughings and ladderings. 6 ploughs at the rate of Rs. 3 per plough.	18	0	18	0	18	0
May and June.	Manures. Cowdung 5 cartloads with carriage to the field @ Rs. 3 per cart.	15	0	15	0	15	0
	Treatment of cotton seeds and kerosene to kill pests in plants.	1	0	—	—	—	—
	Price of seeds cotton 2 srs.	1	0	3	0	7	0
	Manures. Bonemeal $\frac{1}{2}$ md.	3	0	—	—	3	0
	Oilcake $\frac{1}{2}$ md.	4	0	4	0	4	0
	Sowing in lines $4\frac{1}{2}$ ft. apart and 3 ft. apart in the lines. Sowing of cotton to be done after 3 ladderings and 2 harrowings at close intervals within a month after sowing of paddy has been completed. 3 labourers @ Rs. 2 per labour.	6	0	—	—	—	—
	3 ladderings and 3 harrowings in paddy fields and the harrowings in jute fields at -[8]- per operation.	3	0	1	3	3	0
June and July.	1st weeding 3 labourers @ Rs. 2.	6	0	6	0	6	0
	2nd weeding and thinning of cotton and jute. Ridging of cotton plants after spading cotton lines 1 ft. wide in the paddy fields. 5 labourers @ Rs. 2.	10	0	10	0	10	0
August.	3rd weeding. 4 labourers @ Rs. 2.	8	0	8	0	8	0
September and October.	Cutting of jutes, carrying them to water, steeping and washing.	—	—	15	0	—	—
	Harvesting of paddy 2 labourers.	4	0	—	—	4	0
	3 ploughing and ladderings in the cotton field after harvesting paddy and in jute and aus paddy fields to sow rabi crops. 4 ploughs @ Rs. 3 per plough.	12	0	12	0	12	0
October.	Spading and weeding and ridging of cotton and applying superphosphate at the base of the plants. 5 labourers.	10	0	—	—	—	—
	Superphosphate $\frac{1}{2}$ md.	3	0	—	—	—	—
November and December.	Rabi crop seeds for a bigha.	—	—	5	0	5	0
	One ploughing and ladderings when sowing rabi crops.	—	—	3	0	3	0
November to March.	Harvesting of cotton.	20	0	—	—	—	—
	Ginning.	10	0	—	—	—	—
March.	Harvesting of rabi crop.	—	—	3	0	3	0
	Rent for the land for a year.	2	0	2	0	2	0
		136	0	105	8	103	0
Value of produce mentioned before.		210	0	180	0	80	0
Profit.		74	0	74	8	Loss 23	0



# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

## ENGLISH

**THE ANCIENT MONUMENTS OF VARENDRA :** By Late Akshaya Kumar Maitra, Rajshahi. Varendra Research Society. Pp. 41 plus 17 plates. Price Rs. 5.

The Varendra Research Society has deserved well of all patriotic Indians for the devotion and success with which it has explored the sites and monuments (alas! the only surviving remains of a brilliant culture) in ancient Varendri (North Bengal). Of the noble efforts of the Society in this direction, the most impressive memorial today is its fine museum at Rajshahi which contains the largest known collection of antiquities from North Bengal. The present monograph is a belated, but none-the-less thoroughly well-deserved tribute to the memory of one who as Director was one of the illustrious trio sharing in the foundation of the Society, the other two being the late Kumar Sarat Kumar Ray (Founder-President) and the late Ramaprasad Chanda (Founder-Secretary). Consisting of the notes of an Indian Museum lecture delivered by the late Mr. Maitra as far back as 1927 but left unfinished by him at his lamented death in 1930, it has been brought up-to-date by the present energetic Honorary Secretary of the Society, Sri Kshitish Chandra Sarkar, who has contributed not only the footnotes but also an Introduction and six Appendices.

In the work of Mr. Maitra the author, after a preliminary survey of Varendri and its historical importance, divides its monuments into two principal classes: architectural and iconographic. Dealing with the first class, he successively notices the historical pillars and the sites with architectural remains (especially the now famous site of Paharpur). His concluding remarks on this point are of sufficient importance to bear quotation. "The ideal disclosed by all specimens," he observes, "seems to have been an ideal of creation, rather than of copying from nature. The lotus of nature came accordingly to be conceived and executed in art as a self-evolved lotus of life. Imaginary creepers of beauty, auspicious signs handed down from the hoariest antiquity, birds of beautiful deportment, male and female figures of doorkeepers illustrative of strength and gracefulness, appear as the usual and favourite elements of decoration of the frames of doors and windows. Deep carving aimed at a graceful display of light and shade and high relief came to be adopted as a necessary scheme of culture. This made the images beautiful and sublime, clothing the harshness of material with the softness of flesh." Turning to the second class, the author notices the Jaina, Buddhist and Brahmanical images of Varendri, making in the course of his analysis some pregnant observations. Thus he says that the Buddhist images of Varendra were translations of the Mahayana philosophy

in lines of art and again that the Brahmanical images point to a type of temple, astylar in style with peristyle adjuncts in the shape of *mukha-mandapas* supported on pillars.

Of the Introduction which bears the sub-heading "A brief history of Varendra," it need only be said that the writer has been successful in his aim of presenting a popular account of the topography, antiquity, religion, art and literature of Varendra. The importance of the Appendices will be apparent from their titles, 'a list of non-Muslim coins from Varendra,' 'a tentative list of the principal sites and monuments hitherto traced in Varendra,' 'a list of principal Muslim inscriptions hitherto found in Varendra' 'principal extant Muslim monuments in Varendra' and so forth.

We have noticed a number of misprints of which the most serious is the date 1865 A.D. for an old Javanese text (Introduction, p. xi). Also it does not appear on what authority *prathama-kulika* in a number of old inscriptions from North Bengal is translated as 'premier nobleman (landholder)', *ibid* p. viii. The paper, print and general get-up are good. A word of special praise is due to the excellent plates at the end of the volume.

U. N. GHOSHAL

**MAHATMA GANDHI AND BIHAR :** *Some reminiscences by Rajendra Prasad. Hind Kitabs Limited, Publishers, Bombay. 1949. Pp. iv+132. Price Rs. 2.*

A simple, but not very impressive, account of Gandhiji's connection with the province of Bihar and the influence which he exercised over the inhabitants of the Province.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

**GANDHI MEMORIAL PEACE NUMBER OF THE VISVA-BHARATI QUARTERLY :** *Published by the Visva-Bharati Publishing Department, 6-3, Dwarkanath Tagore Lane, Calcutta-7. Pages 338. Price Rs. 10 only.*

This superb volume of appreciations of Gandhiji's life by thought-leaders, Indian and Foreign, is a credit to the Santiniketan Press, Santiniketan (District Birbhum, West Bengal). Profusely illustrated with portrait studies of Gandhiji by Nandalal Bose, Mukul Dey, Ju Peon and Ramen Chakravarty, with rare photo-groups of Gandhiji in certain of his characteristic moods and attitudes, the volume will be a prized possession. A special supplement of the Visva-Bharati quarterly commemorating the World Peace Conference held at Santiniketan in December last, the volume is a conspectus of Gandhiji's devoted work for peace and a forum of the peace-makers in a world divided into two Power Blocs feverishly arming themselves with the latest discoveries and inventions of science that threaten modern civilization.

There is an element of sorrow in the publication of this volume. For, it is difficult to forget that the two men in India who have influenced our life in so many ways for about half a century, without understanding whom we cannot understand ourselves and explain ourselves, should have been absent from the scene today when the world is face to face with a new barbarian invasion on the values of life.

As creators of the present age in India, Rabindranath and Gandhiji have contributed the most to placing their country in the comity of modern nations. Their admirers from Western countries whose appreciations have been published in this volume have borne testimony to the greatness of this work and told us the story of how their own lives have been affected and modified by these two Indians. The editor of the *Visva-Bharati Quarterly* has been able to collect many of these "confessions of faith." These show how the poet, the politician, the scholar, the scientist, the philosopher, and the seeker after truth have in their various ways responded to the challenge to their accustomed thought and conduct thrown by Gandhiji. Their names are too many in this book. Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Acharya Kripalani, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru may be said to represent the political class. Rabindranath Tagore in his article—"Gandhi the Man"—cites an instance showing that Gandhiji was above everything else "a lover of men and not of mere ideas." Nirmal Kumar Basu of the Calcutta University in "Gandhi and Gandhism" suggests that a more "scientific" study of the Gandhi technique should be undertaken just as the general staff of armies does with strategy and tactics.

Roy Walker, author of the *Sword of Gold*, cautions us against overlaying by our "commentaries, explanations and adaptations" the central truth of his life—a warning that is very timely. Dr. E. M. Allen of the Durham College of Divinity evaluates what the West owes to Gandhiji. Horace Alexander in his article on Finland's non-violent resistance against aggression from Sweden, Germany and Russia, against internal oppression, heartens the followers of Gandhiji. Reginald Reynolds gives us the story of his own conscientious struggles in the light of Gandhiji's own. Louis Renon, French *savant* and Indologist, assigns with rare insight and knowledge Gandhiji's place in the context of Indian traditions. Srimati Mira Behn (Miss Slade) writes on the "Cow's True Devotee;" Miss Margaret Ban writes on the social significance of Basic Education; Rajkumari Amrit Kaur writes an impassioned appeal to women in India to prove themselves true to the high trust reposed in them by Gandhiji; Aldous Huxley writes on decentralization as a remedy for the world's distempers in his piquant and provocative style.

Gandhiji as a "man of religion," as "a lover of God" forms studies by Satish Chandra Mukherji, founder of the Dawn Society of Calcutta, a pioneer organization in the opening years of the present century; by Ralph Richard Keithahn, an American Missionary on Gandhiji's Revolutionary Religion; by S. K. George, an Indian Christian touched to life and religion by its re-embodiment in Gandhiji. Newman's "Lead, kindly Light" prefaces the mood of this group of articles. There are other songs and hymns translated into English symbolizing Gandhiji's aspirations for the true and the beautiful, for justice in human relations, for peace and goodwill amongst men. Dr. Stephens Spinks, editor of the *Hibbert Journal*, in explaining Gandhiji's significance as a world teacher brings out the real factor in the world-wide struggle today which is not between "isms" but between expe-

diency in political life and its moralizing which Gandhiji strove all through his life to do. Then comes an article by Nirmal Chandra Chattopadhyaya, a teacher of literature at Santiniketan, a chronicler of its activities, on Gandhiji's various visits to Rabindranath's Ashram-School which helped to forge the links of kinship between him and this institution.

The volume ends with the poem by Rabindranath written in 1931 on "Victory to the Victim." The last lines are quoted below :

'We refused him in doubt, we killed him in anger,  
now we shall accept him in love,  
for in his death he lives in the life of us all,  
the great Victim.'

And they all stand up and mingle their voices  
and sing.....

'Victory to the Victim.'

D.

### SANSKRIT

ASVALAYANA GRIHYA SUTRA : Edited by  
Swami Ravi Tirtha. Vol. I, Adhyaya I. The Adyar  
Library Series No. 44. Price Rs. 6-4.

We have here an edition of the first of the four chapters of the well-known Grihyasutra of Asvalayana along with the commentaries of Devasvamin and Narayana. The work has got a number of commentaries of which those by Narayana and Haradatta have already been published. In fact, the commentary by Narayana has been published more than once and the necessity of reprinting it in the volume under review has not been indicated. The commentary of Devasvamin, no details about whom are known, is published here for the first time on the basis of three manuscripts. Other manuscripts of the commentary including one stated to contain a different recension are known and it has been proposed to incorporate the results of the study of the remaining manuscript material in an appendix in a subsequent volume in the series which will complete the work published here in part. This is rather unusual at least in the case of a work which is not so big. One volume complete with all available materials would have been more useful to scholars who have been waiting for the second volume for several years and it is not known when it will be published. As regards the editing work one must refer to a few defects. The name of Devasvamin is nowhere mentioned in the commentary as published though according to a statement in the Introduction it occurs in the colophon of one of the manuscripts. It is learnt from the Introduction that 'the division of the text into sutras is different in the case of Devasvamin from what it is in the case of Narayana.' But strangely enough the differences have nowhere been pointed out. It is however admitted that the order of Narayana has been followed in spite of 'considerable variations' found in Devasvamin. No reference has also been made to the special or distinctive features, if any, of the commentary which is brought to the doors of the world of scholars through the present edition.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

### BENGALI

BHARAT-DARSHAN-SAR OR ESSENCE OF  
INDIAN PHILOSOPHY : By Umesh Chandra  
Bhattacharya. Lokashiksha Granthamala Series. Pub-  
lished by Visva-Bharati, 6/3 Dwarakanath Tagore Lane,  
Calcutta. Price Rs. 3-4.

This special popular series of Visva-Bharati publications in Bengali language was inaugurated by the



Poet himself to combat the danger he had intuitively realised of excessive preoccupation of the Bengali-speaking people with imaginative literature and to provide for the masses healthy food for thought. The volume under notice admirably fulfils the purpose and supplies precisely that intellectual and spiritual stimulant which alone can successfully arrest the weakening of the intellect and the degeneration of character as a result of prolonged stay in the ivory tower.

In just three hundred pages the learned author of this book has served for the general readers the cream of Indian philosophy. He has given the substance of not only the six well-known systems of Indian philosophy which are based on the Vedas but also of those other systems, loosely described as atheistic, which had their origin in India, thrived side by side with the orthodox systems and materially influenced the thought and conduct of crores of human beings in India and abroad. The exposition of Buddhistic philosophy has been given with as much knowledge, insight, reverence and sympathy as that of the Vedanta, and the Tantras have received as considerate treatment as the tenets of Charvaka. A short but learned exposition of the general principles of philosophy which prefaces the discussion of the specific systems and a critical discussion of the relative importance of the Indian systems which forms the epilogue, have thrown a flood of light on the main theme and rendered the exposition easily intelligible. Neither blind reverence nor intellectual arrogance has anywhere vitiated the treatment. Exposition nowhere has degenerated to the level of propaganda in favour or against one system or another and throughout the work the author has maintained that objectivity which is the essence of the scientific treatment of a subject. In points of lucidity and depth there is not another work we know of in Bengali on this subject which can stand comparison with it. The only work with which it may be compared is Dr. Radhakrishnan's well-known volume on Indian philosophy. It reveals not only the grandeur and the beauty of the intellectual achievements and spiritual realisations of the Indian sages of yore but also the limitless possibilities of the Bengali language as the medium of instruction. The volume is likely to interest the scholar well-versed in philosophy as much as the common man who might have had no chance to cross the portals of the University. It is not unlikely that the former will find in it something new to stimulate his thought; yet the latter may not find anything unintelligible in any of its pages. Undoubtedly the volume constitutes a worthy addition to the series that was opened by the Poet himself with his own masterly exposition of the discoveries of the modern sciences.

MANINDRANARAYAN RAY

### HINDI

**HINDI SAMACHAR-PATRA SUCHI**, or Bibliography of Hindi Newspapers, Vol. I (1826-1925): Edited by Venkailal Ojha. Published by the Hindi Samacharpatra Sangrahalaya, Kasarhatta Road, Hyderabad Dn. March 1950. Price Re. 1-4.

Whatever might be the practice in politics, there should not be any provincialism in art, literature and literary researches. In reviewing the book the reviewer is mortified to find that proper recognition has not been given to the researches and findings of the Bengali scholars in this field who are in fact the pioneers. For instance, the name of Mr. Brajendra Nath Banerjee, who should be remembered as a pioneer in conducting researches into the early history of Hindi Newspapers, is not mentioned at all. It was through his exertions

and zeal that the old files of the first Hindi weekly—*Udant Martand* and the first Hindi daily—*Samachar Sudhabarshan* were discovered. Both these papers were published from Calcutta, following in the footsteps of the Bengali weeklies, the first two of which—*Samachar Durpun* and *Bengal Gazette* had seen the light in 1818, the former from Serampur near Calcutta and the latter from Calcutta proper. These two were the first vernacular newspapers ever published in India.

Banerjee's researches on early Hindi newspapers were published in the illustrated Hindi monthly *Vishal Bharat* (Feb.-May, Nov. 1931), then edited by Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi. The rich materials thus discovered by Mr. Banerjee have been laid under contribution in the book under review, though it would have been graceful indeed had the compiler acknowledged in suitable terms his borrowings to that Bengali scholar. The facsimile page of the first issue of the first Hindi weekly—*Udant-Martand* in the frontispiece is the exact replica of the one reproduced by Mr. Banerjee in the *Vishal Bharat* for November 1931. It is very strange indeed that Pandit Benarsidas Chaturvedi, who has written a foreword to the volume, forgets to remind the compiler about Mr. Banerjee's contributions.

In these days of strife one should be very careful in recognising other people's attainments. However, we unhesitatingly praise the attempt of the compiler. There are, of course, omissions and commissions. For instance, the first Hindi weekly *Udant-Martand* is described on page 7 as a monthly! The first editor of the *Banaras Akhbar*, published in 1844, was a Bengali named Taramohan Mitra, and not Raghunath Thatye, as given on page 34. On page 61 the compiler gives the name of "*Samvad Prabhakar*, edited by Ishwar Chandra Gupta, 1885," as a Hindi paper, though everybody—at least in Bengal—knows that it was a Bengali daily and that Ishwar Chandra breathed his last as far back as January 1859. One Hindi weekly, among others, at least should have found a place in the book; it was *Vyapar Chandrodaya* published in April 1869 from Tulapati, Barabazar, Calcutta.

J.

### MARATHI

**ADI MAYA**: By V. R. Vanmali. Published by Purshottam Atmaram Chitre, Kharibav, Baroda. Pp. 107. Price Rs. 2.

**ANDHAR-UJED**: By Govind Keshav Bhatt. Published by Vimal Chitre, Kharibav, Baroda. Pp. 161. Price Rs. 3.

The first is the second edition of the play, full of rollicking fun, centring round woman—that enigma of the ages and the sages, the primordial charmer. The second is a collection of ten short stories of a high order, replete with overpowering readability. The get-up of both is excellent.

G. M.

### GUJARATI

**VINOBA BHAVE NAN VACHANAMRITA**: Collected by Mavji Damji Shah of Bombay. 1947. Paper cover. Pp. 20. Price five annas.

Mr. Mavji takes special interest in the *obiter dicta* of great men, and collects and publishes them. Vinoba Bhave is a keen follower of Mahatma's life and of saintly habits. His sayings collected here, furnish a reply to many problems of our life. The question put to him, e.g., is, What is the disease of India? His reply is, Laziness, fickleness. He was asked, Who is old? He said, One who has lost the desire to learn new things. These are a few examples of the contents of the book.

K. M. J.



# INDIAN PERIODICALS



## This Changing Asia of Today

In the course of his Convocation address delivered by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, at King George's Hall, Colombo, on 12th January, 1950, and as published in the *University of Ceylon Review*, he observes :

In the olden days, whether in India, old and ancient India, or ancient Greece, or in any of the ancient civilizations that one reads about, one has a sensation, at any rate I have that sensation, that people with much more limited knowledge at their disposal certainly had, at the same time, an integrated view of life. They were not so distracted; they could see life as a whole although they did not know as much, or nearly as much, as the average undergraduate knows today. And so that integrated view of life made them wise. They had a certain wisdom in their approach to life's problems.

One thing seems to me to be certain, namely, that we of today have no integrated view of life, that we, however clever we may be, however much of facts and knowledge we have accumulated, are not very wise. We are narrower than the people of old, although every fact has gone to bring us together in this world. We travel swiftly, we have communications, we know more about each other, we have the radio and all kinds of things. Yet, in spite of all these things, all these widening influences, in our minds we are narrower. That is the extraordinary thing which I cannot understand.

You and I live in Asia. Perhaps, one of the biggest facts of today is this new and changing phase of Asia. What is happening in Asia is a fact of tremendous historical significance. It is difficult to grasp it entirely or to understand it but I think any person must see that something very big has happened, and is happening, all over Asia. There is a certain dynamism about it. We do not like much of what is happening. We may like something of what is happening but, whether we like or dislike it, the fact remains that tremendous and powerful elemental forces are at play in Asia. It is not good enough for us just to sit in our ivory towers and look down at them with like or dislike. If we wish to play any effective part in this world of ours we have to understand them. We have to understand the basic urges behind them. There was for long the basic urge of political freedom. For some hundreds of years, say 300 or, if you like 400 years, Asia, or a good part of Asia, was under some kind of eclipse.

If you read the history of Asia—it is a long, long history—you will find that during the greater part of these thousands of years Asia has played rather an important part in world affairs but during the last 300 or 400 years Asia became static, quiescent and rather stagnant in spite of all the virtues she might have possessed, stagnant in thought and in action; and, naturally and rightly, she fell under the domination of other more progressive, vigorous and dynamic countries. That is the way of the world and that is the right way. If you are static, you must suffer

for it. And now you see a change coming over Asia and the change, because it is belated, comes with a rush, upsetting many things and doing many things that one does not like. But the major fact is that this big change is coming over us. I do not know—I do not suppose any of you know—what, ultimately, this change will lead to in Asia. We may perhaps just see the various trends.

You and I live in this changing Asia of today. Many of you—more than I, in the sense that some of us, whom you honour, have passed our prime and are in the afternoon of our lives; we have perhaps a few more years to work and labour and no doubt we shall do so to the best of our capacity and strength—will have the burden of facing these problems which are not of today or tomorrow, but which may last for a generation, or more than one generation, and so you young graduates of today will have to prepare yourselves in mind and body and, as much as you can in that deeper wisdom, to understand these problems and to function actively and help in the solution of them because it is not enough in the world of today for you to take up a distant and academic attitude and look on and just advise others or criticize others. Every man has to shoulder his burden of today. If he does not, well, he falls out; he simply does not count.

I have found, if you will permit me to say so, many of our young men and women—I am talking more of India than of Ceylon because I do not know much about Ceylon—full of enthusiasm, full of energy, full of earnestness, but singularly, shall I say, academic or singularly cut off from life's realities. During their student days they often debated and passed resolutions on this subject or that but afterwards, when they went out to the world, they seemed to think that life itself was a continuous debating society where they could pass votes of censure or criticize others without doing much themselves.

Now, that is not a very helpful attitude. Perhaps it is because of the fact that for the past many, many years most of us did not have much of a chance to do anything constructive as our main job was to fight for the freedom of our country in a destructive way, in an oppositionist way, and not in a creative way. The result is that we cannot get rid of this outlook, this negative outlook, this destructive outlook and, instead of helping to build something, we just sit down and criticize others who may be, rightly or wrongly, trying to build—anyhow, they are trying to build. I think that is a very unhelpful and bad attitude to adopt. Today what is required, in whatever country you may be, is a constructive, creative approach. Certainly something to destroy is always there, something that is bad; but mere destruction is not enough. You must build.

One thing more. A university is essentially, I take it, a place of culture, whatever "culture" might mean. But that takes me back to what I began with. There is a great deal of culture all over the place, in my own country too, and I find, normally, that those people who talk most loudly of culture, according to my judgment, possess no culture at all, be-

cause culture, first of all, is not loud; it is quiet, it is restrained, it is tolerant. You may judge the culture of a person by his silence, by a gesture of his, by a phrase of his or, more especially, by his life generally. Now, the peculiar, narrow idea of culture that is spreading is that culture depends on the kind of headgear you wear or the kind of food you eat or on similar superficial things which, I do not deny, have a certain importance but which, in the larger context of things, are very secondary.

Each country has certain special characteristics, cultural characteristics, and so forth, which have been developed through the ages. They are important and each country certainly retains them unless, of course, they do not fit in with the spirit of the age because each age has a certain way of its own, a culture of its own. So, by all means, adhere to the special culture of your nation. But, there is something that is deeper than national culture and that is human culture. If you do not have that human culture, that basic culture, then even that national culture of which you may be so proud has no real roots and will not do you much good. Today, more especially, it has become essential for us to develop, in addition to such national cultures that we may have, something that can only be called a world culture. There is much talk of One World and I believe that, at some time or other, that talk must bear fruit or else this world will go to pieces. It may be that we will not see that One World in our generation but if you want to prepare for that One World you must at least think about it. You have at least a culture to envisage and not live your life in narrow grooves, trying to think yourselves superior to the rest of the world.

### What is Personal Greatness, and How is it Achieved?

In the course of an article in *The Aryan Path*, Dr. Arthur E. Morgan, who for five years headed the famous Tennessee Valley Authority which transformed a large region in the Southern United States, and recently toured India as a member of the Universities Commission, observes :

Personal greatness is a matter partly of birth and partly of cultural development. Inborn traits have much to do with personal development. At least the capacity for growth must be present. In some respects we can have more to do with personal greatness in our children than in ourselves, for we may have something to say as to who will be one of their parents. I am constantly surprised at the casual manner in which many men of large calibre select their wives. Would it not reasonably be one of the chief concerns of boys and girls to picture the kinds of personality and character and spirit they would most desire in a mate and in a parent for their children; and then to make a chief issue of achieving for themselves such personality and character that when they do meet persons of such personality and character they will have earned their respect and affection? While making preparation it would seem to be natural to search deliberately for such acquaintances. However spontaneous and unpremeditated mutual affection may be, it operates within the field of persons we actually meet and become acquainted with.

Each person has two kinds of parentage. While we commonly think of our physical parentage, which we cannot change, as being of chief importance, more often it

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is our cultural parentage which controls. By cultural parentage I mean those persons and other influences which give direction to our aspirations and character. I believe that for most men cultural differences cause greater variations in personal development than do the prevailing genetic differences. There are probably millions of persons living trivial or futile lives who might have had lives of personal greatness if their cultural parentage had been wisely and fortunately chosen. Some persons may have more inborn capacity than others for purposeful aspiration; a person, however, who lives above the animal level seldom is born with the purposes and aspirations which give direction to his life. Almost always he gets these by being infected with them from his environment.

Preparation for personal greatness usually begins generations in advance.

This is true in the choice of mates, in the maintenance and improvement of family standards, and in the maintenance of cultural environment. The feeling, so general in America, that the individual should live his independent life, detached from past or future, is not conducive to greatness. The Oriental has gone to the other extreme of seeing the family as everything, an attitude which sets narrow boundaries to ethics and outlook. The totalitarian view, which would completely subordinate individual and family to the State, is similarly faulty. A free-ranging, deeply concerned and critical spirit can create a pattern of preparation which will avoid all these extremes.

Relatively few persons persist in searching for the greatest cultural parents which are available. Few people challenge the patterns of thought and purpose and action which are brought to them by chance. For the most part we wait for them to be thrust upon us by casual and accidental associations. We yield to the influence of parents, friends, teachers and propagandists. We tend to take on the colour of the particular environment in which we find ourselves. Each short period, such as a decade, takes on its own colour of optimism, despair, crisis, perplexity or boredom, not because the nature of the world has changed, but because, lacking intellectual and spiritual perspective and self-direction, the special character of the particular period dictates to us our picture of what is the real nature of the world. We are provincials in time as the isolated villager is in space. We feel that we are the moderns, with clear vision.

In nearly every age the world of thought and action is commonplace. Unless one is ready to part from prevailing trends where necessary, and to make his own way, getting his direction not only from the present, but from the best that men have thought and achieved, greatness probably is not for him. The kind of self-mastery and elimination of indulgence which is necessary to keep one's powers at their best, is very unpopular. The commonplace world will crowd one with activities. One must sparingly and critically select his interests, rather than leave them to be selected for him by tradition or by the current vogue. Since, however, departure from established ways often reflects mental or emotional warp or unclear thinking, the habit of critical examination of one's divergent views is very salutary.

Having our aspirations and purposes determined for us by transient or accidental circumstance is not the way to personal greatness.

If a young person once gets the idea that he can largely choose his intellectual and spiritual parents by selection from all the excellence the world has produced, and if he will develop a habit of sympathetic and critical search and appraisal, and will learn to make his intellectual and spiritual home with a wide variety of great minds

and great spirits, he will have found one key to personal greatness. This process requires heroic budgeting of time, interests and energy, with habitual elimination of what is trivial or unproductive. The spiritual parents he seeks should not be only reflective persons who have recorded thoughts in books. He needs, also, apprenticeship to persons who are great in action, perhaps persons who are doing humble jobs exceedingly well.

### What is the Hydrogen Bomb ?

Dr. Nira S. Vasani writes in the *Foreign Review* :

The hydrogen bomb hangs over the world like the sword of Damocles. The first news about this latest method of mass destruction came from President Truman about a month back when he ordered work on the hydrogen bomb to be continued. Ever since there has been considerable discussion on this arresting subject, particularly the destructive potentialities of this weapon. It was thought that the atom bomb was the surest thing in the arsenal of nations to win the armament race and America put billions of dollars and thousands of technicians in this gamble. After the atomic explosions in Russia, however, it became necessary for the U.S.A. to evolve something which would make the atom bomb obsolete. Then came the dramatic news of the hydrogen bomb. It might be recalled that contrary to the present state of hysterical speculation on the hydrogen bomb, the secret of the atom bomb was not revealed until after the explosions took place in the two ill-fated cities of Japan nearly five years back.

#### CHIP OF THE SUN

Curiously enough, the hydrogen bomb is based on a principle that is found in nature and has been in operation since the beginning of the universe. The sun and the stars have been emitting heat and light from time immemorial. Philosophers and scientists alike have been wondering for a long time at the enormous liberation of energy by these celestial bodies. In 1936, Hans Bethe came out with a theory regarding the origin of solar energy. It is known that hydrogen, in addition to a few other elements, is present in the ball of fire, where the conditions are, to say the least, staggering. It is estimated that the pressure in the interior of the sun is enormous and its temperature is of the order of thirty million degrees. Under such breath-taking conditions the outer structure of the atoms consisting of electrons are chipped off and the solid core of atoms

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called nuclei remain in a state of agitation. The nucleus of hydrogen is called a proton and has been assigned a weight of unity, which is the yardstick for measuring other nuclei. In the sun four protons successively unite to form a bigger assembly called the helium nucleus. In this process carbon acts as a catalyst and promotes union and is unchanged at the end of operations. This is the primary reaction called atomic fusion, responsible for the release of energy which makes life possible in this world.

The clue was provided by the famous scientist, Albert Einstein, as early as 1905. He came out with his special theory of relativity which in its essence is described by the formula: "matter is convertible into energy." This relationship can be expressed mathematically as  $E=mc^2$  ( $E$ =energy,  $m$ =mass,  $c$ =speed of light). This equation is at the very root of all atomic enterprise. Let us take the case of proton union referred to above. The mass of each proton is 1.008 and that of the resulting helium is found to be 4.003. It can be easily seen that during this fusion, a quantity of mass of the order of 0.029 is missing. According to Einstein's theory this has been converted into energy, which approximates to 2.7 billion kilowatts per second. This is a tremendous source of energy and hence the sun gets its heat through feeding its own mass. It is also known that when uranium breaks up into particles called krypton and barium, the resulting loss of mass is converted into energy which is released during fission. In the proton knitting process, the energy released per particle is far greater than that in uranium fission. In the words of Nobel-prizeman Millikan: "It is synthesis, not disintegration, that is the greatest source of atomic energy." It is the nuclear fusion that is aimed at in the hydrogen bomb. The hydrogen bomb is in fact a chip of the sun on earth.

#### ATOM KNITTING

The principle of nuclear fusion has been known to many competent physicists, including the Russian, for quite a long time now. The conditions attending this phenomenon are so appalling that scientists never even dreamt of attaining them before; but the advent of the atomic era has given fresh hopes for practical realization of this atom knitting principle. It is now known definitely from latest reports that atomic scientists, particularly in America, have been tackling this problem side by side with production of plutonium bombs. The materials required for the hydrogen bomb are plentiful and by far cheaper than the rare uranium. The new weapon endeavours to make use of hydrogen that can be got in plenty. Yet this is not all. There are at least two more varieties of hydrogen. The common hydrogen gas has an atom of mass about

unity. In 1931, Urey and others discovered another variety of this element whose core weighs twice as much as common hydrogen. This is called deuterium or heavy hydrogen, which has several unique properties that render it useful for atomic activities. This was produced in Germany in considerable quantities during the last phase of the late war. Another rare form of hydrogen has been brought to light. It is called tritium and weighs thrice as much as hydrogen. This is radioactive and is supposed to be a key element of the new bomb. Other light elements like lithium (atomic weight 7), till yesterday a laboratory curiosity, are also needed for the bomb. Though the exact reactions involved or the quantities used are bound to remain closely guarded secrets for considerable time to come, with the available published knowledge on this subject one can fairly guess the types of reactions that would occur during the explosion of the bomb. Ordinary hydrogen may combine with lithium to produce two nuclei of helium, each of mass four or may unite with radioactive tritium to give one helium nucleus. Again two deuterium atoms may combine to form one helium. Finally there is another possibility. An isotope of lithium may react with tritium to give two helium and a neutron. It is possible that hydrogen may exist in the bomb in one or more forms (as lithium hydride for example). All that can be said at the moment is that lithium and hydrogen are indispensable for the bomb. As has been said earlier, enormous temperatures of the order of several million degrees, never reached on the surface of the earth before, are required to ignite these nuclei and induce them to react. It has been estimated that the explosion of a plutonium or  $U^{235}$  bomb provides this necessary temperature. Hence the core of the hydrogen bomb will contain a small size atom bomb around which will be built in the hydrogen fuel for atomic fusion. When the atom bomb goes off high temperature will be generated instantaneously but will last only for a very short time. It is during this split second that the hydrogen will unite forming helium and lose mass in the process and this mass will be converted into energy. The sun has plenty of time to do it and the cycle of operations detailed above takes five million years for completion; but man has to achieve all or nothing in the fraction of a second during an atomic explosion. The vast amount of energy released during atomic fusion in the hydrogen bomb will be converted into a terrific scorching heat which may well wipe out a hundred square miles. In addition deadly radiations may be emitted. There has been considerable speculation as to the destructive potentialities of the hydrogen bomb. It has been suggested that the

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new bomb is about a thousand times as destructive as the older model ; but it can be proved clearly from calculations that the new bomb will be at least seven times more powerful than its predecessor. All this power can be used for destructive purposes only. Unlike the case of the uranium fission, where the vast energy released can be used for cheap power, the hydrogen fusion cannot be used for constructive application even at a remote date.

#### WHY THIS BOMB ?

This brings us to the question as to whether increased destructive power alone is responsible for encouragement and development of the hydrogen bomb. No, the uranium resources of the world put serious limitations on atomic energy projects. High grade uranium ores are available only in Belgium Congo, Canada and a few other places on the globe. The Smyth report to the United States Congress said that at the present rate of consumption, the uranium supply of the world would last for four months only. An alternative has to be found and, according to astrophysical estimates, the universe is made up of ninety per cent hydrogen. As this is the primary energy-giving element and as it is also cheap and plentiful, hydrogen has been put on the atomic map. Since uranium is also needed for the hydrogen bomb project, the manufacture of the new bomb will make a restricted supply of uranium go a long way and make devastation more far-reaching than when uranium is used alone as atom bombs. The hydrogen bomb will be a boon to nations with limited resources of uranium. Moreover, the atom bomb cost America two billion dollars. The hydrogen bomb is expected to cost anything between ten and hundred million dollars. So the hydrogen bomb combines efficiency and cheapness as a tool of destruction.

America is making an all-out bid for atomic supremacy and it is claimed that the first test bomb will be ready for trial in less than a year. Other nations, notably Russia, may be close in the race. Dr. Hans Havemann, a German physicist, recently said : "Russia probably mastered a new type of chain reaction better than the hydrogen bomb." When this statement is read with another from Sergei Vavilov, Chairman of the meeting of the Russian Academy of Sciences, that "great achievements in the field of physics" have been made during the last year in Russia and also the news of the disclosure of atomic top secrets to Russia by Dr. Klaus Fuchs, one may not be wrong in surmising that also Russia has powerful answers to the hydrogen bomb.

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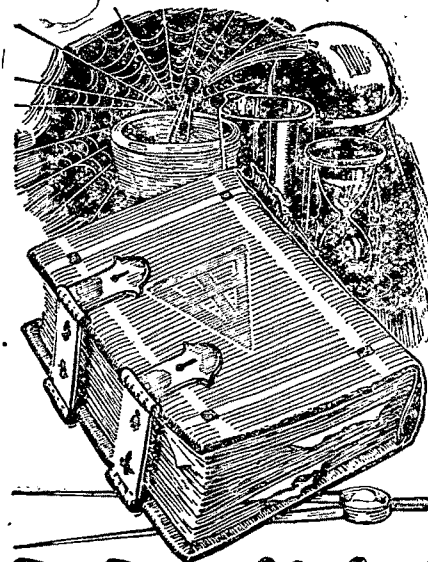
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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## **Ships Since the Days of Noah**

Lieutenant-Commander G. B. P. Naish, R.N.V.R., Assistant Director of the National Maritime Museum, London, writes in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, June 1950 :

The extraordinary size of the Ark much exercised the minds of the early students of nautical research; she was certainly the earliest ship of which they possessed written record. Noah built the Ark 300 cubits long, which is about 450 feet, and the first ship in modern times to exceed this quite considerable length was the Great Eastern of 1858, which was 692 feet long. Regarded as a ship the Ark is disappointing, being more properly a great houseboat which providentially floated on the face of the waters and was gently deposited on the top of Mount Ararat when the floods subsided. There we will leave her, in order to trace the gradual evolution of the propelled ship which has played so important a part in the story of the development of mankind by enabling him to cross the water, to seek food on the water, and at last to carry merchandize easily and cheaply to and from distant markets.

To employ some form of float to assist him in crossing a river was probably very early an accomplishment of primitive man, and this earliest boat would have been a very simple affair, a cocoa-nut husk, a bundle of reeds, a gourd or an inflated skin held against the chest. The type of float would depend on the materials at hand and most easily manipulated. Note that a canoe dug out of a tree trunk can only be made by an experienced man using fire and tools, and that this quite advanced type of boat must have first appeared quite late in the story of primitive man's development. Today it is still possible to study the boats used by primitive peoples in different parts of the world. Many of us have some knowledge of the birch-bark canoes of the Red Indians, the skin covered kayaks and umiaks of the Eskimoes, the hollowed logs or dugouts of the African jungle, the outrigger sailing canoes of Ceylon and the South Sea islands.

Oddly enough, the very earliest boats of which we possess detailed record can certainly not be described as "primitive craft." As long ago as 3,000 B.C. the Egyptians were using highly developed boats, both on the river Nile and also for more distant voyages; and models, carvings and inscriptions survive which tell us how these vessels were built and what they looked like. Mr. Eric Marx has constructed splendid models of early Egyptian ships. The one exhibited here is of a nobleman's private "yacht" as used on the Nile about 1,500 B.C., which would have been sailed up-stream and rowed down-stream. The hulls of Egyptian ships were built up of short planks, timber being very scarce: these planks were held together by lashings, and the hulls were built without any keel or ribs.

As our survey must be rapid, we pass next to another fine model by Mr. Marx of a Greek galley. The Greeks were keen merchants who made numberless voyages between their trading settlements scattered up and down the Mediterranean Sea.

The model is of a warship, a "bireme," and it would have been rowed by 88 oarsmen, who were freemen and not slaves, the oars being arranged in two tiers. This is the type of galley which fought at Salamis the famous Greek victory over the Persians in 480 B.C. Although a sail could be used when the wind was fair, the galley was rowed in battle and was built much in the same way as the Egyptian ship, except that a ram was fitted to the bow. Charming pictures of Greek ships survive on pottery and also on coins and gems.

The Romans adopted and developed the Greek galley for their own needs in naval warfare; and this type of vessel long continued the typical warship of the Mediterranean, even after the battle of Lepanto in A.D. 1571. But side by side with these long lightly constructed ships, which were suitable for rowing and could easily be dragged ashore to be refitted, were found heavier, rounder, cargo-carrying merchant ships which carried under sail the grain from Alexandria in Egypt to Ostia, the Port of Rome. It was in one of these round merchant ships that the Apostle St. Paul was wrecked on the shores of Malta.

We will now leave the civilization of the Ancient World and from the Mediterranean turn our attention to the waters of Northern Europe, and more particularly the shipping which visited the shores of the little island which Julius Caesar invaded in B.C. 55 and 54, and which was added to the Roman Empire in A.D. 43. A number of ancient dugout canoes have been found at various places in the British Isles; and some others, such as the boat found at Brigg, near Hull, and those discovered at North Ferriby in Yorkshire which are now waiting reconstruction in the galleries of the National Maritime Museum at Greenwich, take us further into the development of the built ship and begin to show us how, from the canoe dug out of a single tree trunk, there began to be evolved the complicated structure of keel, sternpost, stempost, rib, beam, and plank—to name the principal parts which form the hull of the large wooden ships.

Luckily for the student of naval architecture, ancient boats have been dug, almost complete, from the burial mounds of the Frisians and Vikings. Thus we have today a very good idea of the appearance of the famous "longships" which first brought the plunderers and settlers from the shores of Denmark and Norway to these islands, the same ships in which the Vikings also sailed to Iceland and Greenland and almost certainly reached the mainland of North America. The Gokstad ship is named after the place in Norway where she was found and can be seen today in Oslo. This ship is believed to date from about A.D. 900. She is in the form of a long open boat: her dimensions are 78 feet length overall by 16 feet 9 inches beam. The planks overlap as in a modern yacht's dinghy (clinker-built fashion), and she was rowed with 16 oars a side and also carried a mast and sail. Remains of shields were found fixed along the ship's side or gunwale. The Gokstad ship, which has both ends shaped alike, was steered with an oar or paddle slung over one side of the stern, the right or "steerboard" (starboard) side. In modern times replicas of the Gokstad ship have crossed both the North Sea and the Atlantic.

It is worth noting that Julius Caesar mentions the skin-covered boats of the Ancient Britons and that until recently wicker-work coracles (covered with calico, not skins) were used by fishermen on the Welsh rivers; and today larger canvas covered boats, called canoes or currachs, can be found off the west coast of Ireland, being in common use on the islands of Great Blasket and Aran.

In the year 1066, on the evidence of the famous Bayeux Tapestry, the ships which William the Conqueror collected for the invasion of England were very similar to the Viking ships in which his forebears had come to Normandy. Ships were increasing in size and we know that when the White Ship was lost in 1120 A.D. (and King Henry's son was drowned and we are told the King never smiled again) she had 300 persons on board, and was trying to overtake the royal fleet, hurrying along under both sail and oar.

During the Middle Ages trade increased and merchant ships went further in search of it, from Iceland to the coast of Africa. Invasions of France and the Crusades demanded large fleets of warships. Contemporary pictures of ships are found in manuscripts and stained-glass windows: perhaps the best pictures are those in low relief on the seals of some of the seaport towns. The seals of Pevensey, Sandwich, Dover and Yarmouth in Norfolk, for example, show us how light staging was erected in ships, forming castles fore and aft, standing on which men-at-arms could fight as they did on shore, shooting arrows and hurling big stones and stinkpots. Merchants soon saw the advantages of the cabins that could be made under these castles and ships began to be built with permanent structures in the bow and stern. The earliest representation of the rudder of the modern form—that is, slung on the after edge of the sternpost—is found in the first common seal of Ipswich, A.D. 1200. About 1410 a second mast appears in the inventory of one of the King's ships. We do not know whether this extra mast was stepped before or abaft the mainmast, until then the only mast in the ships of northern Europe. A rudimentary bowsprit is seen in early pictures, often with a small anchor dangling from the end.

Big ships, too, are shown with tall flagstuffs fore and aft, standing on the two castles. The one big sail was probably becoming increasingly unhandy. About 1450 the three-masted sailing ship suddenly becomes common, with a lateen sail (lateen or "latin" is the name of the triangular sail used in the Mediterranean) set on the mizzenmast; a squaresail, the mainsail, on the mainmast amidships, with a small topsail, set on a very little mast, the topmast, standing in the top above

the mainmast; a square foresail on the foremast; and another squaresail, known as the spritsail, bent to a yard hanging under the bowsprit. The mainsail and foresail had extra pieces of canvas laced along the foot of the sail, called "bonnets." These bonnets could be unlaced and taken off in strong winds. This description of a three-masted ship is important because, apart from really minor improvements, it remained the rig of the ocean-going sailing ship as long as sail held its own as the motive force for ocean-going ships. The ship as described above made possible the great voyages of discovery which opened up to the forces of civilization the world as we know it today. One other small point: in future, big ships were commonly "carvel built," that is the planks met edge to edge giving a smooth surface to the side of the hull. Mediterranean ships had always been built this way. Small boats are still built with the planks overlapping, which we have shown was the way the Viking ships were built.

The Santa Maria of Christopher Columbus, the Victoria of Magellan, the Golden Hind of Sir Francis Drake—these are some of the ships that have made history. The Golden Hind was only about 75 feet overall in length, her beam about 19 feet, and we are told that she drew 13 feet 6 inches of water when she ran on the rocks in the Celebes, in the East Indies, on her homeward voyage. Many a private pleasure yacht is as large; yet in her Drake and his ship's company of about sixty persons sailed round the world. Their contemporaries were perhaps chiefly interested in the treasure they brought home, but we admire the voyage as a feat of navigation and seamanship, courage and endurance. A model of the Golden Hind, a reconstruction of her probable appearance built by the lecturer's father from the contemporary evidence, shows the little ship under full sail.

Men-of-war during the sixteenth century were distinguished by the heavy guns firing through port-holes cut in the ship's side. With these guns an enemy could be hammered into submission and then carried by boarding.

We have such a wealth of evidence for the appearance of ships during the seventeenth century that there can be little we do not know about them. Manuals of shipbuilding and seamanship and navigation were published; and there are not only fine paintings but splendid models built to scale. The distinguishing feature of the seventeenth century is the little mast and sail on the end of the bowsprit known as the spritsail topmast and spritsail topsail. Also during the century it became usual to reef sails, by tying up portions of them to the yards above, instead of unlacing bonnets. More and higher squaresails were added above the topsails and were given the picturesque names of topgallant-sails and topgallant-royals (shortened to "royals").

In the beginning of the eighteenth century, jib-booms and flying jibs replaced the awkward (but only to modern eyes) spritsail topmast and its sail. Also larger ships were fitted with wheel steering. But despite these improvements, if Drake had suddenly replaced Nelson on the quarterdeck of H.M.S. Victory he would only have required a very short "refresher course" in seamanship and gunnery before feeling thoroughly at home, whereas put Nelson in Jellicoe's place on the bridge of H.M.S. Iron Duke and the imagination boggles at his dilemma.

The beginnings of the nineteenth century saw the man-of-war and merchant ship very similar in appearance—wooden ships under sail. Ships had reached the

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maximum size, about 2,500 tons, to which it seemed possible to build ships of wood alone. Although the steam engine was already being used afloat, as the sailing ship reached the zenith of her development she appeared to be holding the threat of the steam engine successfully at bay. It was the growing scarcity of good timber which introduced iron knees and frames into shipbuilding. The repeal of the Navigation Acts in 1849 opened British markets to foreign competition, and resulted in the building of the wellknown tea-clippers, which raced home from China like yachts to catch the early markets with the tea. The Cutty Sark, built in 1869 on the Clyde, is still afloat off Greenhithe; that same year, the opening of the Suez Canal gave the steamships a short cut to the East and allowed them to compete only too successfully with sail.

Two famous ships, launched in the mid-nineteenth century, foretold the trend of naval construction. We have already mentioned the Great Eastern (three times the length of H.M.S. Duke of Wellington, one of the largest line-of-battle ships of her day) which was launched at Millwall on the Thames in 1858 and has been called the wonder and failure of her age. She was built of iron and of most ingenious construction, being double-hulled with both transverse and longitudinal bulkheads, and nothing like her had been attempted before. Although commercially a failure, constructionally she was almost entirely successful. Her great size was to enable her to reach Australia without refuelling, a voyage she was never called upon to undertake. Fitted with both paddle wheel and screw, she had five funnels and six masts and must be reckoned as the first of the great passenger liners which cross the Atlantic today. The second epoch-making vessel, H.M.S. Warrior, was the first armoured ship to be added to the Royal Navy's ocean-going fleet. At the date of her launch in 1861 she was not only the most powerful ship afloat, but could have taken on the fleets of the world single-handed. Her length was 380 feet of which 208 feet was armour plated. She was fitted with a single screw and her powerful engines drove her at 14.3 knots. She was fully rigged and once logged 13 knots under sail. Her armament included rifled breech-loaders, firing shot or shell 100 pounds in weight. The Warrior is still afloat, in these days of aircraft-carriers and jet-propulsion, and lies a hulk at Pembroke, Milford Haven.

It is convenient to stop here, for we have shortly traced something of the ship's development from the earliest times to when the harnessing of steam and iron heralded the modern age, of which space firmly forbids description. Some knowledge of the way ships grew up should help us to appreciate the importance of sea power to our islands and empire, to honour the skill of our shipwrights and sailors, and to admire the inherited grace of the ships, both large and small, in which they serve.

## Pacific Coast Highway

Wynn Stephansen gives the following charming description of the grand Pacific Coast Highway for the benefit of the tourist in the American West:

Along the western coast of the United States, the long Pacific Ocean rollers break against the land for nearly 2,000 miles. More than half of this shore-line is within the State of California. The warm waters of the Japanese current and the almost constant breezes from offshore bring the dampness of sea fogs to the narrow strip of land which lies between shore and mountains. From the Mexican border northward to the city of San Francisco the coast is well populated. The road which runs near the shore is a wide super-highway, busy with the pleasure cars of tourists and rumbling with the double-jointed Diesel trucks freight-supplies between the great cities.

The traveller taking this coast route north from San Francisco finds himself in dramatic scenery from the moment he crosses the San Francisco Golden Gate Bridge, and winds up the rounded bulk of Mt. Tamalpais. Nestled at the base of the mountain is Sausalito, Sorrento-like village of stairway-streets, whose gardens tumble over the terraces in masses of deep color. The white bluffs of Drake's Bay below curve around a harbor where the English navigator Sir Francis Drake took shelter in his ship the *Golden Hinde* in 1579. Along a narrow inlet are the big white washed barns of dairy farms which supply milk and butter to San Francisco. The low shore is picketed with long poles which mark and protect the oyster beds.

Keeping to the sea as closely as it can, the road alternately skims at the very edge of the waves, then climbs to the edges of precipices hundreds of feet above the pounding surf. At intervals a canyon bites deeply into the shore-line, the stream which carved it half-hidden in its depths.

Vegetation responds luxuriantly to the warm sun and constant moisture. In spring and summer the meadows are brilliant with wild flowers; whole hillsides are gold with the California poppy. Lupine, which in its small blue form is seen everywhere in the western part of the United States, here grows tall and in varied colors. Wedged in crevices in the dripping cliffs are tiny rock-plants, compact cushions of bloom. Most spectacular of the flowers are the giant rhododendrons which grow to a height of 20 feet in the shaded forests.

Crowning a high bluff 100 miles north of San Francisco, the road runs through an old, hewn timber stockade, past a tiny chapel and log house and the remnants of an orchard of ancient, gnarled apple trees. This is Fort Ross, a state park, preserved as the site of an early Russian settlement. Although, as far north



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as San Francisco Bay, California was early colonized by Spaniards, the rocky northern coast was only partially explored when Fort Ross and several smaller settlements were established in 1812 as outposts for raising food to supply the colonies of the Russian-American Fur Company in Alaska and as posts for obtaining fur seals and sea otters in which the coast and bays of California abounded. At Fort Ross, 95 Russians and 80 native Aleut hunters, under the governorship of Ivan Alexander Kuskof, first built the stockade, guarded by two story octagonal blockhouses. Nested inside the enclosure were the chapel, which is still standing; the commandant's house, which has been restored as a museum; barracks, warehouses, and workshops. Outside were the huts of the hunters, a wind-mill for grinding grain, farm buildings, a tannery, and workshops for shipbuilding. Three farms were established, and hundreds of fruit trees set out in orchards. A Russian ship brought the great naturalist, Johann Friedrich Eschscholtz, for whom was named Eschscholtzia Californica, the California poppy, now the state flower.

Important as was the raising of food for the Alaska colonies, the primary function of the Fort Ross colonists was hunting, particularly for the treasured, deep, rich fur of the sea otter known in China, where much of it was sold, as the Royal Fur. Between 1800 and 1812, from the Farallon Islands off the California coast, 150,000 skins of seal and otter were obtained.

The sea otters, which came so close to extermination, have slowly increased in number under rigid protection. The otter has a curiously human appearance, with whiskered face and fingered forepaws which he uses like hands. His favorite position is floating on his back, dozing placidly, forepaws crossed on breast. An unusual noise brings him upright in the water to peer around, one paw curved to shield the eyes in an oddly human gesture. Far more frequently seen than otters are the herds of sea lions which make their homes on the waveswept rocks just offshore. Yelping like dogs as they climb out of the water, only to turn and dive in again, they seem to enjoy showing off for the tourist spectators.

Even more magnificent than the seacoast scenery are the groves of redwood trees through which the highway runs for 80 miles. Their cinnamon brown trunks rise like huge fluted pillars unbranching for half their span, to a height of more than 300 feet. A sequoia grove has the hush of absolute calm. The gigantic trees are too solid to sway in the wind; the branches do not bend. Paths are cushioned with years of fallen needles. Through the crown of feathery branches high overhead filters sunlight in smoky beams. Moisture drips from the needles. Mosses and ferns carpet the ground.

A century ago the redwood forests swept down to the sea and the early settlers were quick to appreciate the big tree's virtues. Fort Ross was built of redwood, as were most of the other pioneer cities of the region. At the mouth of each river grew up a lumber camp, spreading devastation through the forest. The hungry sawmills consumed the 1,000-year-old trees; wasteful logging methods destroyed the young growth. Slowly, as the principles of conservation became established, forestry management methods, demonstrated in the United States Government's National Forests, taught the lumber industry how to farm the forest as a crop instead of exhausting it like a mine. Some of the forest land which was cut over carefully a half century ago has already matured a second crop of redwoods.

At Fort Bragg, the traveller sees the first of the big modern redwood mills which operate efficiently to

utilize all the lumber. Even the bark is shredded to make insulating material. Here, too, the motorist sees his first redwood propagation nursery, where seedlings are raised for systematic reforestation. No other valuable timber tree grows so rapidly. A sapling grows more than two feet in height a year for its first 70 years. A mature tree may weigh more than 6,000 tons.

The vitality of the redwood is amazing. Once a set of bark-covered logs were used as columns for the front of a building in a lumber town. The next year they sprouted branches and needles. Trees a thousand years old still produce fertile seeds by the million. A survivor of early geologic ages, the sequoia has been found in fossil form in many parts of the world, but the only living trees are the two species in California. The coast redwoods, *Sequoia Sempervirens*, the world's tallest trees, grow only where the sea fog can saturate the atmosphere.

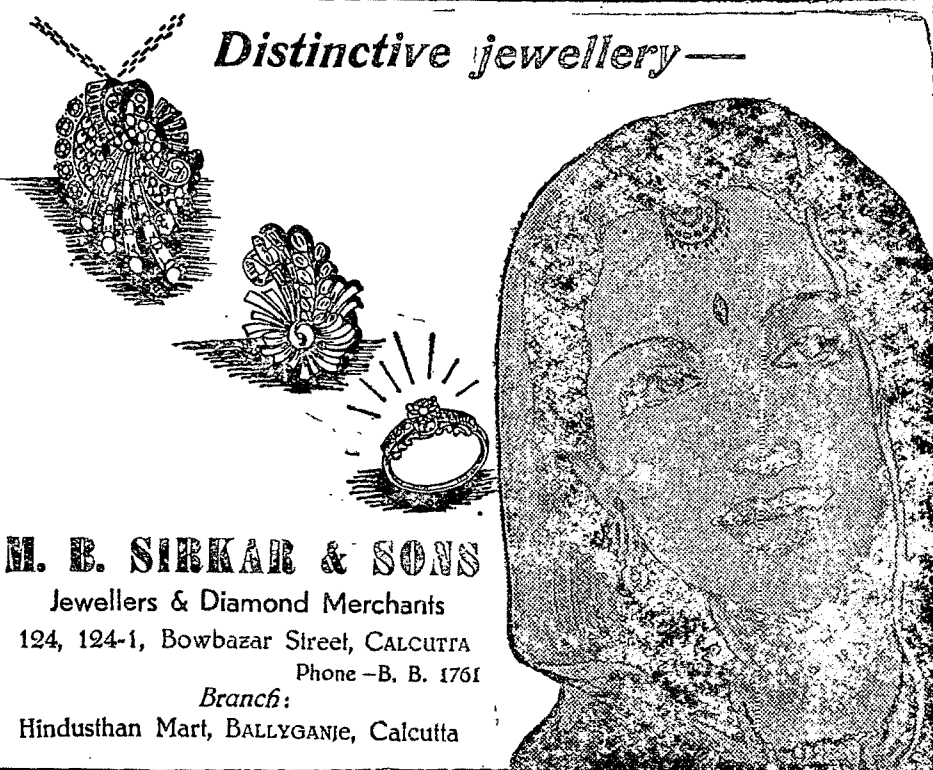
Beyond Fort Bragg, the road drops down to sea level, for miles crossing a marsh filled with ghostly wind-battered cypress. The sand dunes are littered with driftwood, huge roots and branches weathered by storms into weird animal-like shapes. Then at Rockport, ghost of a lumber camp, the road leaves the shore. Turning inland, the road joins the Redwood Highway, which has come straight north from San Francisco, undiverted by the seacoast curves. For the next 80 miles, the road runs through a series of redwood groves which have been preserved as public parks. So tremendous are these trees, the traveller begins to realize their immense size only when he walks inside a hollow one. The Quadrangle Tree which has four openings in its big footlike roots, was used as a dormitory for 32 men during the construction of the highway.

In the parks are public camp sites and natural amphitheatres where naturalists lecture on the history of the great trees. Moss-covered trunks of fallen giants, taller than the traveller's head, form hanging gardens of vines and flowers, with red and orange mushrooms making accents of color. Fern-edged pools reflect the feathery branches against the sky. If one is very quiet, he may see a deer come down to a stream to drink.

The unbroken ranks of sequoias which line the Highway of the Giants, as this stretch of road is nicknamed, give way to open pastures, and cattle take over the scene. The highway rejoins the coast above the blue waters of Humboldt Bay, a landlocked inlet. Eureka, the city on the Bay, is the westernmost city of the United States. Owing its existence to redwood it has continued to prosper as newer lumbering methods have been developed.



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Fishing in its various forms is one of the chief occupations of the region. The Klamath River, reserved for recreational use, is closed to commercial fishing, but along other rivers are several salmon canneries. At low tide along the wide sandy beaches, residents and tourists alike dig for razorback clams, a local delicacy rivalled only by the big Humboldt crabs which are caught in the Bay. The strong swimmer may try for abalone, a big flat shellfish which clings to the rocks offshore.

Past the fishing villages the road winds, at times descending almost to the surf. In the fog-filled valleys are small farms which raise a surprising crop—lilies. The fragrant white trumpets are shipped to the cities at Eastertime, and in the fall the bulbs are harvested. At Moonstone Beach, the traveller may wander along the sand, seeking the rounded milky pebbles which are semiprecious moonstones. Here a quiet little seacoast village, Trinidad, dreams of its once-busy whaling days.

Nearing the northern border of California, the highway climbs and turns until it emerges hundreds of feet above the water. Far to the north and south curve the headlands and bays, outlined by a far-flung line of crashing surf. Below, the lacy foam creeps over the rocks, gleaming like molten metal in the sunset light.—*USIS*.

### Can Israel Stay Neutral ?

Hayim Greenberg asks and answers the question in the *Jewish Frontier*, March, 1950 :

The world is tragically split between East and West. With which of these two blocs should Israel align itself ? Or should it be neutral ? It is easy enough to speak of neutrality, but cynics will at once ask: neutral on whose side ? And, indeed, there is some justification for this question.

Anyone convinced that Israel has to be truly neutral should have strongly counselled the government of the young State of Israel one year ago not to apply for membership in the United Nations, for no member of the UN can remain completely non-partisan. Switzerland, which clings to its historic policy of neutrality, has not to this day filed application for membership in the UN, though its application would be welcomed and acted upon positively within twenty four hours of its receipt. No member of the UN would be opposed to the admission of Switzerland into the international organization. But Switzerland makes no secret of the fact that it prefers to forego the honor of membership in the UN. It would rather not be obliged to take a stand in international questions and so provide one or another UN member with grounds for considering Switzerland its enemy.

Switzerland is perhaps the only country that can allow itself this luxury, yet even the Alpine republic is not one hundred percent neutral. The Confederation is internationally bound to maintain armed forces, a people's militia, and to fight with arms any attempts on the part of an enemy to penetrate its territory.

But the situation of Switzerland is unique. Israel could not follow a similar policy of abstention. Membership in the UN gave the stamp of international recognition to the Jewish State. Furthermore, whereas there are no millions of Swiss living outside the borders of Switzerland,

many more Jews live outside Israel than within it. It is therefore of tremendous importance to have the Jewish State represented in the international forum of the UN whenever some event affects a Jewish community in one of the lands of the dispersion. Though the UN is not at present an instrument powerful enough to put a stop to persecution, nevertheless, the UN does provide an opportunity for direct appeal to the nations of the world. Israel would not have such an opportunity were it not a member of the UN.

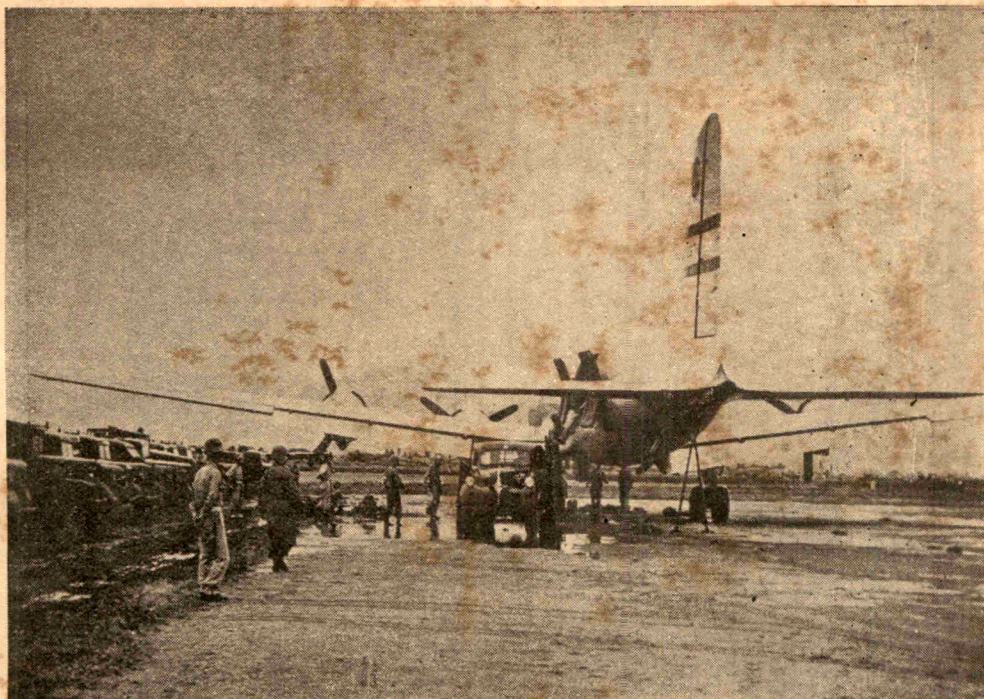
Today Israel is not aligned with any of the existing international blocs. I hope that it will not so align itself and become a satellite of either the East or West. Israel must not become the tool of any bloc. Observers of the Israeli delegation at the UN in recent months have been impressed by the fact that it voted sometimes with one group and sometimes with another, mainly "on the merits of the case." In its voting at the UN Israel applied its own standards of justice and its own evaluation of what would contribute most to the preservation of peace.

In recent months Israel voted — contrary to the will of some powerful Western countries—for the recognition of Communist China. It did so not because it was enamored of a Red China but because it felt that it was impossible to ignore a government ruling over nearly half a billion people, regardless of whether one liked the particular government or not. Israel also voted in favor of the international inspection of colonial territories, contrary to the will of Britain, France, Belgium and Holland, because it felt that this was a just procedure contributing to world peace and the gradual liberation of oppressed peoples.

But though I am convinced that Israel will not officially align itself with either of the blocs, this does not mean that Israel can avoid gravitating in a definite direction. I think that the destiny of Israel is closely linked with the Western world, and not with the Eastern bloc. One may like this fact or not, but it is undeniable that the structure, character and the interests of Israel create an objective situation which binds its fate to that of the West. Israel is a democratic state, and I hope that in the course of the passing years it will become more democratic rather than less so. Any democratic state, cherishing the principles on which it is founded, is interested in the preservation of the democratic regime in other countries in the world and in the maintenance of their free institutions before a totalitarian deluge irrespective of whether the totalitarianism is bolshevist or fascist. It is in the interests of every democratic state that there be as many democracies in the world as possible. This creates a natural bridge between Israel and the democratic countries of the West whatever their failings, because under a democratic regime such failings can eventually be corrected.

There is still another reason why Israel will gravitate toward the West. "National capital," funds contributed by the Jewish people during the past 25-30 years without which the reconstruction of Israel could not have been achieved came largely from Jewish communities in the Western countries. Further "national capital" will be required for the development of agriculture and industry in Israel, and particularly for the growth of the co-operative sector of the Israeli economy. These funds do not come from the Eastern bloc.



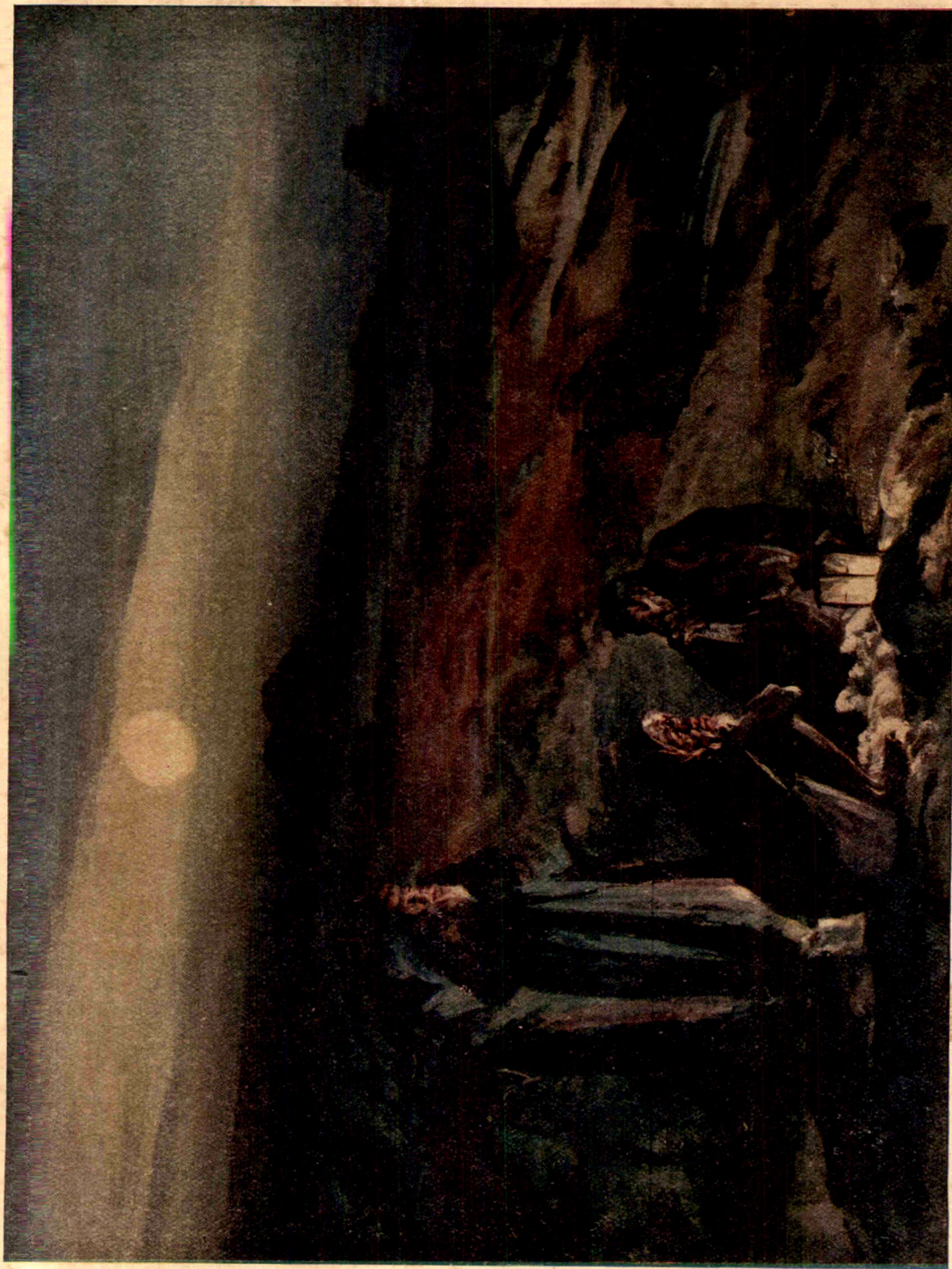


Transport airplanes from a U.S. air base in Japan land at advance bases in the Republic of Korea



The second National Jamboree, marking the 40th anniversary of the Boy Scouts of America, in Valley Forge Park, Pennsylvania. 47,000 Boy Scouts attended and eighteen overseas nations joined the Jamboree





THE MOURNERS  
By Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury

Prabasi Press, Calcutta



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## NOTES

### *Kashmir*

The failure of Sir Owen Dixon's mission to solve the Kashmir tangle has brought to the fore, once again, a whole host of problems and complications, domestic and foreign. Needless to say, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan has not missed this opportunity to aim a dagger-thrust at the back of the unsuspecting Pandit Nehru. The world being pre-occupied with the war in Korea and its grim portents, the usual chorus of invectives, imprecations and jeremiads aimed at India has not been forthcoming with the usual promptness. But that lapse has been made up to a great extent by our own domestic brand of malcontents and disruptionists, who have hastened to aid the cause of Pakistan against India. On the public platform and on the thoroughfares of Calcutta we hear long-drawn howls and imprecations, and in our daily Press in Bengal, which is under the control of groups who owe no allegiance to the Indian Union, we see columns filled with condemnation of Pandit Nehru.

Our Prime Minister in his exasperation has confessed that the whole Kashmir affair now seems to be like a chapter out of "Alice in Wonderland," so far as the U.N.O. is concerned. But it seems to us that the simile extends much further beyond Kashmir and far deeper into the internal affairs of our own nation than is probably realised.

At a juncture like this in the affairs of our nation, when grave issues are quivering in balance, as if on a knife-edge, the whole country ought to stand solidly and staunchly behind our Chief Executive. The Press should close its columns against the public expositions and ebullitions emanating from party-feuds, private vendettas and insidious disruptive propaganda. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan ought to be made to realise in full the implications of his

mendacious cheap-Jack utterances. We regret to have to state that that is not the picture as we see it today. On the contrary.

Three years of Freedom have passed, but where is the enthusiasm and jubilation which marked its coming? It is true that the nation has been sorely pressed by trials and tribulations and that the times are awry. But does that account for the gross distrust and the fears for the future that stalk the country today? Why is it that every false step, every failure, on the part of our Elder Statesmen results in howls of joy, not only from our enemies but also from numbers of those whom we deem to be—rightly or wrongly—the flesh of our flesh? We have had to endure a century and half of starvation, mental, moral and physical, and are new to the Free World, but did the slavery and the blood-sucking exploitation consequent on British domination produce all this perversion or does our inexperience alone justify cretinism on this scale?

Pandit Nehru and his colleagues must concentrate their attention to these ominous signs. We know that Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and others of that ilk have proverbial short memories and atrophied consciences, but even so, this last speech, taken in the context of his ebullitions during the U.S.A. tour, shows that he is again regaining confidence in his ability to fool, with impunity, the chiefs of the disunited and discontented nationals of the Union of India. Pandit Nehru must look to the home-front, therefore, while there is yet time. Distrust, Discontent and Want are the evils that are gnawing at the vitals of our Nation and they must be fought without delay. High-powered low-brows are in charge of some of the most crucial problems—such as food production, control and procurement, refugees, enforcement and checking of blackmarketing—and their treacherous satellites, who are in league with the anti-social

forces, are corrupting the very soul of the Nation.

Turning to the main point at issue, U. N. O. and Kashmir, we will say that it is about time that we alloyed a little realism with our pure, ethereal idealism to deal with situations where we are confronted with the Law of the Jungle, which in modern world-diplomacy is known as Realpolitik. We have to understand, therefore, the factors that led to the present impasse. The statements of the Mediator and the two Prime Ministers are given at the end of the editorials, for our readers to construe for themselves.

It has become necessary, therefore, to go back to the basic issues involved in the Kashmir affair. Jammu-Kashmir was invaded by tribals from the North-West Frontier Province and beyond; the Pakistan Government allowed these marauders to move through their territories; this toleration made them abettors in aggression in the eye of international law. Later on when the tribals were being ejected by Indian forces, the Pakistan Government moved their own forces into Jammu-Kashmir. The U. N. O. was called upon by India to judge of the morality of Pakistan's participation in the invasion of a friendly State. Under pressure of power-politics exerted by Anglo-Saxondom and the Soviet Union, it has never been able to give an honest judgment.

And why? We will allow a former member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, Kunwar Jagadish Prasad, explain the reason. Speaking on February 11, 1949, he said :

"... if the two 'most powerful' members of the Security Council, United States and Great Britain, felt that if Kashmir fell within the sphere of influence of the Indian Republic, the chances of Russian infiltration into India through that region were increased, the decision would go against India. If on the other hand such fears were dissipated, the chances of a decision based on facts would be considerably increased."

Another sober Indian public spokesman Dr. Syed Mahomed, Minister of Bihar, has traced these to Britain's partition of India. In course of a series of articles in the daily press pressing for an Indo-Pakistani joint defence system, he said :

"There is no doubt that the British realized the tremendous industrial potential of undivided India. Such an industrial potential means war potential. A short period of training, furthermore, could turn the hardy warriors of India with fighting traditions into 'invincible' manpower potential in a modern war. The British could not leave behind this 'Frankenstein' of Imperialism to remain as a potential source of danger. It had to be rendered permanently impotent before their departure."

"The division of India does this completely. It not only annuls the one strategic and economic benefit conferred on us by our late masters but it ensures that we are helplessly at the mercy of intruders as was the Moghul before the British."

"By the separation of the granary from the consumer and the area of raw materials from the area of factories, industrial development has been obstructed and our political power diminished."

"By chopping India and Pakistan into more or less four slices, leaving Assam and East Bengal as bait for some unwary Tantalus, the strategic situation has been made considerably unstable. This division is not only a constant source of conflict, it may put into the head of some foolish politician the idea of inviting a third party to end the dispute or to attempt to swallow its neighbour with dire consequences to the fate of the country."

In these two interpretations lie the secret of the political rivalry of which India, Pakistan and Kashmir have been made victims. Korea is the latest, and we fear, not the last, of them.

### *The Food Situation*

Pandit Nehru has expressed his government's serious concern over the food situation in the country. Although scarcity conditions prevail in parts of Madras, Bihar and West Bengal, no famine is apprehended. So far as West Bengal is concerned, we think it can be stated definitely that as yet there are no indications of famine conditions, excepting to the panicky and to the unscrupulous partisan. Political capital has been made out of the food situation by some small groups but the have-nots of the Congress occupy the centre of the picture. The present local scarcities in West Bengal owe their origin in no small measure to two factors, namely, large-scale smuggling of rice into North Bihar from the four West Bengal districts of Malda, Burdwan, Birbhum and Bankura by bus, train and carts, and hoarding of large stocks of paddy. On a modest guess, the quantity of hoarded grain in this State can be placed at a figure of well over a million maunds of paddy. Curiously enough, all these four districts are under the political influence of the have-nots of the Congress. The present evil tendency of frustrating all efforts to retrieve the food situation can be traced back largely to that vicious campaign by Congress have-nots, which culminated in Shri J. C. Kumarappa advising our cultivators to burn their paddy rather than handing them over to the procurement agents.

Some political scribes have written scaremongering articles in an irresponsible fashion comparing the present food situation with that of the Bengal Famine of 1943 although, in reality, the present scarcity does not come within a thousand miles of that ghastly tragedy. Such unscrupulous writings and speeches do no good to the country but cause some definite harm to those, for whose ostensible benefit they are written, by helping a rise of prices through the creation of panic.

Pandit Nehru's earnest desire to ease the food difficulty cannot be doubted, but he would have done well if he had realised by this time that no useful purpose can be served by the control machinery in dealing with the present difficulty unless it was reshuffled and remodelled from top to bottom. The present control

department is not only incompetent and completely unworthy of the great responsibility reposed in them but it has proved to be utterly corrupt, selfish and vicious. Unless Pandit Nehru took courage in both hands to displease the larger vested interests and dismiss the corrupt and inefficient officials of the hierarchy of controls, the food and consumers goods scarcity will remain where they were.

Pandit Nehru, in his broadcast to the nation on August 22. last, said that the gravity of the food situation in the country demanded that it be faced in the spirit of a war effort and with the full determination to overcome every difficulty that came in the way.

Pandit Nehru said, "Nature has been most unkind to us during these two months and more. Premature rains ruined the maize crops in north Bihar and then flood in the Kosi river. The south-east monsoon failed for the third time in several districts of Madras. There were floods also in Saurashtra and lack of rain in three districts of Bombay. These vagaries of nature suddenly made an immediate difference to the food situation in these provinces. The Korean war led timid or unscrupulous people to hoard and to put up prices. Large numbers of refugees in Bengal and Assam had to be fed.

"Last of all came a tremendous earthquake in Assam, which not only ruined the crop in many places but broke up the entire communication system by the sinking of roads and railway tracks.

"To add to this, some people started scares of famine in Bengal and Bihar, which added greatly to the difficulties of the situation.

"I am taking you into my confidence because it is right that you should know what the position is. The position has been, and is serious. Nevertheless, it is absurd and foolish to talk of famine. There is at present enough food to go round and our chief difficulty is the heavy strain on our transport; with the result that scarcity pockets had been created where it took some time for food to reach.

"The position is a serious one and we have to put forward our utmost effort, both governmental and public, to meet it. Particularly, there is scarcity of rice not only in India but outside. Assam, for instance, which has to have supplied 100,000 tons of rice to the rest of the country, has become a deficit area. The prices of foodgrains are rising all over the world, and it is not always easy to procure them.

"The international situation continues to be a critical one, and no one knows what the future might unfold. We must not, therefore, rely too much upon imports from outside. Indeed, we must think even more than before of fulfilling our programme of self-sufficiency, not only because that is good for us and we have pledged ourselves to it, but because the compulsion of events demands it. The internal availability of foodgrains must, therefore, be drawn upon. The difficulty of the present and in the near future is not the lack of foodgrains, provided we meet the situation calmly, mobilise all our resources and strengthen procurement and distribution.

"The gravity of the situation demands that we face it in the spirit of a war effort and with full determination to overcome every difficulty that comes in our way. You know that a few days ago we held a conference of Chief Ministers in Delhi. This conference decided :

(1) That food procurement and food production must be organised on a war footing and dealt with, both by the Centre and the States, as matters of highest priority;

(2) That wherever administrative machinery is weak, it is to be overhauled and strengthened;

(3) That procurement should be intensified in all the States, both surplus and deficit, and

(4) That the systems of procurement have to be co-ordinated and rigorously enforced.

"Such an approach can only be successful if there is full co-operation and co-ordination, and I am happy to say that the Chief Ministers assembled in conference took these decisions unanimously.

"This is a matter affecting every person in India, and it should be treated as one above political controversy. Unfortunately, politics enters into the picture and some people use this situation for political purposes and help to create a scare in the country. I earnestly hope that in this matter at least we should rise above the petty politics of the day, and there will be a co-ordinated approach both on the part of Government and of the public to meet this situation.

"For some time past there has been a controversy in the country on the subject of control and decontrol. Some people have thought that we should aim at decontrol. Decontrol is, of course, desirable, if conditions are favourable for it. But let it be clearly understood that there is no question of decontrol at present or in the future. This was almost the unanimous opinion of the conference and even those who had previously been in favour of decontrol, recognised the necessity of carrying on controls. Therefore, there should be no uncertainty on this issue. Controls are going to be continued and to be worked efficiently and rigorously.

"Government have taken other steps also in regard to food supplies and the rise in prices. The Essential Commodities Act has now been applied to a number of other States and there will be a unified direction in regard to these matters. The tendency to look upon State barriers as matters of ensuring food supplies to the State itself, regardless of conditions in other parts of the country, has been arrested. Henceforward, we shall try to maximise the effort to utilise food supplies for the country as a whole. The conference decided that the surplus States were to put forward their highest effort to supply foodgrains to the deficit States. Due provision has already been made to maintain supplies in the deficit States during the lean months of August, September and October.

"This is the Governmental aspect of it. But the public aspect is even more important. If people hoard and create scare and spread alarm and help in raising prices, they commit a crime against the whole country. Therefore the public conscience must not tolerate this.



(1) Excessive hoarding has now been made a serious offence with a heavy penalty.

(2) Governments, both Central and State, have been armed with powers to keep in detention those who interfere with essential supplies.

(3) Officials, including District Magistrate and the police, have been instructed that any laxity in food administration will be recorded against them.

"There is, I repeat, enough food in the country, but it is true that we may not be able to get the particular food that we are accustomed to. More especially the lot of the rice-eating public is a hard one, for they are unaccustomed to wheat or millet or other diet. But in view of the emergency, old habits and tastes have to be subordinated. People, especially in the northern States, who are accustomed to wheat, should refrain completely from rice, so that others may get it. But all of us should try to adapt our food habits to the existing situation.

"There has been some criticism that the present situation is due to the short import policy of Government. This is not true. In January last, there was a substantial carry-over. This year the internal production is larger by about two million tons. Even so, the import target of 1,500,000 tons has been raised to two million tons. But for the unexpected calamities which have occurred during the last two months, we would have had a substantial reserve and carry-over next January.

"Let us all recognise the seriousness of the situation. But at the same time let us also recognise that we can meet it and have the capacity to meet it and therefore let there be no scare or alarm. Our pledge of self-sufficiency by the end of 1951 holds. It was not a propaganda stunt but the firm policy of Government, behind which lay a great deal of thinking and well-planned effort. Only to the extent of some calamity or to replace food cultivation in some places with cotton and jute required for national purposes, is this going to be varied.

### *Legislation to Control Rising Prices*

The Indian Parliament has unanimously passed a resolution moved by the Industry and Supply Minister assuming powers for the House to legislate on control over trade and commerce, and production, supply and distribution of goods falling under jurisdiction of States. The resolution reads :

"That this House do resolve in pursuance of Article 249 of the Constitution, as adapted by the President under Article 392 thereof and as at present in force, that it is necessary in the national interest that Parliament should, for a period of one year from August 15, 1950, make laws with respect to the following matters enumerated in the States List, namely, (1) Trade and Commerce within the State, subject to the provisions of Entry 33 of List III and (2) Production, supply and distribution of goods subject to the provisions of Entry 33 of List III."

The Industry and Supply Minister explained that

the purpose of the Resolution was to arm the Central Government with power to deal with the situation of rising prices in the country. "With all the emphasis at my command and at the command of the Prime Minister and the Deputy Prime Minister, I can say that we are determined not to allow the prices to go high and higher up," he said.

Dealing with the causes of the rise in prices, the Minister said that inflation had nothing to do with the rise. "The tendency to make easy money is still persisting even though the war is long over. Whenever there is any opportunity there are elements to take advantage of it to make their money."

Prices of imported articles had gradually risen. The House knew that the Government was compelled to revise the O.G.L. to keep the prices down. As a matter of fact, in Bombay, the prices had, comparatively, fallen. "But our financial considerations do not permit large-scale import. Besides unlimited imports have a very deterrent effect on local industries." Here also there was a problem. In his opinion, the Government would have to take recourse to different methods to keep the prices down.

"Government is determined to see that the situation of high prices is never allowed to develop in this country," the Minister said.

Besides the law-making power, there were other methods also. "We have been talking about more production but very little result has been achieved. No law can be administered satisfactorily unless considerable public opinion is mobilised for it. As I have already stated, situation can be tackled more or less satisfactorily by various State Governments by taking recourse to enlisting public opinion."

Mr. Mahtab said, "It would appear, that unless there was some law and unless that was ruthlessly enforced, no satisfactory result would be achieved. The Prime Minister is determined to see that the situation is not allowed to further deteriorate. We must take steps to keep down prices as far as possible and at the same time to take steps which will go to help more production."

Mr. Mahtab warned the House that "if prices are not brought down and they are allowed to go high and higher up, the result would be disastrous,—may be of the type of the big famine of 1943—which in its turn would result in a serious disorder which we cannot conceive of today. Discontent is there ; people have not reverted to normal life since the last war. If prices are left to rise, the result will be serious and that would result in great disorder. One of the reasons for discontentment is high prices."

The people have had enough speeches and pious wishes to combat higher prices but the fact remains that the Government have been found faltering whenever faced with stark realities. At every step it has

been demonstrated that the Government, both at the Centre and in the States, have fought shy at displeasing vested interests and all pious wishes about checking rising prices have come to grief on that rock. Already they possess power in large measure, to stop speculation and profiteering, but we find that only petty dealers and shopkeepers are touched, leaving the top men in the trade to go scot-free for the exploitation of the common man. The Government of India has passed this new resolution for the assumption of powers to legislate for fighting high prices but they have not placed before the Parliament any concrete plans enumerating the measures they proposed to take. High prices are not new, they continue as a legacy of war-profiteering. Central as well as States Governments, excepting in some stray instances in Bombay, have done nothing to check this evil even when they had full knowledge that people will support the Government wholeheartedly in all their attempts to put an end to profiteering and exploitation.

The very existence of the State of India depends on the successful solution of the two problems of high prices and unemployment. The weak anti-blackmarket policy of the Government has made blackmarketing less risky and much more profitable than ordinary avenues of production. This evil has inevitably led to a contraction in the production of essential commodities. Where it is much more profitable to secure a license for some essential commodity and sell it at a sky-rocketing price without any risk of being detected or penalised, what fool is there who would invest money in the building of a factory? So, unemployment increases in the same ratio as blackmarket travels in an upward spiral of high prices. Unless Pandit Nehru takes this grave situation into active consideration with all seriousness that it deserves, the risk of our State foundering on these twin rocks cannot be ruled out by mere legislation.

### *Contingency Fund of India*

The Indian Parliament has passed a Bill for the establishment of what is called a "Contingency Fund of India." The Bill is a corollary to Section 267 of the Constitution. This Section empowers the Parliament to establish a fund into which shall be paid such sums as are determined by law to be placed at the disposal of the President, who makes advances out of the fund for purposes of meeting unforeseen expenditure, pending subsequent authorisation of such expenditure by Parliament. The State Governments also can establish similar funds, known as Contingency Funds of the State and place them at the disposal of the Governor or the Rajapramukh. The Contingency Fund of India is thus different from the Consolidated Fund of India, out of which emoluments, allowances

and salaries of the Executive and Judiciary of the country are paid.

Piloting the Contingency Fund of India Bill, the Finance Minister said that the Fund would be used only for meeting urgent and unforeseen expenditure not provided for in the Budget. A part of the Fund would be at the disposal of the Railway Administration, because there was no provision in the constitution for the establishment of a separate Contingency Fund. The Finance Minister said that this did not imply that because of the fund the Ministry was free to spend in excess of the grants. He also stated that in operating the fund, the Finance Ministry would see to it that a healthy convention would be established. It would not be misused for entering into any embarrassing commitments. It would not cover the overall increase in defence expenditure and expenditure on special items like large food subsidies and rehabilitations of refugees. As regards grave emergencies like war, it would be obviously necessary for Government to summon Parliament to vote necessary credit and hence the Fund would not cover war expenditure. He assured that the object of the Fund was not to ignore the Standing Finance Committee.

After adopting the Bill, the Parliament sanctioned a supplementary demand for a grant of Rs. 15 crores to be paid for the establishment and maintenance of the Fund.

The arguments and assurances held out by the Finance Minister are not sufficient to remove doubts from all minds. Spending first and then coming to the Parliament for grants of *fait accompli* are not compatible with the spirit of democracy. There is nothing in the Contingency Fund Act that will prevail misuse or misapplication of the fund by the Party in power.

### *Zamindari Abolition in Uttar Pradesh*

After four years of discussion and controversy the Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Bill was passed by the Lower House of the U. P. Legislature on August 4 last, and sent up to the Upper House.

It was on August 8, 1946, that the Assembly adopted the Pant Ministry's resolution accepting the principle of the abolition of the Zamindari system and deciding to appoint a committee to prepare a scheme for the purpose. The committee reported in October 1948, the Bill was published in June 1949 and was introduced in the House on July 7, 1949. A Joint Select Committee of the Legislature was then appointed and the committee reported on January 9, 1950.

The Assembly took up the Bill as amended by the Select Committee on January 9 and the first round was over when on January 16 the measure was given the first reading.

A dramatic touch was given to this long process of

law-making by a Press Trust of India message from Lucknow saying that two million words were spoken during the 63-day debate of the U. P. Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Bill passed by the U. P. Assembly.

The Bill which may rank as the most controversial and the biggest legislative measure in the history of the State Legislature has cost the State exchequer Rs. 3 lakhs. 1,450 speeches were delivered.

Notices of 1,300 amendments were given of which about 500 were discussed. The Government accepted 200 amendments—mostly of verbal or consequential nature.

Seven times guillotine was applied and 154 of the 341 clauses of the Bill were passed. 50 divisions were challenged, either by the zamindars or the Socialists all of which were lost.

The importance of the problem that touched the most intimate of the world's economic relations—that concerned with land—justified this labour both of the supporters and opponents of the Bill. It was indicated in the closing speech of the Premier, Pundit Govinda Ballav Pant, from which we collect the relevant points.

The Bill seeks to cut at the roots of the feudal order without destroying the barons. Officially the number of Zamindaris, big and small, in the State is 20,16,000. Among these only 30,000 are the real Zamindars paying over Rs. 250 as land revenue. The number excludes those in the urban areas, the hill districts, Government estates and the newly-merged States. Separate measures for these are in the offing; a bill in respect of the urban areas has already been introduced.

The central idea of the present measure is that land should belong to the tiller; and that the rights of the intermediaries should be acquired on payment of equitable compensation.

With effect from a date to be notified by the Government after the enactment of the measure all the interests of the intermediaries shall be vested with the Government free from all encumbrances. The intermediaries shall, however, continue to be in possession of the land which is in their own cultivation.

Part two of the Bill refers to the new land system. There will be two main classes of tenure-holders, namely, *bhumidhars* and *sirdars* and two minor classes, *asamis* and *adivasis*. The present Zamindars so far as their *sir*, *khudkasht* and groves are concerned, will become *bhumidhars* without having to pay for any of the rights.

Present-day tenants will attain the status of *sirdars* and can acquire the *bhumidhari* rights by paying ten times the annual rent paid by them. The Bill has provided that after the date of vesting, the rate will be eleven times the rent.

*Sirdari* will be conferred on all tenants with a right of occupancy. A *sirdar* will have permanent and heritable interest in his holding but will not be allowed to use it for any purpose other than connected with agriculture or horticulture or animal husbandry. He cannot keep his land vacant. *Asami* rights will be conferred on tenants or sub-tenants of grove lands, tenants' mortgagees

and a few others. Neither the *sirdar* nor *asami* will have to pay for the rights acquired by them. *Adivasis* are tenants of *sir* and sub-tenants. They have been given the right to continue to hold land for five years from the commencement of the Act. They can become *bhumidhars* by paying 15 times the rent after the expiry of the five-year period.

One of the fundamental principles underlying the new land-tenure system is that none of the tenure-holders can let out the land, except the disabled *bhumidhar* or *sirdar*. A *bhumidhar* will be free to transfer his holding to anyone whose holding does not exceed 30 acres. There is no limit on the *sir* or *khudkasht* any of the present tenure-holders can have. In future none can have a holding exceeding 50 acres. Sub-division of a holding will be permitted only if parts so sub-divided are not less than the economic holding of 6½ acres.

The Bill provides for two types of co-operative farming: small farms of 50 acres or more constituted by voluntary agreement by ten or more cultivators, and secondly, co-operative farms comprising all uneconomic holdings in a village. If two-thirds of the holders of uneconomic holdings apply for registration of such farms, the remaining one-third will have to join. Government will give many facilities to such enterprises.

According to the future land revenue system, all the *bhumidhars* and *sirdars* will be jointly and severally responsible for the land revenue assessed on the village. But if a *bhumidhar* or *sirdar* is called upon to pay the land revenue of a defaulter, he may, by application to the collector, recover the amount as arrears of land revenue. In the case of an intermediary turned *bhumidhar*, he will continue to pay the present land revenue and local rates on such land. A *bhumidhar* will pay equal to half of his former rent. A *sirdar* will pay land revenue equal to the rent he is paying.

Government may make such arrangements and employ such agencies for the collection of land revenue as it may deem fit. The ultimate aim is to entrust the *Gaon Sabhas* with the work of land revenue collection through the *Gaon Panchayats*. Clause 274 of the Bill states that Government may, by general or special order published in the *Gazette*, charge a *Gaon Sabha* with the work of revenue collection.

The provisions relating to vesting all common land of the village with the village *Sabha* and charging the *Sabha* with the work of revenue collection will go down in history as the biggest piece of socialist legislation. The *Gaon Sabha* will consist of all the cultivators as well as the residents of the village.

Part I of the Bill refers to vesting of the zamindaris compensation and rehabilitation grants and the procedure in respect of acquisition of mines and minerals.

Compensation to Zamindars, big and small, is at the rate of eight times the net assets of the zamindaris



Besides this compensation to all, Zamindars paying land revenue of Rs. 5,000 or less will be given rehabilitation grants also at graded rates as under :

Up to Rs. 25—20 times the net assets  
 Exceeding Rs. 25 but not Rs. 50—17 times  
 Exceeding Rs. 50 but not Rs. 100—14 times  
 Exceeding Rs. 100 but not Rs. 250—11 times  
 Exceeding Rs. 250 but not Rs. 500—8 times  
 Exceeding Rs. 500 but not Rs. 2,000—5 times  
 Exceeding Rs. 2,000 but not Rs. 3,500—3 times  
 Exceeding Rs. 3,500 but not Rs. 5,000—2 times

Compensation will be due from the date on which an estate is acquired and will bear interest at the rate of 2½ per cent but if its assessment takes more than nine months interim compensation will be paid to avoid hardship.

Private *waqfs* and trusts will be treated like ordinary zamindaris for the purpose of assessment and payment of compensation and rehabilitation grants. *Waqfs* and trusts or parts thereof devoted wholly to charitable or religious purposes will be assured an annual income equal to the present income.

As regards the manner of payment of compensation and rehabilitation grants, the Bill states that these shall be payable in such form as may be prescribed. It is estimated that the money needed to pay compensation to all will be in the neighbourhood of Rs. 60 crores and that the sum needed for paying rehabilitation grants will run to Rs. 50 crores.

The compensation to be paid comes to about Rs. 60 crores, and the rehabilitation grant to about Rs. 50 crores, as indicated above. Almost half of the former appears to have been already collected in the Zamindari Abolition Fund. A campaign in this behalf was started in October, 1949, and Rs. 26 crores 80 lakhs have been paid into the treasury by owners of 27 lakh holdings; the number of total holdings in the State are 1 crore 55 lakhs.

All tenants who paid into the fund *ten times the annual rent paid by them* would acquire permanent heritable and transferable right in their holdings and the right to use the land for any purpose whatsoever. It was also provided that they shall not be liable to ejectment. Pending passage of the Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Bill, a Bill providing for the acquisition of the *bhumidhari* rights and collection of dues to the Z. A. F. was passed.

The Uttar Pradesh Bill will form the pattern of measures in Bihar, West Bengal, Orissa, and those parts of Madras where the Zamindari system exists. Only the future can show whether or not the proposed revolution in India's land system will bring the better living of the widest commonalty of the land that inspires the present generation.

## Korean War and India

As we write these lines sixty days have passed since "the Little Stalin" of North Korea, General Kim Il-sung, her Premier and Commander-in-Chief, released the dogs of war that threaten the peace of the world. The following write-up culled from the London *Observer* will enable our readers to understand this war :

"One of the Soviet Union's great advantages in Korea is in the character of its local allies—and particularly of General Kim Il-sung, the Premier of North Korea and Commander-in-Chief of the 'People's Army.' While the Americans have been allied with aged, querulous Syngman Rhee, the Soviets have been able to operate through the dynamic, 37-year-old Communist Chief of North Korea.

Stocky General Kim Il-sung has the distinct advantage of being the most famous hero of the anti-Japanese resistance. So legendary is his fame that the South Koreans have alleged that he is a spurious Soviet substitute for a dead hero of the same name.

Kim Il-sung has a history like Tito's—up to a point. His father, who had been twice jailed by the Japanese, took the family into exile in neighbouring Manchuria. There the young Kim formed his first guerilla group in 1932, when he was still only 19. This grew, under the most ruthless counter-attacks from the Japanese, from 30 to 3,000 young Koreans.

When the Soviet Army took over North Korea in 1945, they had the tremendous advantage of being able to offer General Kim Il-sung to the Koreans as their leader. With General Kim and a number of other Korean Leftists such as the scholarly, 60-year-old (Yenan-trained) Dubong (new President) and Moscow-trained Pak Heung-yong (new Foreign Minister), the Soviets were able to run a 'behind the screen' administration which from the outset preserved the fiction of being run by Koreans."

Under such dynamic leadership, it is no wonder that the North Koreans have been able to stage such an achievement. They are in occupation of three-fourths of South Korea, and with all their bombings, their air superiority, United States military leadership has not yet been able to halt the momentum of their assaults. We were told as late as August 11, that their fighting forces are yet "too few", "lacking in battle experience" and "general toughening up." But this does not explain the whole trouble. The tactics of Kim Il-sung, the flank attacks that his Commanders generally direct against U.S.'s mechanized land formations have upset the latter's "green" troops.

There has since then been tightening up of protective measures against these fifth-column activities. The last two or three days' news appears to show that North Koreans are being held up in certain sectors of the battle front. But the central sector is the key to the situation, and there is no hopeful news regarding it. An appreciation sent out from Tokyo,

cabled to India from London on August 5, said that "U. S. staff officers are unofficially predicting a beachhead based on about twenty miles of the coastline and having a perimeter some nine miles deep. Such a beachhead would be about three times the size of the famous Anzio beachhead in Italy during the last war. It would presumably enclose the delta of the Nakdong river and the hills to the north and east of Pusan, the port which at all costs must be retained and secured if the door into Korea is to be left open." The fear expressed therein that this choice would entail the loss of the east coast has not, however, proved true. Pohang has been re-conquered and is still retained, and some sort of an encircling movement of the enemy appears to be in motion.

From this war front we must turn to Lake Success, to the United Nations' Security Council where, with the return of the Soviet delegate, a major propaganda war has been launched. It has continued for 25 days, and shows no signs of ending. As the month's President of the Council, M. Malik has not been able to do much more than holding up its decisions while 7000 miles away battle rages, cities are being bombed, millions of South Koreans have been turned into "refugees" with all its horrors. A month ago the representative of the *Hindusthan Standard* in London cabled that Mao Tse-Tung's Government had approached the U.S.A. and British Governments through India suggesting an "immediate cease-fire" in Korea. The suggestion has not been followed up, and the Soviet Union with its propaganda for peace has not appeared to any advantage by its representative in the Security Council failing to take the initiative in a "cease-fire." He appears to be more concerned with his power-politics. In this *impasse* India's Prime Minister attempted a peace move which has missed its mark because of its strange approach to realities, strange because it took little count of the main factors involved in this grim phase of power politics.

### Europe and Germany

Officially and non-officially they have been trying to set up a Parliament of Europe *minus* Russia, if we understand the tendency of discussions. Winston Churchill has been enthusiastic in this matter. But observers appear to be sceptics about its success; one of them cynically says :

"As a solution, Mr. Churchill puts his faith in high-powered conferences and resounding phrases; M. Schuman for France proposes industrial co-operation which Mr. Bevin dismisses as non-functional whatever that might mean. Thus in the face of the gathering storm Europe remains dis-united, and even if she had the armoured divisions necessary to equal those of Russia they might not be sufficient to defend her against attack should it come. Added to this, no one in Europe believes

there is anything to be done in case of an atomic war."

A *United Press of America* despatch released sometime in July last gives a factual study that does not reveal many hopeful features. The war in Korea had already started, and a fair picture of reactions in Europe will be found in the following :

"The United States has found out in Korea what overwhelming numerical superiority in troops can mean and a look at Western Europe's potential battleground today shows another Korea all over again.

It is a strange and sobering fact that the Allies of the Atlantic Pact are the military "weak sisters" of Western Europe. Those nations not in the Russian camp but still outside the Pact—Sweden, Spain, Switzerland and Yugoslavia—are the only ones with really tough, big and ready armies. And they are not committed to defend Western Europe against Soviet aggression.

Germany is the one nation which might have stood as the bulwark of military might. She is split apart and the western part is forbidden to rearm.

British Defence Minister, Emmanuel Shinwell, told the House of Commons on Wednesday that the armies of Soviet Russia presently number about 175 divisions—2,800,000 trained troops.

What has Western Europe available to put up against such an array? Here is the line-up of the infantry strength of the European nations of the Atlantic Pact which could be thrown into action immediately if a war began next week.

*Britain* : Strongest of the European Allies has an estimated 300,000 men in the home islands and the German Occupation zone. She has some of her best combat troops, about 34,000, in Malaya and Hong-Kong. Another 25,000 are guarding the Suez Canal. The remainder of a total force of 420,000 are scattered in such outposts as Gibraltar, Malta, Cyprus, Eritrea and Tripoli.

*France* : This is the nation which under Atlantic Pact alone should provide the initial infantry bulk. But her army is estimated at slightly over 300,000 men. Of that total 168,000 are overseas with 120,000 tied up in Indo-China alone. France has two armoured divisions and three infantry divisions in Europe, the beginning of an airborne division and a mountain division. But France's strength is always threatened by the danger of Communists within the very ranks of the army.

*Holland* : This tough little country had 84,000 of its best men in Indonesia two years ago and many of them are still there. Dutch conscripts are estimated at 50,000 men annually for a one-year training.

*Belgium* : Has an estimated army of 74,000 but only one division—15,000 men—in combat readiness.

Norway and Denmark should do no more than try to defend their airfields.

Italy's power is nullified by treaty bans against re-arming.

Portugal has a tough little army but she is geographically out of the strategic picture.

Take a look at the nations on the fence : Sweden has an army of 300,000 men ready to fight. But she has kept out of the world wars and would like to stay out of a third.

Spain has another 300,000 men and the best defence line—the Pyrenees Mountains—in all Europe.

Yugoslavia has in combat shape the equivalent of about 30 United States divisions or 450,000 men.

Switzerland—no big standing army but 500,000 men and women trained to defend that mountain fortress.

Thus it can be seen that those nations committed to fight Soviet aggression could put little more than 500,000 men in the field at once, while those not in the Atlantic Pact have more than 1,000,000.

There are other considerations, of course : atomic, air and naval considerations. But Korea put the spotlight on the foot soldier and exposed to that spotlight, the Western Allies are woefully weak in Europe."

In all these discussions they appear to be minimizing the importance of the role that Germany will continue to play in Europe in peace and war, or war in peace. It is natural for her people to be waiting and watching, and if possible trying to play off their victors one against the others or one group of them against other. They have been passing through a spiritual travail; the argument between militarism and its reverse has been engaging their thought. The *World Interpreter* of New York a few months ago gave the following account of activities in connection with this problem.

"The Laender or 'States' of South Baden, Bavaria, Wurttemberg-Baden and Berlin have gone further. In Bavaria, for example, 'no citizen can be forced to undertake military service or take part in war industries.'

"Skepticism about militarism, as distinguished from pacifism, is widespread in post-war Germany. This luke-warmness continues in spite of the fact that the Allies have begun to talk about rebuilding German armies.

"The Frankfurt *Rundschau* reported a poll showing that 60.2 per cent of Germans said they wanted no more military service under any conditions. German pollsters for the American High Commission also found military enthusiasm lacking. An overwhelming majority of 3,800 questioned said that they would

rather have their boys become businessmen than army officers !

"In Berlin, a 'children's parliament' even voted unanimously that military toys should be boycotted.

"U. S. High Commissioner John J. McCloy, declaring that healthy tendencies far outweigh reported nationalist trends, asserted last month that the 'bulk of the German people have set their faces' against militarism. Still, some Europeans reason that a German army, if made trustworthy, could be 'a stabilizing factor' internally and 'a protective barrier' against Russia. To countless Germans, however, all that is 'old stuff' without appeal today. The West, having won a crusade to abolish military ideas in Germany, is sometimes dismayed."

This account shows that the German people both under Soviet control and under Western control are not being allowed to live and work in peace. And if the "cold war" between the two Power Blocs develops into something more serious, Germans will be forced to fight against one another. As the picture in the New York paper gives but an imperfect picture it would be interesting to have another version indicating the stirrings of a new mind. This is got from an article giving the results of a survey of the kind of books that Germans have been reading at present. We summarize certain of its findings :

"The Germans still read, but only half the population has re-discovered its pre-Nazi passion for books. In the large cities, books are in demand, and men and women make sacrifices in order to buy them. However, books play a far less important role in the individual lives than they did in the first years after World War I. Contemporary Germany has no responsible literary criticism, either spoken or written. Under the Third Reich, the critics, who had once formed a powerful intellectual group and considered themselves heirs to a certain literary tradition, lost intellectual cohesion and their confidence in spiritual values. Discredited by Goebbels's propaganda, stigmatized as 'intellectual beasts' (*Intelligenzbestie*) and condemned as half-men, they have not yet managed, five years after the end of the war, to stand on their feet again.

"But if Germans dream of a new world, they also have a morbid taste for reconstruction of their Nazi past. Newspapers and magazines abound in 'revelations' of Hitler's secret life. After Eva Braun's apocryphal memoirs, the illustrated reviews published the recollections of everyone who could pretend to have approached the Fuhrer ; his chauffeur, his chamber-maid, his barber. Most of them were simply trumped up by journalists who needed lively copy. Is the success of these revelations a sign of a morbid taste for sensationalism or a pathological enigma which has not yet been completely resolved ? In any



case, the fact remains that Hitler continues to haunt the German mind.

"From this psychological assessment, we come to an interpretation of real facts which promise no good to any body. Germany is another and far more menacing Korea. The two Germanys are two armed camps in which the Atlantic Powers and Russia manoeuvre for an ultimate show-down. If Korea means anything to European nations, it is because they realize that the Korean incident is probably no more than a rehearsal for the German one. Korea may be contained, mediation may finally prevail there but should the two Germanys fight, all Europe would be involved and the dreaded struggle between the Atlantic Powers and Russia would be engaged. At least the Germans themselves seem to appreciate this and play the former Allies off one against the other with diabolic skill. It is as though the Frankenstein monster of Nazi Germany haunted the scenes of its defeat to lead the former Allies to their own ruin."

### *India and Nepal*

On the 31st of July last India and Nepal signed a Treaty replacing the stand-still agreement that had done duty since British withdrawal. The following is its text :

"The Government of India and the Government of Nepal, recognising the ancient ties which have happily existed between the two countries for centuries:

Desiring still further to strengthen and develop these ties and to perpetuate peace between the two countries :

Have resolved, therefore, to enter into a treaty of peace and friendship with each other, and have, for this purpose, appointed as their plenipotentiaries the following persons, namely:

The Government of India : His Excellency Shri Chandreswar Prasad Narain Singh, Ambassador of India in Nepal.

The Government of Nepal : Mohun Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana, Maharaja, Prime Minister and Supreme Commander-in-Chief of Nepal, who having examined each other's credentials and found them good and in due form have agreed as follows :

Article 1: There shall be everlasting peace and friendship between the Government of India and the Government of Nepal. The two Governments agree mutually to acknowledge and respect the complete sovereignty, territorial integrity and independence of each other.

Article 2. The two Governments hereby undertake to inform each other of any serious friction or misunderstanding with any neighbouring State likely to cause any breach in the friendly relations subsisting between the two Governments.

Article 3: In order to establish and maintain the relations referred to in Article 1 the two Governments agree to continue diplomatic relations with each other by means of representatives with such staff as is necessary for the due performance of their functions.

Article 4: The two Governments agree to appoint Consuls-General, Consuls, Vice-Consuls and other consular agents, who shall reside in town, ports and other places in each other's territory as may be agreed to. Consuls-General, Consuls, Vice-Consuls and consular agents shall be provided with exequatur or other valid authorization of their appointment. Such exequatur or authorization is liable to be withdrawn by the country which issued it, if considered necessary. The reasons for the withdrawal shall be indicated wherever possible.

The persons mentioned above shall enjoy on a reciprocal basis all the rights, privileges, exemptions and immunities that are accorded to persons of corresponding status of any other State.

Article 5: The Government of Nepal shall be free to import from or through the territory of India, arms, ammunition or warlike material and equipment necessary for the security of Nepal. The procedure for giving effect to this arrangement shall be worked out by the two Governments acting in consultation.

Article 6: Each Government undertakes, in token of the neighbourly friendship between India and Nepal, to give to the nationals of the other, in its territory, national treatment with regard to participation in industrial and economic development of such territory and to the grant of concessions and contracts relating to such development.

Article 7: The Governments of India and Nepal agree to grant, on a reciprocal basis, to the nationals of one country in the territories of the other the same privileges in the matter of residence, ownership of property, participation in trade and commerce, movement and other privileges of a similar nature.

Article 8: So far as matters dealt with herein, are concerned, this treaty cancels all previous treaties, agreements and engagements entered into on behalf of India between the British Government and the Government of Nepal.

Article 9: This treaty shall come into force from the date of signature by both Governments.

Article 10: This treaty shall remain in force until it is terminated by either party by giving one year's notice."

Annexed to it is a Trade Agreement regulating the trade and commerce between the two countries.

While on the subject, we have to take note of the political development inside Nepal calling for a democratic set-up of the Administration. Maharaja Chandra Shamsher Jung is the de-facto ruler of the State. The agitation for responsible government has been gaining in strength, even members of the Rana family, we find, are in it. We hope that His Highness will respond to the spirit of the times. Across Nepal's northern frontier things are afoot, of Communist activities that cannot be ignored. Now is the time for the rulership of Nepal to enlist the heart's devotion of its people, and stand united in defence of their integrity. In this, His Highness will find the mind of India at his side.

## Indonesia

On 17th August last, the anniversary of the setting-up of the Revolutionary Government in the country on the wake of the Japanese surrender in August, 1945, the Republic of Indonesia, a Federal State, transformed herself into a Unitary State, almost all the constituent units 16 in number having agreed to surrender their autonomous existence. Only one State, Moluccas, appears to have been putting up a fight for autonomy; another Irian or West New Guinea is subject to negotiations between the Indonesian and Dutch authorities; East New Guinea is a mandatory territory under Australia.

This change-over will have certain consequential changes: Djakarta will be the provisional capital of the State; and a Presidential or Ministerial Cabinet remained an outstanding issue, according to *Merdeka* (Freedom) of Delhi of 10th August, to be settled. Indications there are that the latter choice has been made and Dr. Mohammad Hatta resigns his commission as Premier on the inaugural day of the Unitary State. These issues were settled during the Djakarta deliberations of May 19 and 20 last attended by all the Federal and Central Government Ministers except the Federal Minister of Defence and Republican Minister of Justice. It is difficult at present to assess the significance of the absence of these two Ministers or of the party alignments that has been indicated in the following news sent by the *Press Trust of India* correspondent from Djakarta on the 6th August last requiring the resignation of Dr. Hatta:

"When Indonesia reconverts itself into a unitarian State on August 17, its first Cabinet may be a coalition between the two biggest political parties in the country, the Mashumi and the Nationalists, with the Mashumi leader, Mr. Mohammed Natsir, as Prime Minister.

"The present Prime Minister, Dr. Mohammad Hatta, will become the Vice-President of the State. Although Dr. Hatta will give up his role as Prime Minister, political circles expect him to continue to be a dominating force in Indonesia.

"The two major political parties, the Mashumi and the Nationalists, together will command an overwhelming majority in the new provisional Parliament which will consist of 216 members. For the first time Indonesia will thus have a Parliamentary Cabinet ruling by virtue of party strength and responsible to Parliament.

"Mr. Mohammed Natsir, the Mashumi party leader, who is tipped for the Premiership is said to be the most acceptable name for all parties. Mr. Natsir, a staunch Republican ever since the Republican revolution, has been thrice Minister of Information in previous cabinets. In the Cabinet which Dr. Hatta formed after the transfer of

sovereignty, he was offered a Cabinet post which he declined, saying that some leaders must keep out of government to organise the parties and to maintain contact with the people. An austere personality, Mr. Natsir's advent into leadership might also bring about the re-entry of Dr. Sjahrir into the Cabinet, thus ensuring for the country active guidance of one of its ablest leaders."

Other facts gathered from different sources throw light on the news quoted above. We will watch how the setting-up of a new Ministry dominated over by a communal party will affect Indonesia's world relations. We do not know as yet what connection there is between the Mashumi party and the Dar-ul-Islam party, a frankly aggressive Muslim party, striving to transform Indonesia into a Shariat-ruled State. It had made an armed attempt about six months back; having failed, the party may be giving parliamentary tactics a trial utilizing the Mashumi party, the Muslim party, to advance its own particular ideal. Whatever be the fact, we will wait and see, at the same time trying to keep abreast of impersonal forces acting in Indonesia, a summary of which is given below:

"The most important and influential political party in Indonesia which enjoys the support of the masses to a considerable extent is the Mashumi or Muslim party. Why there should be a Muslim communal party in a country where sixty-five out of a total population of seventy-two millions are Muslims it has been very difficult to ascertain. When the Dutch were in power the Christian community, numbering about one and a half millions and the mixed race of Eurasians, numbering about one million, enjoyed all the patronage and the loaves of office and power. In the commercial field while the Dutch and other foreigners owned mining, plantation and other industries and enjoyed unquestioned monopoly in the export and import trade of the country, the Chinese, numbering two millions control the retail trade. The result of all this must have been to provoke bitterness in the minds of the Muslims who formed more than ninety per cent of the population.

In the struggle against the Dutch during the last two or three years neither the Chinese nor the Eurasians appear to have participated on the side of the Nationalists. There was one occasion recently when a large number of Chinese residents in and around Djakarta were severely dealt with by the local population. Even today the authorities are perplexed by the attitude of the Chinese population. As long as the Chiang Kai-shek regime existed they flew the Chinese Nationalist flag and the moment the Communist Government came into power they have begun flying the Chinese Communist Government's flag. It is not clear whether they want Indonesian citizenship

or remain foreigners in the country where they had lived for generations. The Eurasians too, who have been given some time to decide whether they would elect to take Indonesian citizenship or be regarded as foreigners, have not yet come forward in sufficient numbers and without hesitation to seek Indonesian citizenship. In these circumstances an appeal for unity based on religion might have been thought of by the leaders as a very useful one to bring the bulk of the population under one banner in the struggle for national freedom, and this accounts for the influence of the Mashumi party.

The Communist party has as yet only nuisance value in Indonesia, and does not hesitate to exploit any difficulty confronting the Government with alacrity as in India. At the moment the Communists are busy instigating plantation labour to demand more and more wages and Ministers of the Government are alive to the fact that a progressive labour policy would definitely lessen the hold, if any, of the Communists on the labour population.

The one idea uppermost in the minds of the leaders of Indonesia now is that the present situation in the country should be regarded as a national emergency and every one should concentrate on the twin problems of 'political stability' and 'increased production'."

### *Affairs in East Punjab*

Congress leadership has been finding it difficult to stabilize conditions in this North-Western Frontier Province of Bharat Republic. The disturbing element appears to be the Sikhs with their new conceits and ambitions; and they have been playing a game the intricacies of which we do not claim to understand. The *Delhi Organiser* helps throw a little light on political party grouping. Even Sardar Patel, a consistent friend of the Sikhs if there was one amongst Indian public men, appears to be still arguing with this refractory group.

In view of these goings-on we share with our readers what the *Organizer* reported on a recent issue: "Officially and theoretically the Punjab Legislature is supposed to have only one party—the Congress Party with a few independent members who recently parted company from it. But in actual practice the Punjab legislators have been divided into two distinct 'communal' groups, further sub-divided into six smaller personal groups. The non-Sikh Hindu members of the old Congress Party are divided into Gopi Chand Bhargava and Bhim Sen Sachhar groups; the Sikh Hindu members of the old Congress Party are a group apart with their allegiance divided between Sardar Partap Singh Kairon, a member of Congress Working Committee and Sardar Kapur Singh, the Speaker of the Punjab legislature. The Akali

members who joined the Congress Party after the partition are divided into Giani Kartar Singh group and Udham Singh Nagoke group. The Ministry-making and un-making business that has been going on non-stop in the Punjab since the partition is the result of rapidly changing alignments of these six groups to serve their personal and group interests at the cost of the Province and the people whom they claim to represent and serve.

The realignment of groups which brought Dr. Gopi Chand Bhargava on top seven months ago has undergone some changes during the last two weeks resulting in a further reshuffle in the Cabinet. Giani Kartar Singh, the ministry-maker of the Punjab, whose inclusion in the Cabinet had been earlier vetoed by Sardar Patel when Lala Bhim Sen Sachar, then leader, had asked for it, has now been included in the Cabinet. His inclusion necessitated a similar bait to the rival Nagoke group. So Sardar Ishar Singh Majhail, the leader of the Nagoke Assembly group, has also been included. Thus the Punjab Cabinet now has two Sikh Hindus and four non-Sikh Hindu ministers, including a Harijan. But the group rivalries have resulted in the establishment of a pernicious party formula between Sikh Hindus and 'Caste' Hindus in the Cabinet. So a third Sikh Minister has still to be included. The group politics demands that he should come from among the Congress Sikhs. Of the two Congress Sikhs who can hope to get in, Sardar Partap Singh Kairon is a *persona-non-grata* with Giani Kartar Singh. So he cannot come in. Sardar Kapur Singh who has been Speaker of the Assembly since partition is not sure that a ministership in the unstable Punjab Cabinet would be better than Speakership. So the question of appointment of a third Sikh Minister is still hanging fire. It may become the cause for yet another reshuffle in the near future."

### *Illiteracy and Hunger*

This is the heading of an article in the United Nations Economic, Social and Cultural Organization's bulletin *Courier* published sometime back. The writer is fully aware of the socio-political reactions of these twin enemies of human society. Specially in this age when more than 100 crores of ill-nourished and ignorant people spread through different continents are being educated into a new consciousness of these man-made deprivations of their life. The States of the world appear no less anxious to help solve this problem, and the "British" Commonwealth Plan and President Truman's Point-Four Plan are in a stage incubation. Both these are held up by the war in Korea.

The United Nations E. S. C. Organization is, therefore, the only hope of amelioration of the millions in Africa, Asia, Europe and South America.



And the writer of the article, referred to above, opens it with words that show how urgent the remedy has become: "The connection between learning to read and tending a plot of rice land may seem rather vague—until you sit down at the table of a typical illiterate farmer in Asia. There the tight bond between ignorance and hunger is demonstrated, and much more forcefully than by any column of statistics.

"Multiply this man by hundreds of millions and you have an idea of what education must accomplish in its indirect role as a farm tool. The land of Asia can be made to produce more food, but the men who work it are isolated, by ignorance, from new and improved techniques."

### *New Deputy High Commissioner for Pakistan*

Shri Baidyanath Mukherjee has been appointed Deputy High Commissioner for Eastern Pakistan. We do hope that the caution necessary for the selection of personnel in diplomatic service has been observed in the present case. A wrong selection in diplomatic office may lead a country to grief. Our own experience at Washington, Rio-de-Janeiro, Buenos Ayres or Ankara has not been very pleasant. The office of Deputy High Commissioner at Dacca has assumed great importance specially since the Delhi Pact. The newly appointed Deputy High Commissioner has so far followed an opportunist's role in the political field. His first appearance in politics was to oppose and defeat the Congress candidate from the Indian Planters' Constituency of the Assam Legislature. He joined the Muslim League Ministry of Sir Muhammad Saadullah. As soon as he found that Gopinath Bardoloi was coming to power, immediately he let down his League boss and secured a seat on the Bardoloi Ministry. After the Sylhet plebiscite, when that district was lost to Assam, Shri Mukherjee also lost his seat on the Ministry.

Shri B. Mukherjee has large properties in Pakistan. After the October disturbances in Sylhet, he had left Sylhet. This will be his first return since then.

### *"Pakistan X-Rayed"*

Under this heading Shree Hashoo Kemal Ramani, "a refugee from Western Pakistan," has started to write a series of articles in the *Vigil* (weekly) of Delhi, X-raying men and measures in our neighbouring State cut out of India on the 14th August, 1947. The first article appeared on July 22 last, the second on the 12th of August. In this article we have a poignant picture of Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah in the last year of his life, and the first year of his headship of Pakistan. The revelations made in the Lahore *Pakistan Times* of the last illness of the creator of the State, support the writer's analysis of the situation.

"Cut off from the best elements of Society with whose help alone in a United India he could have given a determined fight to the mad *mullahs* . . . , haunted by his own fears and inhibitions, black-mailed by the extremists in his camp and overwhelmed by the 'revivalist mood' that always dominates a stricken people, the aged Quaid-e-Azam found himself a helpless prisoner in the topsy-turvy world of his own creation."

The writer also explains the nature of the challenge the Quaid-e-Azam was called upon to meet—a challenge to his own "modern, secular way of life." And he gives credit for the gallant but almost hopeless fight. Mr. Jinnah had a play to "the gallery" now and then:

".....he stubbornly refused to countenance the *Mullahs* and *Pirs* endeavouring to dictate their own quixotic version of Islamic Society. There were intrigues afoot to inflame the confused masses on precisely the same slogan—'Islam in Danger'—but in danger from the 'Anglo-Muslim leadership which had usurped the State power to initiate an un-Islamic way of life.' Moulana Shabbir Ahmed.....thwarted by Mr. Jinnah's personality even dubbed him as 'Qatil-i-Azam' meaning 'The Great Killer,' while Moulana Abu-ul-Moudidi, a distinguished divine and scholar, refused to sanction the Kashmir raid as 'Jehad'..... The former is dead, but the latter still continues to be the biggest menace to the Liaquat Ali regime with his Jamiat-ul-Islamia, agitating for a pure *Shariat Hukumat*."

### *"Refugee" Rehabilitation in West Bengal*

We have become so used to hearing outcries and slogans about the failure of "refugee" rehabilitation in West Bengal that we are proud to make room for the following report from a "Staff Reporter" of the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, published in one of its recent issues. Birbhum and Bankura are not the only districts where the people have taken the initiative in organizing measures of rehabilitation; Bongaon in the 24 Pergannahs has a better record, because this sub-division is just across East Bengal and the people, if the reports that have appeared in the *Sanghatani* be true, have accommodated more than 20,000 East Bengal Hindus and set them up on their economic feet.

"This conclusion is arrived at after watching the working of the plan in about 200 villages in the districts of Birbhum and Bankura where barely nineteen days ago the plan was put into execution. During this time 2,600 refugee families comprising 13,000 men, women and children have found asylum and productive employment.

This also augurs well for the success of this plan when its execution is extended to West Bengal's 30,000 villages with the object of resettling nearly 6 lakhs of refugees. In the next four weeks another batch of 40,000 refugees will be sent by Government for resettlement in the rest of the villages of Bankura and Birbhum districts.

Another reassuring factor has been that within a couple of days of their arrival the refugees instead of remaining as burdens became engaged in productive occupations. West Bengal villages suffer from chronic shortage of agricultural labour. A modest estimate places

the area of cultivable land lying fallow for labour shortage at 4 lakh acres in these two districts alone. Besides, a good portion of land under cultivation fails to bring any return to their peasant-owners because of irregularity in the availability of labour from adjoining States. The arrival of these sturdy and efficient farmers from East Bengal has been hailed as a boon, and the villagers have placed under each refugee farmer family ten to twelve bighas of land on the basis of 'bhag chas.' The refugee farmers are already on the fields tending the earth for raising the next crop.

Non-agricultural refugees form about 1 per cent of those who have up till now been moved into these villages. They are mostly barbers, carpenters, blacksmiths, weavers, with a sprinkling of school teachers. Most of them have already started work. A primary school teacher became the object of quarrel among people of two rival villages, each trying to bag him for their respective school. An enterprising barber sat down with his tools soon after detaining and earned rupees three and annas eight in a few hours as the villagers rushed to patronise him and paid him a fancy amount of twelve annas per hair-cut. Washermen among the refugees were literally put on auction and the villagers offered more and more facilities to lure them for settlement in their respective villages, so great is the demand for them.

In order to avoid any additional strain on the village economy the Government provided the refugees when they entrained with cash money at the rate of Rs. 12 per adult and Rs. 6 per minor. Provisions have also been made to extend to each refugee family with a loan of Rs. 500 for purchasing equipment and house construction."

### *Bengalis in Dhalbhum*

Shri Kishori Mohan Upadhyaya, M.L.A. from Dhalbhum and Shri Narayan Chandra Lahiri, Secretary, Ranchi District Congress Committee, have issued the following statement: "The people of Dalbhum nearly five lakhs in number in the district of Singhbhum were experiencing difficulties for some years in matters educational, legal and in some other spheres of life.

The primary difficulty arose out of the efforts for introducing compulsory Hindi both as a medium of instruction in schools and in law courts. The subdivision, being primarily Bengali-speaking, found these measures too hard for practical purposes. They regarded the abrupt introduction of Hindi and the replacement of Bengali as unwarranted and impractical. They held that they would in the fitness of things learn Hindi, being their State language without rigid and official pressure. For the learning of Hindi would not only be obligatory on every Indian but it should be prompted by a sense of pleasure and profit.

These differences between the people and the local officials entrusted with the introducing of Hindi, were gradually getting sharpened, resulting in the growth of bitterness.

We thought that the Revenue Minister, Shri

Krishnaballav Sahay who has intimate knowledge of these places would once visit Dhalbhum and personally acquaint himself with the situation with a view to straighten out the differences and remove the difficulties.

He recently visited Bahargora, Dhalbhum Garh, Chakulia, Patka and Ghatsila, and at all places Congress workers and others had frank and cordial discussions with the Revenue Minister who agreed to place before the Cabinet the demands of the people.

It is heartening to know that the Voters' List for Dhalbhum would now be published in Bengali, thus enabling the people to exercise their franchise without any difficulty. Further, the Revenue Minister agreed that in the primary stages viz., in classes I to III, the medium of instruction should be one's mother tongue. In classes from IV to VII, the medium of instruction would continue to be one's mother tongue, but the student would have to learn Hindi as a compulsory subject. In classes VIII to XI the medium of instruction would be Hindi and one's mother tongue would be taught as a compulsory subject.

The Revenue Minister further suggested that teachers should learn Hindi in due course so that they can equip themselves for imparting lessons in Hindi without importing men from outside.

We find that the old controversy centring round the question of medium of instruction and the need for having Bengali as court language in Dhalbhum have been judiciously met by the decisions arrived at between the peoples' representatives and the Revenue Minister.

We hope the agreed decisions would now leave no cause for controversy or complaints so far the people of Dhalbhum are concerned."

### *Earthquake in Assam*

A disaster of incalculable proportion has overtaken Assam in the shape of an earthquake which was first felt almost all over India on the 15th August last. Guesses of loss of life and property are being made, and every day news since then has been recording mounting figures. We can only accept this natural disaster as part of the world scheme which humans have not as yet been able to understand or control.

We are old enough to remember the earthquake of 12th June 1897 which laid low Shillong, the capital of Assam, damaged the countryside at the foot of the hills, blocked and diverted river courses. The present damages appear to be greater than the last occasion's and more widespread in their sweep. Relief measures on the present occasion have been more quickly rushed into the affected areas owing to modern science's inventions and discoveries. But however generous, these cannot expect to be adequate to the situation. In this crisis in her life the sympathy of all in India will go forth to Assam.

We are, however, more concerned with the future of the Province when its face has been defaced and

her Brahmaputra has suffered transformations that would affect adversely every department of her life. These have to be accepted. But we have to seek elements of healing implicit in every natural disaster. For that we may have to wait for months.

### *Hirakud Dam*

Oriyas have been building their hopes of material improvement on the completion of the Hirakud Dam. The floods that carry disaster to Orissa will be controlled by it, and fertility spread over the province in the wake of these waters. The young Premier of Orissa made special mention of its utility in course of his first speech to the Legislature as head of the new Ministry. He appeared to have taken special credit for the Congress for the Dam idea. But that "candid" friend of the Ministry, *New Orissa*, has challenged the claim and gave an account which ante-dates the idea by many years. "It was, we think, in 1925 that Prof. Batheja of Ravenshaw College presiding over the All-Orissa Students' Conference, first mooted the idea of damming the Mahanadi up at Sambalpur to store surplus water during the rains which causes flood havoc in Orissa plains every year. That was, we think, the beginning of the idea. When Gandhiji during his Harijan foot-march in 1934 in Orissa took up the question of floods, Sir Visweswaraya suggested the damming of Mahanadi where it emerges out of the narrow mountainous gorge. The Mahatma discussed the question along with this suggestion with M. Peary Ceresole, the famous Swiss Engineer. Subsequently the question was taken up by the British Government in India. On November 8, 1945—then all the Congress leaders were in jail, and the Congress was an unlawful organisation—a conference of representatives of Orissa, Orissa States, and Central Provinces was held at Cuttack under the chairmanship of Dr. Bhim Rao Ambedkar, then an Executive Councillor in charge of Labour and it was unanimously agreed that the potentialities of the Mahanadi river for unified multi-purpose development, i.e., for flood control, irrigation, navigation and hydro-electric power, should be thoroughly and expeditiously investigated. Subsequently Sir Hawthorne-Lewis, the Governor, ruling over Orissa under Section 93 regime laid the foundation stone of Hirakud. And if there be any credit for it, it goes to Mr. Gokhale, his Adviser."

Apart from this purely historical issue, the credit for the materialisation of the scheme and its initiation on a comprehensive scale, goes to the Congress Ministry of Sri Harekrishna Mahatab and his associates, without doubt.

### *Pachaiyappa's Charities*

The 106th anniversary of the foundation of the Pachaiyappa's Charities in Madras was celebrated a

few months back. But as its history has a permanent interest in the annals of modern India, it can never be old, and is worth re-telling in North India specially. It is in line with the Mohsin Foundation that has advanced Muslim education in Bengal.

Pachaiyappa Mudaliar was born at Conjeevaram in 1754, under circumstances which could not be considered by any means to be affluent. He was a posthumous child. His mother moved over to Madras, and sought the protection of Powney Narayana Pillai, a wealthy Dubash of the time. Much of the success of Pachaiyappa's later career, he owed to this kind-hearted and benevolent gentleman who not only educated him, but also settled him as a commercial agent in Madras. By his fortieth year, Pachaiyappa had amassed a big fortune. He died in 1794, dedicating all his wealth to the worship of Siva and Vishnu, to certain religious charities at various temples and places of pilgrimage, and to educational purposes in different localities. The trustees availed themselves of the last of the above objectives to start an educational institution, now developed into the Pachaiyappa's College which can challenge comparison with any in India. It was a pioneer.

The vast estates left behind by Pachaiyappa were not properly administered immediately after his death. Some law-suits had to be instituted to recover certain amounts, and also to prevent them from being misspent. George Norton who was the Advocate-General in 1841 was responsible for getting passed in that year (i.e., 47 years after the death of Pachaiyappa) a scheme under which a sum of nearly 4½ lakhs was set apart for the establishment and maintenance of educational institutions.

### *The Third Year in West Bengal*

Through the courtesy of West Bengal's Director of Publicity we have received a record of the Government's activities during the third year of independence. There is nothing to enthuse over the record and its writer has not been able to dramatize the developments that have caught West Bengal and made her the "problem" Province of the Indian Union, not that there had not been intensely human dramas in our midst. We know that the people have not been all supine; they have undertaken their own good on their own initiative; their activities would give a truer picture of West Bengal as she is.

### *Indian Revolutionaries Abroad*

A Delhi news-item of August 13 announced the decision of a non-official organization to publish a record of the Indian revolutionaries who for about half a century contributed towards bringing freedom to their motherland from abroad. We miss from the tentative list of helpers the name of Dr. Tarak Nath Das of New York



who is an outstanding figure amongst these revolutionary patriots. The following announcement will be found interesting: "A number of Indian revolutionaries have undertaken this gigantic piece of work which is expected to take over three years to be completed. They are: Sri T-ailokynath Chakravarti (Anusilan Party), Pandit Jagat Ram (Ghadar Party), Pandit Parmanand of Jhansi (Ghadar Party), Dr. Pandurang Khankojé (Ghadar Party), Raja Mahendra Pratap (World Federation), Sri M. P. T. Acharya (Berlin and Kabul Committees), General Mohar Singh (I.N.A.), General J. K. Bhonsle (I.N.A.), Col. P. S. Raju (I.N.A.), Seth Govind Das, M.P., Dr. Lanka Sundaram (Editor).

So far only scrappy information is available about the individual struggle of Indian revolutionaries abroad. The projected publication is intended to build into the authentic account of India's internal fight for freedom and similar efforts in Europe, the Americas and the Far East, by patriots who preferred to remain and even perish in exile.

The public have been invited to send to Dr. Lanka Sundaram, Editor-in-Chief, Indian Revolutionaries Abroad Commemoration Committee, Prabhudayal Building, Can-naught Circus, New Delhi, information anecdotes, documents, pictures, etc., dealing with the activities of Indian revolutionaries abroad."

### *Conduct of a Newspaper*

"In judging the conduct of a newspaper editor, a Court of law cannot weigh the material too finely in the balance and has to excuse a little exaggeration here or a small inuendo there,"—thus observed Justice Sarjoo Prasad of Patna High Court while quashing criminal proceedings against Shri D. Shastri and Shri Sheemangal Prakash, Chief Editor and Editor, respectively of the Hindi daily *Navarashtra* of Patna.

"Newspapers," His Lordship added, "are like the proverbial watch-dogs of national interests and public welfare. They may sometimes have to bark even on false alarm but the alarm must be there."

The criminal proceedings had been brought by the manager of the Central Co-operative Bank of Begusarai against the petitioners and Mr. Mulchand Agarwal, Chief Editor of the *Vishwamitra* and Mr. Jagat Narain Agarwal, the common Begusarai correspondent of the two papers, for publishing a report that the stockists of about three thousand maunds of 'arwa' rice in Begusarai had brought the officers of the local Price Control Department under the influence and were deliberately trying to delay its distribution, to have the stock declared unfit for human consumption and to secure permission eventually for its free sale in the market.

Mr. Justice Prasad observed: "A newspaper has a public duty to ventilate abuses and, if an official fails in the discharge of his duties, a newspaper would be absolutely within its rights in publishing news-items

even derogatory to such official. But it must be said at the same time that the editor or publisher of the newspaper must get hold of probable facts."

Mr. Prasad said, "He should be watchful not to publish defamatory attacks upon individuals, unless he has taken reasonable pains to ascertain that there are good grounds for believing the information sent to him to be true, in other words he must act with due care and attention."

"In this case," his lordship said, "there did not appear to be any reason why the petitioners should not have relied upon the correspondent concerned. But from the circumstances disclosed on the admitted material there is nothing to indicate that the petitioners have not acted with due care and attention. Therefore, even if the publication was defamatory, there was no want of good faith on the part of these petitioners."

### *Gopinath Bardoloi*

The death of Assam's Premier, Gopinath Bardoloi, at his 59th year, creates a loss which it will take years to make up. For 30 years since the emergence of Gandhiji into the leadership of the country, Gopinath has been struggling for the freedom of his country and has suffered losses in her cause second to none in Assam. He was a lawyer when he joined the Non-cooperation Movement; his elders were Tarunram Phukan and Nabin Chandra Bardoloi under whose lead Assam came to a new realization of her place in India.

Nabin Chandra died untimely; Tarunram joined the "Swaraj Party" formed by Chittaranjan Das, Matilal Nehru, Vithalbhair Patel and Narsimha Chintamani Kelkar. Gopinath remained to lead the "faithfuls." It was a trial of strength between two schools of political thought, and it tested Gopinath. There were men stronger in political ability than he in Assam's public life—Mohammad Saadulla, Rohini Kumar Chaudhuri, Bishnuram Medhi for instance. The first-named was an incorrigible Muslim Leaguer; the second has been fitful in politics; the third is Gopinath's successor in Assam.

But there had been something in Gopinath that made him the obvious choice as leader of the Congress Parliamentary Party in Assam when the chance came for it to accept the Ministry in 1937. It went into the wilderness in October-November, 1939, and returned with renewed strength in 1946. Since then Assam has been passing through strains the chiefest of which came from the British Cabinet Mission's "Grouping" Plan. Public opinion in India *minus* that represented by the Muslim League repudiated the idea, and Assam was saved. There are other difficulties in the way, the most important of which is the multi-cultural constitution of Assam. It requires no little skill to keep satisfied all these desperate elements,

with Indian authorities. I ascertained that India would be prepared to consider a settlement on the lines suggested and had in mind certain principles which might be applied. My information included also the manner in which India would be disposed to apply the principles in defining the plebiscite area and otherwise.

"Having learned so much I came to Karachi for the purpose of obtaining the consideration of the Pakistan authorities of a proposal that a conference of the two Prime Ministers should be held, to deal with the matter. The subject to be discussed at the meeting would be the possibility of settling the Kashmir dispute by an agreement for the partition of the larger part of the State and by a plebiscite limited to the residue.

"I found, however, that the Government of Pakistan continued to stand upon the agreed resolutions of the United Nations Commission specifying an overall plebiscite as the manner of settlement. They were unwilling to enter upon a conference which had for its purpose the discussion of a possibility of settling the matter by partition and a limited plebiscite.

"Even if otherwise it might have been possible to arrange an out and out partition without any plebiscite, it was evident that both parties would in that event insist upon having the valley of Kashmir. This fact I expressly confirmed with both parties. Neither Prime Minister considered that any purpose would be served by another meeting.

"At this stage it looked as if I had exhausted the possibilities of securing a negotiated settlement between them, at all events for the present. But I offered finally to prepare a plan for the settlement of the dispute representing the solution which in my judgment should now be adopted by the parties. I offered to summon a conference at which I would produce this plan for their acceptance or rejection. I did not, of course, exclude the possibility of modifications or alterations by the agreement of the parties.

"In the course of the discussions or negotiations which followed this suggestion, I considered it necessary to disclose some matters which, in my opinion formed essential elements in the intended plan lest they might be found insuperable objections when the proposed conference met. Obviously no purpose could be served in calling a conference that was bound to fail. As to the alternative character of the plan I assured Pakistan that by coming to such a conference, she would not be considered as prejudicing her primary position.

"In the result, however, it became futile to call a further conference. With reference to one matter the view that I adopted and that upon which India too differed so much that I dropped the proposal to produce plan of my own. Nothing remained for me to do. Indeed, as I understood both Prime Ministers even before I made the last proposal, they were unable to suggest anything further that I could usefully do towards bringing about agreement.

"I shall, of course, report to the Security Council.

It only remains for me to say that during the period of my work in this sub-continent, I have been treated with the greatest courtesy, consideration and kindness by the Government of India and of Pakistan and also by the people. Greatly as this has contributed to the ease, not to say the comfort, with which I have been able to pursue my duties, there is one thing which would have been of greater value. But that the Governments found themselves unable to do. I refer to the formulation by the respective Governments themselves of plans or measures or proposals for the settlement of the dispute between them. From first to last the burden of formulating plans or proposals has rested upon me. Notwithstanding this I am unwilling to suppose that after all the examination which the problem has received the Governments will be unable to resolve it by negotiation. I trust that they will."

### *Liaquat Ali's Statement*

Pakistan's Prime Minister, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan declared in a Press Conference on August 23 that India was responsible for the failure of the United Nations Kashmir Mediator Sir Owen Dixon's mission.

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said, that a heavy responsibility now rested on the Security Council and added: "The Security Council must face facts and ensure that International Agreements are respected and carried out."

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said, the failure of Sir Owen's mission was "not due to any lack of effort on his part, or due to want of co-operation on the part of Pakistan. I share his regret that his efforts were not successful."

The responsibility for Sir Owen's failure "lies squarely on the shoulders of India." Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan added, "The Government of India refused to agree to a programme of demilitarisation which is a necessary prerequisite for a free and impartial plebiscite and, indeed, for any peaceful solution of the Kashmir question."

Pakistan's stand with regard to Kashmir throughout the three-year-old dispute had been "crystal clear and remains unchanged," he said. "Our constant endeavour has been to ensure the creation of conditions in the State of Jammu and Kashmir under which its people would be enabled to decide, free from all pressure and intimidation," whether the State should accede to Pakistan or to India.

"Pakistan's stand was accepted by the United Nations and the principle of a free and impartial plebiscite was embodied in the resolutions of the United Nations Commission of 13th August 1948, and 5th January, 1949, which have been accepted by both India and Pakistan and endorsed by the Security Council.

"Taken together, these resolutions provide for a cease-fire and demilitarisation of the State, preparatory to the holding of a plebiscite. In pursuance of these resolutions, fighting stopped on 1st January 1949, the cease-fire line was demarcated, and Pakistan was able to persuade the tribesmen and Pakistani volunteers, who had gone to the aid of their persecuted brethren in Kashmir, to withdraw. Pakistan was also prepared to withdraw its

forces from Kashmir provided the Indian forces were withdrawn in accordance with the agreed settlement. The sole reason why the State has not been demilitarised is India's refusal to withdraw her forces. India also sought to jump the cease-fire line by demanding control over the northern areas.

"After the Commission had exhausted its efforts at mediation, and its arbitration proposal, which had been supported by President Truman and Mr. Attlee and accepted by Pakistan, had been turned down by India, the Security Council asked its President, General MacNaughton, to mediate between the Parties. General MacNaughton's proposals of 22nd December 1949, were accepted by Pakistan but not by India. Lengthy debates in the Security Council ensued before the Council adopted its resolution of 14th March, 1950, which was accepted by both Parties and which Sir Owen Dixon characterised as his 'directive'.

"The Security Council's resolution took into account the substantial measure of agreement on fundamental principles as embodied in the two resolutions of U.N.C.I.P., and Sir Owen Dixon was appointed United Nations Representative to assist the Parties in the preparation, and to supervise the implementation, of a programme of demilitarisation. It also authorised the U.N. Representative to place before the Parties any suggestion which, in his opinion, was likely to contribute to the expeditious and enduring solution of the dispute.

"Sir Owen Dixon's primary task, therefore, was to ensure the implementation of the Security Council's resolution. I readily accepted his invitation to meet him and the Prime Minister of India in Delhi for this purpose. All possible aspects of the Kashmir case were examined during our 17 hours' long discussions. Throughout this Conference, I was ready to fulfil all our obligations in letter and in spirit.

"I was prepared to agree to concrete proposals for withdrawal of the Pakistan army and reduction of the Azad Kashmir forces, provided India was willing to do likewise with regard to its own forces, the Maharaja's forces and the militia. I regret to say that India showed no desire to carry out a programme of demilitarisation and to release its military grip on Kashmir. Not content with obstructing the demilitarisation of the State, the Prime Minister of India put forward demands with regard to the northern areas and the administration of Azad Kashmir, which were not only unreasonable in themselves but were contrary to the agreed settlement. In these circumstances, I agreed with Sir Owen Dixon that no useful purpose would be served by continuing the discussions in Delhi.

"Sir Owen Dixon stayed on in Delhi for further discussions with the Indian representatives. He came to Karachi on August 2 and expressed a desire to explore the possibilities of a settlement. The suggestion which Sir Owen Dixon had chiefly in mind was a plebiscite in the Kashmir Valley and partition of the rest of the State between India and Pakistan. We were given to understand that a resolution on these lines would be

acceptable to the Government of India. We told Sir Owen that Pakistan stood firmly by its position under the agreed resolutions of the 13th August, 1948, the 5th January, 1949, and the 14th March 1950, namely that the question whether the State of Jammu and Kashmir should accede to Pakistan or to India must be decided by a free and impartial plebiscite. We also expressed the view that the Indian move towards alternative solutions was solely designed to enable India to get out of its commitment for an overall plebiscite, and that there was no alternative scheme which could provide a fair, just and democratic settlement of the Kashmir dispute.

"Sir Owen fully appreciated our stand but felt that he would not have fully discharged his function as a U.N. Representative until he had exhausted all possible methods of a peaceful settlement. He, therefore, tried to explore the possibility of a scheme of partition combined with plebiscite in a limited area serving as a basis for discussion. But he soon found that India had no intention of agreeing to a free and impartial plebiscite even in a limited area.

"Apparently, India is not willing to risk a free and impartial plebiscite even in an area where it claims to have the largest measure of support of the local population unless Indian troops are in control, an Indian-sponsored administration is in charge and Pakistan is denied access to the plebiscite area.

"Now that the U.N. Representative has found that there is no possibility of agreement on any alternative solution, this must bring everyone back to the only solution on which there is an international agreement, namely, plebiscite in the whole State of Jammu and Kashmir to decide its accession to Pakistan or to India. The world must now recognise that there is no obstacle in the way of an overall plebiscite except India's refusal to honour its commitments under a solemn international agreement.

*"Peaceful methods of securing this objective—negotiation, mediation, consultation, proposal for arbitration—have so far led nowhere. The occupation of Kashmir by Indian troops in support of the tottering tyranny of the Hindu Maharaja over a Muslim State against the will of its people was an act of aggression. This was clearly designed to bring about the encirclement and economic strangulation of Pakistan. The refusal of India to withdraw its troops in defiance of the Security Council's resolution is a challenge to the United Nations. A very heavy responsibility rests upon the Security Council. The Security Council must face facts and ensure that international agreements are respected and carried out. The Government and people of Pakistan will not rest until Kashmir is liberated and will determine their future, according to their own wishes."*

Asked what would be the effect of the breakdown of the present series of Kashmir talks on the Indo-Pakistan relations, the Prime Minister said, "I have always held, and given public expression to this view, that real friendship between India and Pakistan is not possible so long as the Kashmir question is not settled justly and fairly."



His reply to a related question whether he foresaw any deterioration of Indo-Pakistan relations as a result of the infructuous Kashmir talks was: "So far as we are concerned we look to each problem separately, and if we have entered into any commitments, we, as men of honour, will carry out those commitments to the best of our ability."

### *Pandit Nehru's Reply*

The Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, said at a Press Conference on August 24 that with the failure of the mission of the U.N. Mediator on Kashmir, Sir Owen Dixon, "We go back to where we started from."

*"If we are up against a blank wall in regard to a plebiscite," said Pandit Nehru, "it is because every time Pakistan warns by pressure to create conditions of special advantage to itself in regard to a plebiscite."*

Pandit Nehru, answering questions, said: "The business of Kashmir gets curiouser and curiouser. I do not know how many of you are acquainted with Alice's Wonderland. In Alice's looking-glass, everything becomes gradually inverted and loses its natural shape and appears in a different form altogether. It seems to me, looking back over this Kashmir episode during the last two and half years, that all kinds of attempts are made to leave the real world behind and look at it through some looking-glass where everything is inverted.

*"We said to Sir Owen Dixon, 'There has been a tendency on the part of Pakistan not to commit itself to anything but ask the other party to make various commitments and take advantage of anything said on the other side.' So what is the use of our discussing anything unless any proposal that you put forward is accepted by Pakistan as a matter worthy of discussion at least in its broad aspects, apart from its details or final commitments?"*

"Sir Owen Dixon went back to Karachi and we were informed by him that Pakistan rejected this completely and refused to commit itself even to the idea of considering it in that context because they thought that might weaken their position.

"Nevertheless, he said that Pakistan was prepared to talk about it. We pointed out to Sir Owen Dixon that that was a very unsatisfactory state of affairs. Then he indicated certain other conditions that he had in mind in regard to his proposal for a partial plebiscite.

"The major condition was an astounding transfer of the present Government of Kashmir to a United Nations' authority.

"I confess that that took us completely by surprise, because in the course of the last two and a half years or more, no such proposal had been made at all and had it been made, it would have got short shrift from us at any time. It struck us as an astounding proposal from any point of view, so we said that we could not possibly consider it and that was the end of that proposal.

"So Sir Owen Dixon came to the conclusion after four or five days' talks that an overall plebiscite was not possible and then, exploring the possibilities on a partial

plebiscite, he came to the conclusion that in the present context that too was not possible. So we go back to where we started from."

"Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan," said Pandit Nehru, "had laid stress on two resolutions of the United Nations Kashmir Commission dated August 13, 1948 and January 5, 1949. Both resolutions were accepted by India after certain correspondence with the Commission and on the basis of certain elucidations given by the Commission. We stand by them completely today," Pandit Nehru added.

"Our point is that the various new proposals that have been made are contrary to those very resolutions as elucidated to us. To give you one instance, we laid the greatest stress throughout on the sovereignty of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir over the whole State, including that part of the State which happens to be occupied by Pakistan forces.

"That was agreed to. In fact the Plebiscite Administrator who was to be appointed was to be appointed by the Kashmir State Government and was to report to them, apart from reporting to the Commission.

"Now to be told that the Government itself, which was supposed to appoint and receive the report and all that, is to go and the Plebiscite Administrator becomes the Government and reports to himself, seems rather odd and rather an Alice in the Wonderland business."

In fact, said Pandit Nehru, every single thing that was agreed to by the Commission was sought to be reopened.

In the very first major resolution the Commission said that Pakistan had created a new situation by the fact of their sending troops to Kashmir. It was indeed a very new situation which was created and, therefore, Pakistan had to withdraw them.

Pakistan had committed aggression and must go back before any other step was taken. Therefore, the Commission decided that Pakistan troops had to go and other Pakistan nationals and auxiliaries and tribal forces had to go.

The Commission was told that Pakistan nationals, auxiliaries and tribal forces had gone and Pakistan regular forces were actually going away.

Then the Commission said that India should reduce the number of her troops here because the necessity for such numbers had become less.

"There is not much for me to say about Sir Owen Dixon's statement. For a long time past there has been agreement on the question of holding an overall plebiscite, the idea of which, it is well to remember, originated from India.

"Now, while the plebiscite idea has been accepted all round, we have got jammed in the past year or more over the conditions that should precede the plebiscite.

"There was the question of the disbandment of the Azad Kashmir forces, the question of the northern areas and the question of demilitarisation.

"There was no agreement on that and as a result of four days' talk with Sir Owen Dixon, the old disagreements on those issues continued. Then Sir Owen

Dixon came to the conclusion that it was not worthwhile pursuing any further his idea of an overall plebiscite and the matter practically ended there.

"Later he made a general suggestion to us, 'Would you be prepared to explore other avenues?' We said, 'Certainly we are prepared to explore any avenue which might lead to a settlement.' It was not a definite proposal but just vaguely he put forward the proposal for a partial plebiscite. We said, 'We do not like it and it can be criticised in many ways but we are prepared to consider it in case it might offer some solution.' But we said further that we could not consider it even broadly unless Pakistan was also prepared to consider it in the same way."

"Observe the argument. At no time was it suggested that the question of Pakistan's withdrawal of her troops and our withdrawal was on the same level. It was recognised that the defence of Kashmir was our responsibility. It was recognised that there was aggression and there was the danger of aggression and we should not leave the door of Kashmir open to aggression. It was admitted that the number of Indian troops to be left in Kashmir must be looked upon from the security point of view.

"These were certain admitted facts on which we were proceeding all along. Then the difficulty arose about disbandment and disarming of the Azad Kashmir forces."

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, said Pandit Nehru, was "completely wrong" when he said that India was trying to go back on something she had agreed to.

"There was nothing that we have agreed to in the course of our talks in the last two or three years—if we agreed to much that normally we would never have agreed to, we agreed to it because of our great desire for a peaceful settlement—that we are not prepared to honour.

"But we have made it perfectly clear right from the beginning of this Kashmir story that we are not going to accept anything which is harmful to Kashmir, which is against our pledges and which is derogatory to the dignity of India.

*"That position holds. We have said that whatever may happen, it is the people of Kashmir who are going to decide their future. I mentioned this Alice in the Wonderland business. The aggressor comes. For the sake of peace we go on agreeing to one step after another, gradually the aggressor wants equality with us in everything and going a step further, the aggressor wants predominance in everything. It is an astounding position from any point of view of national or international law. I cannot conceive of any Government of India—I am not speaking for myself for the moment but any Government of India that may exist now or later—agreeing to the type of proposals that have been put forward for pushing out the present Government of Kashmir just to please Pakistan."*

The present Government of Kashmir, said Pandit Nehru, was not put down there from the air. They represented the popular organisation and remained there because of their own strength and not because of legal sanctions alone.

"Undoubtedly we agreed to their functioning there two and a half years ago, but undoubtedly also we agreed because they represented a solid fact."

He was not aware of any Government anywhere, unless they were in a state of disruption, which would accept a proposal for handing over all the Governmental functions to a plebiscite administration or commission during the period of the plebiscite, which might be six months or thereabouts. The Government of India were not in a state of disruption and they did not propose to accept any proposal which was not only so contrary to their dignity and the facts of the situation and went against everything that had been agreed to in the last two years, but was bound to lead to all kinds of trouble because it was so patently a proposal for the appeasement of the aggressor. *Any such proposal meant an open declaration that 'you want the aggressor to succeed'* with all the psychological and other consequences. One did not go about changing Governments in order to ensure fair elections.

"If you do that, you do the very reverse and come in the way of a fair plebiscite. You create conditions which make the plebiscite unfair and unreal. You can very well imagine the kind of advantage Pakistan will get. They will say, 'We have kicked out India,' and the whole atmosphere will be changed. If you want to find out one thing which will make this plebiscite completely unfair, completely artificial and completely unreal, give effect to this proposal to change the Government. That is why I refer to this Alice in the Wonderland business. Everything is upside down. Proposals are made to bring about a fair plebiscite which make it more unfair than it could possibly be otherwise."

"Every time, we have said, have any kind of supervision you like. Bring in a hundred or a thousand observers and make them sit in every corner, every cross-road and every polling booth, wherever you like. But this business of the observer becoming the Government and what is implied in it is another thing. We have talked of the Indian Army in reduced numbers being in Kashmir for security purposes. Now the new Government of the day may not want to tolerate any Indian Army or State Army or State militia. I am not quite sure whether it will tolerate even a policeman. It is a complete uprooting of everything. Why? Because we must have a fair plebiscite. It seems to me really an extraordinarily illogical approach to this question. So far as the Government of India are concerned, it is absolutely impossible for them to accept it, whatever the consequences. There the matter ends."

Proceeding, Pandit Nehru said, "If an overall plebiscite, according to Sir Owen Dixon, is impossible—and may I add that not only because we did not come to an agreement but for a variety of other reasons Sir Owen himself did not think it a very feasible proposition—and if a partial plebiscite is ruled out, then where are we? *We start from the beginning and I think it is about time we started from the beginning and went back to some fundamental realities. There has been too much of proceeding along what I consider wrong premises.*

"If you start on wrong premises, they lead to wrong conclusions. So I hope that we will remove some of the cobwebs in our thinking in regard to Kashmir, clarify the situation and consider it as it is and not as something which we imagine it should be."

Pandit Nehru said that right from the beginning, *"Our trouble has been the avoidance by the Security Council of considering this very basic question (who is the aggressor). After all, we are accusing Pakistan of aggression, our original complaint. It is a straightforward issue."*

"You remember we simply asked the Security Council to tell Pakistan not to help the raiders. It was a very simple request. Either our facts were correct or they were not. If they were correct, then the logical consequence followed. We made no proposal for doing anything injurious to Pakistan. All we asked for was 'please ask Pakistan not to help the raiders. Not to aid and abet them.'"

"Pakistan continued to help the raiders. Then the Security Council passed a resolution calling upon both parties as far as possible not to do anything to worsen the situation. That was in the beginning of 1948. We went on telling the Security Council of this continuing aggression. We complained to the Security Council and to the Pakistan Government that we had evidence that Pakistan troops were also there. Pakistan denied it stoutly and the Pakistan newspapers expressed anger at India's statement that Pakistan troops were in Kashmir. But we had some Pakistan prisoners and war material and denial was very extraordinary."

"Then the Commission came round about May, 1948 and wanted to go to the area of military operations. It obviously became impossible to hide the fact as to who was fighting whom. Then in the middle of 1948 it was admitted privately to the Commission by the Pakistan authorities that they had got Pakistan regular armed forces in Kashmir. Of course, they said they were there to protect themselves against an invasion of Pakistan through the mountain passes of Kashmir. It would have been easier to send our armies to Tibet and Central Asia and come down on Pakistan through the Karakorum Pass. Anyway, Pakistan admitted something which even 24 hours earlier they violently denied to us."

"Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan said yesterday that we have committed aggression in Kashmir. I am perfectly prepared for that case to be considered on its merits from every point of view, practical, legal and constitutional or any other. It is because that point was not considered that all this trouble has arisen. It seems to me that when the matter goes to the Security Council, they should consider it from that basic point of view."

"If we come up against a blank wall in regard to a plebiscite," said Pandit Nehru, "it is because every time Pakistan wants by pressure to create conditions of special advantage to itself in regard to a plebiscite." If Sir Owen Dixon's proposal to push out the Kashmir Government and the Government of India was accepted, it would mean 90 per cent of the victory for Pakistan, quite apart from the plebiscite.

"So far as we are concerned," Pandit Nehru went on, "even apart from our pledge previously, our whole method in regard to Kashmir is that the people of Kashmir will have to decide their destiny. They are doing many things there which they think fit and proper. Sometimes we may not agree with them, but we allow them to do it, because it is an autonomous Government co-operating with us in regard to certain subjects and conferring with us on other subjects and we cannot question them in their day-to-day administration."

In accepting a plebiscite, said Pandit Nehru, India had always made it clear that while the United Nations should come and see that the plebiscite was fair, they could not interfere in any way. Another point was that the plebiscite area should be left to decide for itself and no outsider either from India or Pakistan should come and interfere at the time.

"We are quite prepared to keep out of it completely," said Pandit Nehru, "and we have said that Pakistan should certainly keep out of it too."

"We laid the greatest stress on this because we wanted to avoid this plebiscite being utilised for communal propaganda and communal rioting. There will be no decision on merits in that case. We want that propaganda should be completely free in regard to the future of Kashmir but it should not be carried on a religious basis. Let it be on a political or economic basis or any other basis, but a religious appeal should not be made because that will lead immediately to trouble and that will not be a real decision. Let no man or woman from outside the plebiscite area, whether from India or Pakistan, go there during the period of the plebiscite."

Question: Sir Owen Dixon has said that from first to last, the burden of formulating plans or proposals rested on him. Why was that so?

Pandit Nehru: That was almost inevitable in the circumstances because, for one thing, for two and half years all kinds of proposals had been put forward and the matter had been thrashed repeatedly from every point of view. *Another difficulty was that Pakistan would not say a word. If we made any type of proposal, they seized hold of that part of it that was favourable to them, objected to the rest and made the favourable portion their jumping off ground. They wanted commitments from the other side, leaving themselves completely free.*

Answering another question, Pandit Nehru said: "I put the blame hundred per cent on Pakistan for the whole Kashmir trouble."

Pandit Nehru declared: "In spite of the failure of Sir Owen Dixon's mission, we have no intention on our part to indulge in military operations. We still want to settle the question peacefully. Of course, if we are attacked it is a different matter."

Pandit Nehru said that the Government of India would not allow the failure of Sir Owen Dixon's mission to affect other Indo-Pakistan issues. "We are going to deal with other issues on merit and shall try our best to come to a settlement," he said.



# GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

## The Superman Come to Life

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"Bernard Shaw is an old man who is still young; in an age when the young men are most of them very old. There is a real score for his negative eccentricities, when we can still see him making merry over cold water and cabbages, while men who might be his grandsons or great-grandsons are making themselves miserable over cocktails and champagne. . . . Hope, hearty conviction, the fighting spirit—these are things not so abounding among the youth of our time, that we can fail to salute them in the chief literary veteran of the age."

—The late Mr. G. K. CHESTERTON : *George Bernard Shaw*.

THE above, it will be seen, is mighty praise, indeed: thus does royalty salute royalty. It is an intensely moving tribute from one celebrity to another.

"When the high heart we magnify,  
And the sure vision celebrate,  
And worship greatness passing by,  
Ourselves are great."

Alas, Mr. Chesterton is no more. We could have ill-spared him in an age of small men. There was (God be thanked!) nothing small about him. He was Falstaffian in nearly every sense of the term. There was a largeness, a magnificence, even about his chivalry. Did he not, for instance, once boast that he had vacated his seat in a tram for *three* ladies? And to recollect that the arch-reviler of the French Revolution should have been impelled to make such a "to-do" about "the age of chivalry being gone"! It must, to be sure, have disappeared *now*—with the disappearance, from our midst, of Gilbert Keith Chesterton. English Letters lost decidedly their most brilliant figure when, a decade or so ago, tiring of a mean world, a world incessantly given to cheese-paring, to counting its candle-ends (literally as well as metaphorically), he was in a desperate hurry to leave us—doubtless to commune with kindred souls in a more spacious universe.

G. K. C. AND G. B. S.

I have brought in the name of G. K. C.—with *malice prepense*. There has never been anyone who was a fitter antagonist of Mr. Bernard Shaw, a foeman worthier of his steel, than he. G. K. C. was G. B. S.'s real foil: they were as strophe and anti-strophe. They met on the battle-field "like two clouds over the Caspian." Many were the intellectual bouts between these two giants; and I consider it a great good fortune that it fell to my lot to be a keenly interested spectator at not a few of them. We all (I trust) remember those celebrated combats in the Mermaid tavern between Shakespeare and glorious "Ben," as reported by Thomas Fuller:

"Many were the wit-combats between Shakespeare and Ben Jonson which two I behold like a Spanish great galleon and an English man-of-war. Master Jonson, like the former, was built far higher in learning, solid but slow in his performance. Shakespeare, like the English man-of-war, lesser in bulk, but higher in sailing, could turn with all tides, tack about, and take advantage of all winds, by the quickness of his wit and invention."

Only, in my humble opinion, it was—notwithstanding his merely physical resemblance to a buxom Spanish galleon—G. K. C. who was the nimbler-witted of the two, and so "could turn with all tides, tack about, and take advantage of all winds." It was superb fun to watch these two wily disputants—both carrying great guns of wit and learning—going at each other like two heavy-weights in the boxing-ring.

MY PARTIALITY FOR G. K. C.

More often than not I found myself sharing Mr. Shaw's views on men and affairs but, if the truth is to be told, my heart was nearly always with Mr. Chesterton. Chesterton, to be perfectly candid, had one foible which not seldom set at naught his wonderful gift of repartee. He could (let it be said *sotto voce*!) be tiresome with his too, too, strident advocacy of his beloved Middle Ages—his special preserve, so to speak. But, loving the man as I did, and feeling in my bones, as it were, that, in *sheer* brain-power, he was the undoubted superior, I felt impelled to side with him rather than with Mr. Shaw, whose brain-power, needless to say, was nothing to be sneezed at, either. It may be that I was wrong in thus being partial to Mr. Chesterton. And it may be also that, having no brain-power of my own worth speaking of, I should not have had the presumption to set myself up as an infallible judge, or umpire, as between two such redoubtable opponents. But, then, the wind bloweth where it listeth, and there are some things that simply cannot be helped: some things in which, as Lowell said, we believe more than we can give a reason for. Did not Andrew Lang observe long ago:

"Each of us has an author who is a favourite, a friend, an idol, whose immaculate perfection he maintains against all comers. For example, things are urged against Scott: I receive them in the attitude of the deaf adder of St. Augustine, who stops one ear with his tail and presses the other against the dust. The same with Moliere! M. Scherer utters complaints against Moliere! He would not convince me even if I were convinced."  
—*Essays in Little*.

G. K. C.'s BOOK ON G. B. S.

There is no need for anyone to remind me that this is supposed to be an article on Bernard Shaw, not on Gilbert Chesterton. I shall bear it in mind at

reasonable intervals, as the Master himself suavely retorted in his scintillating monograph on Mr. Shaw. Chesterton on Shaw! A Daniel come to judgment, indeed! The motto that I have appended to my article is from that book. Even if—as is eminently true of most books of Chesterton—it is more a revelation of Chesterton than of Shaw, it is still a revelation of Shaw, and by far the best revelation of him extant. My motto, as I have hinted, being from Mr. Chesterton I have deemed it only civil to mention his name in passing. I do not think that Mr. Shaw will complain. Why, then, should my readers? I would have given a great deal to read Shaw on Chesterton. But that pleasure, for some inscrutable reason, has been denied to us. Of the two Shaw is the older man and the more considerable author: we shall, therefore, have to be content with Chesterton on Shaw, all the more so as every sentence that Chesterton wrote vouchsafed to us, as I have already noted above, a glimpse as much of himself as of Shaw. Chesterton was the wisest interpreter that Shaw has ever had so far: the most sympathetic as well as the most penetrating. Everyone else's interpretation is bound to look footling in comparison with that!

#### G. B. S.: 94

On July 26, the doyen of English Letters completed 94 years of his strenuous sojourn upon what the poet has called "this Chequer-board of Nights and Days." It must be the ardent wish of all those to whom literature makes an instinctive appeal that the *Zeitgeist*, Life-Force, *dian vital*, what you will, would so far oblige as to spare him to us until he completes his century at the least, if not, indeed, the three hundred summers that he himself solemnly specifies as the minimum life-span of his beloved Supermen. If, as he insists, mind and not body is what counts in this mysterious business of evolution it should not, I venture to think, prove to be insuperably difficult. For Mr. Shaw is all mind: he is one solid mass of intellect. I have often toyed with the notion that when the Philosopher-Prince in that celebrated rhapsody of his—

"What a piece of work is man: How noble in reason: How infinite in faculties: in form and moving how express and admirable: in action, how like an angel: in apprehension how like a god: the beauty of the world: the paragon of animals!"—

he must have had an inexplicable prevision of the sage of Ayot St. Lawrence.

Mr. Shaw himself speaks somewhere of his having "cut cerebral capers" in this or that play of his. He has, let me gently remind him, done nothing else since he broke loose from his comfortable berth in the firm of a land-agent in Dublin in that fateful March of 1876 to win laurels in London as a literary figure—"of importance in his day," as Browning would have put it. 'Cutting cerebral capers' is the *mot juste*—or,

rather, they are the *mots justes*: in other words, performing intellectual acrobatics on the political, scientific, economic, and theological trapezes. It has been a merry game throughout, and he has eminently deserved all the chuckles he has got out of it: so, let me add, have his innumerable readers.

#### IRISH "DE HAUT EN BAS"

The most important fact one has to remember about Mr. Bernard Shaw is, of course, that he is an Irishman: he is Irish *de haut en bas*. Nor is anyone who reads his voluminous prefaces to his plays ever left in the least doubt about it. I like Irishmen "more than somewhat," and I can bear no grudge against any son of Erin for pointedly drawing our attention to the fortunate circumstance of his being a son of Erin. Well, I am a Hindu, and am proud of being a Hindu. It is not at all a bad trait in a man's character to glory in his birth and state. But, all the same, one may have too much of a good thing. Speaking for myself, I would have liked Mr. Bernard Shaw anyhow (that is, even if he had not been born an Irishman), if only for his inimitable English prose style: though, curiously enough, he himself affects to set very little store by it. What Emerson says of Lander may, with equal justice, be said of Shaw also:

"Of many of Lander's sentences we are fain to remember what was said of those of Socrates, that they are cubes which will stand firm, place them how or where you will."

What Elizabeth Barrett Browning also says of Lander is true, once again, of Shaw himself:

"In marble, indeed, he seems to work, for there is an angularity in the workmanship, whether of prose or of verse, which the very exquisiteness of his polish renders more conspicuous."

#### UNDUE STRESS ON BEING IRISH

With me a writer possessing such a bewitching manner of "putting it across" has already won more than half his battle. Add that he is Irish, and I am prepared to eat out of his hands. An Indian likes an Irishman instinctively: have not both had a taste of the rough side of the English jack-boot? I have always regarded Irishmen with considerable affection, and I should have been pro-G.B.S. even if he had not wielded an enchanting pen. But, wielding an enchanting pen, as he does, I have nothing for it but to be all over him and to hug him to my bosom with hoops of steel. That is why I feel that he would have done well not to underline the fact of his being an Irishman to the extent that he has done. His object in being so insistent upon it is, no doubt, the perfectly laudable one of stressing the width of the gulf that separates him from Englishmen as a class. I cannot, however, bring myself to believe that the gulf is so very wide. Besides, Mr. Shaw is not

*typically* Irish. The *typical* Irishman is a Catholic: Mr. Shaw is a Protestant. Nearly as wide a gulf, let me suggest, separates a Protestant Irishman from a Catholic Irishman as both from a true-blue Englishman. That Mr. Shaw himself has more than a faint suspicion that the Catholic Irish are the typical Irish is evidenced by this remark of his in one of his prefaces to his plays:

"The Island of the Saints' is no idle phrase. Religious genius is one of our national products; and Ireland is no bad rock to build a Church on. Holy and beautiful is the soul of Catholic Ireland: her prayers are lovelier than the teeth and claws of Protestantism, but not so effective in dealing with the English."—Preface to *John Bull's Other Island*.

#### G. B. S.: HOME-RULER

It is fortunate that, though a Protestant, he is not an Orange-man—if, by that term, is implied a Belfast Tory. I think he says somewhere that, though it is the rule for a Protestant Irishman to be an anti-Home-ruler, he is apt to become a more fierce pro-Home-Ruler even than a Catholic Irishman once he sees the light and enters the Radical tabernacle. Well, Parnell was a Protestant, so perhaps we may take Mr. Shaw at his word. About Mr. Shaw's own political alignment, however, there can be two opinions. he is a Home-Ruler—"with knobs on." Now Ireland is a free country, though, to be sure, there is still that running sore in its body-politic—namely, Partition. It is evident, as recent Indian history amply testifies, that, when the British depart from a country on which they have had a stranglehold for a countless number of years, they do so only after vivisectioning it to their hearts' content and leaving a sort of "fifth column" behind: they rarely depart from it with good grace. Nevertheless, Ireland is a free country now—a *much* freer country, let me mention in passing, than our own, with all its "symbolic links," "sovereign independence" coupled with "membership of the British Commonwealth," and all such *abracadabra*—and the vexed question of Home-Rule has ceased to bother anyone. And if it has ceased to bother anyone it is, in no small measure, owing to Mr. Shaw's valiant championship of the cause. All politically dependent people will do well to read, mark, and inwardly digest his masterly preface to his play, *John Bull's Other Island*. As political pamphleteering it is, indisputably, in a class by itself: it forms "a vast species alone," as Cowley said of Pindar. It is so fundamentally sound in its central thesis as to deserve being bound by the young student of politics for a frontlet on his brow and a talisman on his writing wrist.

#### A POLITICAL TESTAMENT

In that preface Mr. Shaw demolishes the case for one country dominating another once and for all.

I can quote passage after passage from it, piling Pelion on Ossa, as it were, but my space is strictly limited. It is difficult to write a *short* article on G.B.S. He never could write a short article himself, or a short play, or a short preface—least of all, a short preface. His reading is vast and his memory capacious; and, as for his quality of writing, he writes as the Heavenly Choir itself. One idea leads on to another and this to another still—until, before we know where we are, we have a veritable tome to handle. But we diligently peruse these ponderous tomes nevertheless—on account of the excruciatingly entertaining way in which he writes them. Mr. Shaw can be excruciatingly entertaining on *any* topic: else, read his *Revolutionist's Handbook*, which is a sort of tail-piece to his magnificent preface to *Man and Superman*. He can write on anything—from a lady's commerce with her looking-glass to man's intercourse with his Maker; and can write on it *con amore* and not from any oppressive sense of duty.

So it is a little difficult to select passages for quotation from his writings. Take his preface to *John Bull's Other Island*, for instance. There are at least a score of passages crying out to be quoted and all of them more or less equally good. But I shall quote this one in preference to the rest:

"King James the First proved so cleverly and conclusively that the satisfaction of natural rights was incompatible with good government that his courtiers called him Solomon. We, more enlightened, call him Fool, solely because we have learned that nations insist on being governed by their own consent—or, as they put it, by themselves and for themselves—and that they will finally upset a good government which denies them this even if the alternative be a bad government which at least creates and maintains an illusion of democracy. America, as far as one can ascertain, is much worse governed, and has a much more disgraceful political history than England under Charles I: but the American Republic is the stabler government because it starts from a formal concession of natural rights and keeps up an illusion of safeguarding them by an elaborate machinery of democratic election. *And the final reason why Ireland must have Home-Rule is that she has a natural right to it.*" (My italics.)

#### G. B. S. AND IRELAND

I should like to linger over this play (*John Bull's Other Island*) a while longer. It was the first play I read of Mr. Shaw. That was decades ago, and then I read it again more recently. Nor am I making an affidavit that, wind and weather permitting, I shall not read it a third time. I like that "Other Island" even if I do not like "John Bull," and I like Larry Doyle (though a long residence in London appears to have turned him into a prig) and even Matthew Haffigan, that "gnarled snag of a man," as C. E. Montague has called him. I may be wrong but I feel



that there is a lot of Larry Doyle in Mr. Shaw himself. I wonder whether *every* Irishman—like Mr. Shaw and Sean O'Casey and Larry Doyle in this play—is disinclined to return to Ireland once he leaves its elfin shores. Mr. Shaw has recorded that after leaving Dublin in 1876 he set foot there for the first time in 1905—and that, too, “only ‘at the instance of his wife.”

#### THE SKELETON IN THE FAMILY CUPBOARD

Mr. Shaw's memories of his early Dublin life seem to be the reason for his being so “allergic to” re-visiting his native country. And yet Mr. Shaw's lines were not cast in such hard places! He did not belong to the “submerged tenth” of society. It is true that he was not born in the purple, either. Still, he was “a younger son of a younger son,” as he has been at considerable pains to inform us, and the wolf was nowhere to be seen near the door. It might not have been Paradise, but neither was it “the other place,” and the most of us could, I have no doubt, have contrived to be moderately happy in such circumstances. There was, however, that trouble about Mr. Shaw (senior): that was the one major crumpled rose-leaf under our hero's bed. His *paterfamilias* was given to a little tipsiness: he was often under the weather. As his son confesses pathetically:

“If you asked him (my father) to a party he was not always quite sober when he arrived; and he was invariably scandalously drunk when he left. Now a convivial drunkard may be exhilarating in convivial company. Even a quarrelsome or boastful drunkard may be found entertaining by people who are not particular. But a miserable drunkard—and my father, in theory a teetotaler, was racked with shame and remorse even in his cups—is unbearable. We were finally dropped socially. After my early childhood I cannot remember ever paying a visit to a relative's house. If my mother and father had dined out or gone to a party their children would have been much more astonished than if the house had caught fire.”—Preface to his novel, *Immaturity*.

#### G. B. S. IN LONDON

London made Mr. Shaw, as it has made many another of his countrymen, and it is worth recording that even in London his lines were not cast in hard places: for was there not his mother to support him? He has made much of the fact that, instead of *his* supporting his mother, *she* supported him. It is not for us to cast a stone at him for thus reversing the normal procedure. Self-confessedly, other men are not like him. Did not a physician assure him once that his eye-sight was perfectly normal—“normal sight conferring the power of seeing things accurately, and being enjoyed by only about ten per cent of the population, the remaining ninety per cent being abnormal?”

I have written that London made him, as it has made many another of his countrymen. I should have written, rather, that it was that distinguished dramatic

critic and translator and populariser of Ibsen in England, the late Mr. William Archer, who, more than any other individual, made him. It was he who pulled the right strings, at the right time, and established Mr. Shaw as the dramatic critic of the *Saturday Review*. After that—but *only* after that—Mr. Shaw made himself. It is a moot point whether he could have made himself but for this fortunate accident: because, all said and done, the starting-point of his fame and career was this same appointment of himself as the *arbiter elegantiarum* of European drama on that famous weekly. The *Saturday* (now, alas, no more) specialised in dramatic critics: the list runs from Shaw to Agate. And Agate has confessed that what induced *him* to forsake calico-selling for the far more onerous job of play-boosting or play-damning was the reading of G. B. S.'s dramatic criticism in the *Saturday*!

#### THE ACORN—AND THE OAK

Frankly, I have not read that criticism. But I have read *Agate's* dramatic criticism—heaps and heaps of it—and what I feel is that if the disciple could write such magnoperative stuff the master's productions must have been epoch-making, indeed! I have written in my book on *Journalism* that, as far as English journalism, at any rate, is concerned, it is the father, mother, and wet nurse combined of English literature. Most considerable English authors started in life as journalists. It was quite appropriate, therefore, that Mr. Shaw should have commenced his journalistic career in the hospitable columns of the *Saturday Review*: it was as good a jumping-off place for his future marvellous success as any other, and a much better jumping-off place than most others. For from that tiny acorn have grown such giant oaks as *St. Joan*, *Man and Superman*, and *Back to Methuselah*.

#### “THE DISCUSSION-DRAMA”

Though Mr. Shaw has been many things in his time—I do not mean in the sense of that Duke of Buckingham who, it has been alleged,

“. . . in the course of one revolving moon

Was chymist, fiddler, statesman, and buffoon”—

though Mr. Shaw, I repeat, has been many things in his time he will, there is no doubt, be remembered chiefly as a dramatist, and as a dramatist who broke entirely new ground in the theatre. To him largely belongs the credit for inaugurating what have been called the “play of ideas” or the “discussion-drama.” Stated in such bald terms, of course, it may very well be a fruitful source of confusion. It can hardly be that, before his advent, plays had been completely devoid of ideas or the discussion of them. The English theatre could not have been as deplorably bad as all that. Nor can I bring myself to believe that *every* sentence of Mr. Shaw is brimful of lofty sentiments. It is one thing to laud a man for certain brilliant and timely innovations: it is quite another to praise him

without discrimination and to label even his geese swans. Besides—although, to be fair to him, this has been done by him on more than one occasion—it is rather difficult to visualise a play that is so full of the Agatian “cogitabundities of cogitation.” It cannot be a play, properly so called, if it is overflowing with

“Thoughts hardly to be packed  
Into a narrow act,  
Fancies that broke through language and  
escaped.”

#### A PLAY'S PRIMARY FUNCTION

There must, if I may say so, be a teeny-weeny framework of action within which those tremendous celebrations can find full scope for functioning. Mr. Shaw, I must confess, confutes me here with his *Getting Married*. Like the Cheshire cat which is said to be all grin and not enough of cat, that play is all discussion and not enough of play. That does not, however, invalidate my contention that the *primary* duty of a play is to be as compact of action as possible—without any noticeable detriment to its copious cornucopia of ideas; and this in spite of what that profound scholar, Mr. F. L. Lucas, deems fit to say on the subject in his beautiful book on *Tragedy*:

“With primitive man, to think is to act; with his rather more civilised successors, to think is at least to speak; but today the human feelings we dwell on are often submerged in silence, often in subconsciousness. At crises men gaze into the fire, with perhaps a few inadequate sentences. What they are thinking only the novelist can tell us; and he does, to endless length. *But the dramatist finds it hard to control this crowded traffic of our congested souls.*” (My italics.)

#### SHAW'S INFLUENCE ON THE ENGLISH STAGE

I am, frankly, a heretic in this matter. Mr. Somerset Maugham administers the *coup de grace* to the idolisation of Mr. Shaw as the innovator of the discussion-drama. In his revealing autobiography, *Summing Up*, he has no hesitation in saying that the influence of Mr. Shaw on the English stage of today has well-nigh been devastating. He further opines that Mr. Shaw has succeeded on the stage, *not because* he is a dramatist of ideas, *but because* he is a dramatist. Mr. Maugham is himself a dramatist of considerable repute and, as such, has a peculiar right to be heard in this connection. I worship Mr. Shaw like most persons, but worship him “this side idolatry.” I am certain that he has not written a slovenly sentence in all his life; but I am certain also that he has written many that he need not have written. His Preface to what he himself regards as his finest play, *Man and Superman*, is, judged by whatever standard, a wonderful piece of workmanship. It is my considered opinion, however, that it would have been an even more wonderful piece of workmanship if he could have brought himself to delete huge chunks from it. One

does not wish to mention it, of course, but one *does* get bored now and then by his endless divagations. The amusing story has been told of Swinburne flinging himself on the floor at Dr. Jowett's feet and exclaiming:

“Master, I have never thanked you enough for cutting four thousand lines from ‘Bothwell.’”

Congenitally prolific writers like Mr. Shaw would do well to remember it when they are in the throes of composition. Coming back to the play of ideas it may interest my readers to note what that eminent dramatic critic of the London *Times*, the late Mr. A. B. Walkley, has to say on Mr. Shaw's contribution to it:

“It is better not to enter into so dangerously controversial a subject as the value of Mr. Shaw's criticism of life; nor is there any need, seeing that he fails to express it in terms of drama. The essential law of the theatre is thought *through emotion*. No character exhibits real emotion in those fascinating exercises in dialectic which Mr. Shaw miscalls plays.”

#### HIS DECISION TO LEAVE DUBLIN FOR LONDON

I have mentioned that, forsaking a fairly comfortable berth in the firm of a land-agent in Dublin in the fateful March of 1876, Mr. Shaw the Unpredictable left Dublin for London. Why did he do so? He himself furnishes the answer, and furnishes it, too, without any *mauvais honte*. He had already begun to experience a strange longing for writing: a malady most incident to callow youth. Words early began to make an irresistible appeal to him: their sounds and their nuances. He lisped in numbers, for the numbers came. Finding himself thus a prey to this malady he took the only step that was feasible in the circumstances: he hied himself to London, the intellectual metropolis of the world as well as, in his own expressive words, “the literary centre of the English language and for such artistic culture as the realm of the English language (*of which I proposed to be King*) could afford.” That, *and nothing less*, was the impulse that prompted the future author of *St. Joan*, *Man and Superman*, and *Back to Methuselah* to make the pilgrimage to London and there to choose a career to which, as everyone knows, many are called but few chosen. Our hero, needless to say, saw to it from the very first that he would be among the few chosen and not among the many that fell by the wayside. He aspired to be “the king of the realm of the English language.” Who dares to suggest, at this time of day, that he has not succeeded in his overpowering ambition and that, in his hands, English prose has not

“... become a trumpet; whence he (has blown) Soul-animating strains?”

#### A LORD OF UTTERANCE

Mr. Shaw, undoubtedly, is a lord of utterance: he writes like one that has been inspired. Curiously

enough, he has passionately disavowed any intention of becoming a stylist, properly so-called: he denies having added even a single cubit to his stature in this line by taking thought: there had never, it appears, been any heart-rending struggle for the *mot juste* in the Flaubertian connotation of the term. On the other hand, we are asked to believe that words came to him, more or less, "in profuse strains of unpremeditated art": they were there to be picked up, and he picked them up. To put it differently, he has always scored to be a votary in the shrine of *l'art pour l'art*. Conscious effort has rarely formed part of his writing technique. With him the idea has always been more important than the vehicle for it, and he has given expression to the view that, provided the idea is there in the first instance and that it is not too catch-penny, the vehicle for it will be forthcoming in due course and without much expense of spirit in a waste of effort. It is clear from all this that in the eternal battle between "matter" and "manner" he has elected to throw his whole weight (none too inconsiderable) on the side of the former.

#### MR. SHAW'S DICTUM

Mr. Shaw puts his case thus :

"Effectiveness of assertion is the alpha and omega of style. He who has nothing to assert has no style and can have none: he who has something to assert will go as far in power of style as its momentousness and his conviction will carry him. Disprove his assertion after it is made, yet its style remains."

He proceeds :

"Darwin has no more destroyed the style of Job nor of Handel than Martin Luther destroyed the style of Giotto. All the assertions get disproved sooner or later; and so we find the world full of magnificent debris of artistic fossils, with the matter-of-fact credibility gone clean out of them, but the form still splendid. And that is why the old masters play the deuce with our mere susceptibles. Your Royal Academician thinks he can get the style of Giotto without Giotto's beliefs and correct his perspectives into the bargain. Your man of letters thinks he can get Bunyan's or Shakespeare's style without Bunyan's conviction or Shakespeare's apprehension, especially if he takes care not to split his infinitives."—Preface to *Man and Superman*.

#### HIS OWN EXAMPLE BELIES HIS DOCTRINE

There is, of course, a lot to be said for this view of the matter; and, even if anything can be advanced against it, Mr. Shaw will still win his point by the simple fact of his own illustrious example. He wishes to prove that art is principally didactic and that, such being the case, it can afford to dispense with all frills and furbelows, with all merely adventitious aids to expression. It is true that he himself has always had a message—a red-hot message—to impart and that, while striving to impart it, his mind has never ceased

to burn with a hard gem-like flame: he has been the most didactic writer of his generation. Has he not, for instance, somewhere confessed his wholehearted preference for "the cart and the trumpet"? We, however, do not go to him now for the purely doctrinal content of his plays and prefaces and pamphlets: we go to him for his delightful style, for the fascinating manner in which he propagates those doctrines. Mr. Shaw's English prose is so seductively beautiful that it is really difficult for us to believe that, once the substance of them had been decided upon, his books wrote themselves. Writing is an art like another. If anything, it is the most difficult art of all. It has its own rigours, if also its own ardours. There are some well-defined courses of study for the other arts; and, with all these, surprisingly few persons are ever able to make a name for themselves. In regard to style, however, there are no recognised text-books, the guiding hand is nowhere distinctly seen. The writer has nothing for it but to fall back, in the last resort, upon his own resources; and to make his spoon or spoil his horn, according to circumstances. Mr. Shaw, nevertheless, is entitled to his views; but let me venture to suggest that his own example incontrovertibly belies his precept.

#### C. E. M. ON G. B. S.

It is only fair to note here that nothing in this world is perfect and that Mr. Shaw is not an impeccable artist in words. The late Mr. Dixon Scott of the *Manchester Guardian* once came down heavily upon him in the matter of his idiosyncrasies of style; and the late Mr. C. E. Montague, himself a no mean authority on diction, while praising what was to be praised in our author, was constrained to enter this mild caveat against him :

"But Mr. Shaw's writing, while it has no stupidities, has no beauties; the fairies seem to have made a very strict arrangement before his birth, that the ones with force, lucidity, and mordancy to give away to new-born infants should all be there, and that all the ones with sensuous lovelinesses of any kind in their gift should stay away."—*Dramatic Values*.

#### CONCLUSION

I shall now conclude my article: "even the weariest river winds somewhere safe to sea" at last. I have confessed that it is not easy to write a *short* article on Mr. Shaw's voluminous output. Mine has been long enough in all conscience: yet I have been compelled to omit all reference to the interesting and instructive theses embedded in *Man and Superman* and in *Back to Methuselah*. Mr. Shaw believes in Superman: I do not. We have been condemned to see some Supermen in our time: they have gone the way of "the many Ninevehs and Hecatempoli." Mr. Shaw has performed not a few astonishing somersaults in his political convictions; and one of these has been

his mystifying recantation of his old full-blooded faith in democracy in favour of an unstinted glorification of dictatorship. His play, *Geneva*, and, to a lesser extent, his play, *The Apple-cart*, fully bear me out on this point. His Battler and his Bombardonne are now less than the dust beneath the chariot-wheels of that much-despised human being, "the man in the street." In *Man and Superman* he gives full vein to his pet notion that, in this eternal amorous game, it is not, as is commonly supposed, the man who pursues the woman but the woman the man. In his previous play, *You Never Can Tell*, we had been given a rather

piquant foretaste of this same pet notion of his. Gloria in the earlier drama and Ann in the later throw all womanly delicacy to the four winds when they find that their men are about to give them the slip. I think Mr. Shaw has done well to put "woman" in her place: of late she has been getting a little beyond herself.

But no one, I am certain, can have any wish to put Mr. Shaw in his place. Others abide our question: he is free. He is his own Superman come to life: our prayers to the ubiquitous "Life-Force" must be that he may live long enough to be his own Methuselah.

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## LONDON AND THE FESTIVAL OF BRITAIN

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

It is difficult for one who is a Londoner by adoption to try to write about London. How can one reckon up one's feeling for this ancient, heroic, tolerant, grimy, be-jewelled city!

During the war Londoners were surprised to discover the strength of their own feelings. Today London is once more in the news. The Festival of Britain opens next May and its main Exhibition will be on the Thames. Work on the site is going on apace and public interest is quickening. Architecture, a feature of the Festival, is off to a flying start with the design of the Exhibition itself. At last the steel scaffolding and the wooden planks are beginning to make sense in a group. An excellent concert hall takes comfortable shape or what seems like a soaring amphitheatre opens its arms in a sweeping embrace. There have been plenty of people—and not all of them jaundiced—who have poured cold water on the idea of this Exhibition. But they have not dismayed the architects.

The Festival of Britain, says the official literature, will put the whole of Britain on show. So much was obvious, but how many people realise that there is a moral purpose as well as an outward show? The King sounded that note when he described the event as one which 'may be outstanding in our lives . . . and in the anticipation of which each one of us can share.' In the same key, officialdom says of the Festival that it is intended 'to be seized upon as an occasion to initiate or complete projects of lasting value to the community, so that the nation as a whole, and each locality within it, may be left a little better off at the close of the year than it was when the year began.'

### PARLIAMENT SQUARE

London at all events is direfully and drastically intent on brightening up the 'locality'! There never was—and may never be again—so gigantic a spring-

cleaning. Roads up, traffic diverted, buildings being repaired, houses being washed and the air hideous with the sound of pneumatic drills: these are the commonplaces of everyday existence. Pity the poor foreigner who chose to visit England 'in peace' this year rather than join in next year's scramble. As I write I am looking out into Parliament Square. The Victoria Tower is in a cage of scaffolding. More scaffolding cuts the sky-line near the Lords. Old Westminster Hospital is in process of coming down. And the famous Square itself is all cut up and redesigned and is a desert of foremen's huts and derelict grass where puzzled statues are taking up new positions. Only the Abbey along one side, and the famous catalpa trees—now in bloom—are lovely as ever.

Still all this is passing and next year London will look like the sweep in the advertisement who has just had a bath. Where will our visitors go in the times left over from seeing the Exhibition? Thinking along these lines I looked at a famous guide-book. It is crammed with places and pictures but the most beautiful statue in Whitehall—or in London or in England for that matter—is quite left out. This is the exquisite contemporary statue of Charles the First on his horse. During the Commonwealth it was given to a blacksmith to melt down. He hid it and paid for its keep by selling alleged bits as keepsakes. After the Restoration, Charles came out again. The time to see the statue is at night when the King rides under the stars. A modern poet, Lionel Johnson, has written on that theme.

### THE TEMPLE

From Whitehall, it is not far to walk to the Temple. Better to enter it from the Strand, down Middle Temple Lane, than to walk along the Embankment and come on the complete picture. To look at it from the river is to receive the full shock of the damage done by the blitz, but *inside* the Temple the



old spell remains. There courts and terraces and steps still feel like another and timeless world. A ruined hall—or a desolate blank—may be just out of sight, but you can still sit under the trees in a shady corner and enjoy the peace of the mellowing buildings. Barristers hurry by all looking alike, but perhaps one may turn out to be a friend who will take out a key and let you into that locked-up garden. At last the time comes to go and see what has happened to the Temple church. There, thank God, it is not as bad as was once feared. The old, round shape is still intact and repairs are in progress. Remembering the beautiful lines of terribly wrecked hall—and in contrast the plain and honest but much too low lines of the temporary Middle Temple library—one prays that the Temple may be restored but never merely adapted.

#### WREN'S CHURCHES

When early in 1666 fire bombs rained down on the City of London comparisons were made with the Great Fire which raged for five days in the time of Charles II. Alas, there was one principal feature which they had in common and that was the destruction of churches. In the first Great Fire eighty-seven churches were lost. Small wonder that the Lord Mayor, according to a contemporary diary, 'went about like a mad cook with his handkerchief, perspiring and lamenting himself!' But terrible as that fire must have seemed to an eye-witness, glorious succour was at hand. Sir Christopher Wren, London's greatest architect for all time, was alive, on the spot, and friends with the King. Within a few days he had drawn up a plan for a new city and within twenty years twenty-eight of his lovely churches were taking shape. And all these churches were but trials and essays for the great project of St. Paul's Cathedral. 'It was his work on the city churches,' it has been said, 'that helped to develop that superb gift for space composition that distinguishes the completed St. Paul's.'

Many of his churches were to become famous not only for their beauty but for their associations. Constant features in a changing background, they presided over the atmosphere, weaving an indescribable charm over working 'in the city.' Clerks ran in at launch-time for a week-day service—or an organ recital—or sat outside in the sunshine, eating their sandwiches and absorbing the beauty around them. Three were especially famed—St. Lawrence, Jewry; St. Mary-le-Bow; and St. Stephen's, Walbrook.

St. Lawrence, Jewry, is lost and a long tradition is broken. Every year, before the election of a new Lord Mayor, the Lord Mayor and the Corporation would come to take part in a special service.

#### LANSBURY

St. Mary-le-Bow, now a shell, had several kinds of enchantment. Above all there were the bells! In

the fourteenth century the bells of an earlier church chimed out to Dick Whittington, re-calling him to London to become three times Lord Mayor. The bells of Wren's church had a special and particular virtue: to be born within the sound of them was the only valid title to the status of Cockney. In our own day Bow Church was associated with another great Londoner, George Lansbury. There he worshipped and there I attended his funeral service.

St. Stephen's, Walbrook, has been described as extraordinarily subtle and ingenious. A bomb fell in front of it, blasting the church and buildings on either side, and now all are under repair. It is to be hoped that the church is open again when Exhibition time comes round, because it is the arrangement of its interior spaces which is especially praised. In any event, though, it is worth looking at from outside. And it is easy to find because it is tucked away in a street just beside the Mansion House. As you enter that street, the tower stands up like a lighthouse but with the grace of a flower.

The name of Wren is linked with his churches in the City but perhaps—in salute—we may digress to Westminster. There he built a simple, lovely parish church, St. James's, Piccadilly. It was terribly struck by a bomb and repairs may take too long for it to be ready in time. Wren said of it: "I think it may be found beautiful and convenient, and as such, the cheapest of any Form I could invent." How eminently practical was this great architect. Here evidently were no space problems to be overcome and he decided to concentrate entirely on the congregation. The task he set himself was 'to make a single Room, so capacious, with Pews and Galleries, as to hold above 2,000 persons, and all to hear the Service, and both to hear distinctly and see the Preacher.' What clarity of aim and, one cannot help thinking, what a long, long way Wren had come from the mystic architecture of pre-Reformation cathedrals. But here we must leave him.

#### DOCKLAND

Whitehall, and the Temple, and the City. Where should a visitor go now? St. Paul's and the Tower are very near, but each should have the best part of a day and the Tower, in any event, should be approached from the water—by river 'bus. So why not go for a drive through dockland and then over the ferry to Greenwich. Every inch of the ground is eloquent of the past. Along St. Katherine's Way and Wapping High Street, where the Press gangs used to operate, steep little streets of stairs lead down to the water. These stairs have lovely names—such as Hermitage Stairs or King Henry's Stairs—but no one now can tell you their history. On the other hand, the fame of two docks will never die: one is at Shadwell where Frobisher and Drake provisioned

their ships, the other is Execution Dock. At Execution Dock, in former times, pirates were tied to stakes and left for three tides to go over them. As late as 1701 a famous pirate, Captain Kidd, was hanged here, and to this day American syndicates are after his hidden treasure. This was buried on an island in the South China Seas and its whereabouts revealed when a small parchment map was found 'in the false bottom of a chest marked with the names of Kidd and his wife.'

Pirates may prosper but the typical seaman is poor. In Dockland the raids destroyed one of his principal landmarks which was a pawn-shop owned by a man named George Dicker. All over the world he was known as the seaman's pawnbroker and it was said that his tickets changed hands in Singapore as they did in London. Illuminating comment, this, on the seaman's struggle for existence.

The docks were a target area and two-thirds of Poplar—where George Lansbury made history when he was a Poor Law Guardian—was destroyed. Today the biggest single stroke of imagination, on the part of the Exhibition Committee, is the decision to build a model village in Poplar and call it Lansbury. This village is to form an actual part of the Exhibition and should be near-ready next year. Indeed the official literature speaks as if it would be completed. 'Thirty acres,' it says, 'will in 1951 become a thriving community with shops, schools, two churches (one Roman Catholic, one Congregational), a market place and three public houses.' What a glorious memorial to George Lansbury—and what, one wonders, would he think of the proportion of two churches to three pubs.

To get to the ferry is a drive past all the principal docks. George the Fifth Dock is the largest excavated dock in the world and it is romantically sited at Galleons' Reach. But there is nothing romantic about an efficient modern dock and, if the ghost of Drake should re-visit the river, what would he make of our present day kind of galleons? Surely he would prefer his own times when the handling of a ship was far more an art than a science and when safety at sea was not a matter of radar but of guts and of God.

History has never moved away from the City of London but across the water it is a different story. For hundreds of years the people on the South Bank—of Southwark and Deptford and Greenwich to name a few of the ancient places—played an equal part with those on the other side. Their fortunes were linked by Old London Bridge which stretched between the city and Southwark. There had been a bridge at this spot since Roman times and for centuries it was the only one. Thus in an almost literal sense this bridge was the watershed of London's history, as life ebbed and flowed through

Southwark. Pilgrims passed on their way to Canterbury, kings to make war on the Continent, Princesses who came over to marry our Kings. Indeed the South Side of the river was where all the fun began. Rebellions invariably opened on Black Heath; Marlowe, Ben Jonson and Shakespeare appeared in the theatres on Bankside; at Deptford and Woolwich were the royal dockyards; Kings and Queens lived at Greenwich and one of them, Charles the Second, built the Royal Observatory.

#### GREENWICH

All the Tudors except the first—Henry the Seventh who had to conquer his way to the throne—were born at Greenwich. Elizabeth especially loved the place. (Born at Greenwich, made a never-to-be-forgotten speech at Tilbury, died at her palace on the river at Richmond! What a part the Thames played in the life of our great Eliza . . .). Her palace is gone but instead there is the lovely colonnaded 'Queen's House' which was begun by the wife of James the First and completed by her daughter-in-law Queen Henrietta Maria. The architect was Inigo Jones—that genius with a name like the opening of a song.

Greenwich Palace proper became derelict during the Commonwealth and when Charles the Second was King he began to re-build. But it is to William and Mary, who came soon after him, that we owe the existing magnificent group of buildings. It was they who transformed Greenwich. In place of a palace they had a grander scheme—a hospital for the relief and support of seamen. The immortal Wren was to be its architect and he gave his services free. (Immortal is the word for Sir Christopher. He was seventeen years old when Charles the First was executed in Whitehall. When he died, at the age of ninety-one, George the First was depressing the Throne . . .). The Hospital is now a Royal Naval College and houses a national maritime museum which can be visited. Only to look down on it from Greenwich Park is worth while. It is one of the sights of London and there is a painting of it in the Tate Gallery.

#### SOUTHWARK

Old London Bridge survived into the middle of the eighteenth century. Then, with a fine sense of drama, the houses built upon it fell into the river. It was the presence of these houses that had carried over the life of Southwark into the City. But in the eighteenth century new bridges were springing up along the Thames and the Industrial Revolution was not far off. The South Bank was losing its importance and would soon be left to its fate. That fate was to be overwhelmed in a rush of shoddy and unrelated 'development' which followed in the wake of the new industrialism. Soon most of the beautiful old

houses would be pulled down or submerged in a flood of mean streets. (And the blitz was to continue the destruction of what we had valued so lightly). At least, there is one comfort: though the places have decayed, the men have not. They keep their ancient vigour—Deptford produces heavy-weight boxers and Charlton has a famous foot-ball team. At Charlton too at least one family has hung on through the ages. Charlton House, in the thirteenth century, came into the possession of the Wilsons. They are there still.

It seems to be the habit for visitors to Southwark to finish up their tour with a drink at the George and Dragon. This is one of the oldest of our

balustraded inns and it is an indulgence to sit in the court-yard, beneath the graceful galleries, and imagine the scenes that must have passed here. Inside the pub literature is on sale. It proves to be the diocesan magazine for Southwark Cathedral, and its cover is decorated with a picture of Old London Bridge. At the south end of the bridge the heads of executed traitors used to be set on pikes and in the present picture there are no less than sixteen severed heads menacing Southwark! The southern end of the bridge was chosen, evidently, because it was the most troublesome. Well, may the 1951 Exhibition restore the fortunes of the old indomitable South Bank.

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## INDIAN AGRICULTURE Its Place in National Health and Economy

By D. SESHADRI SASTRI, B.A., B.L., ADVOCATE

"FARMER was the first man and he will be the last man." Much has happened since Hyde Bailey, Dean of the Agricultural College at Cornell University, wrote the above words, to emphasise their immense significance. There is the eternal and classical relationship of man to the earth and his ultimate dependence upon the earth. Food has become man's major pre-occupation and the land provides man's ultimate security. Owing to world famine caused largely by war, devastation, droughts and dislocation of distribution, two-thirds of the world's population suffer today from serious malnutrition. At least a fourth to fifth of the world's population live perpetually at a starvation level, born and dying without having enough to eat for a major portion of their lives.

The Malthusian theory of over-population has come too true. It has now become clear that the population of the world has outstripped the means of its subsistence or at least approached a balance so precarious that a drought or a dislocation of transport in any part of the world can produce famine over a large area. In India, millions of people suffer all their lives from slow famine and die by the millions even in non-famine years, either of actual starvation or of the weakness and disease arising from severe malnutrition.

The rule that as living standards decline the birth-rate increases has come too true in our country, the highest birth-rate being at the lower economic levels and consequently in the levels where food and diet are limited. So, we see in India increase of population at approximately ten millions a year. The

more the malnutrition, the greater is the frenzy of breeding and reproduction in order to carry on the species. This may appear paradoxical but the livestock breeders know full well that with a fat bull or a fat cow, fed upon a rich diet, the rate of fecundity is much lower than with thinner animals.

The ratio of all possible agricultural land in the world available for producing food under any existing methods of agriculture is about two acres per person. Under this ratio, even if every individual in the world has had his proportionate share of food the world would still be unable to feed itself on any but a near starvation diet of cereals. This is particularly so in considerable parts of Asia and Africa where the population is increasing quite out of proportion to the total area under cultivation. High protein foods and fruit diets have necessarily therefore to be abandoned in India and we should all have to live on a meagre diet of rice or wheat, cereals and occasional vegetables. Among the vegetarians, only the rich really know the luxury of fruit diet and only the rich among non-vegetarians could enjoy the luxury of meat, poultry and dairy products, because the price of these things either through their scarcity or owing to the high cost of their production is far beyond the income of 95 per cent of the population.

In very few areas in the world, notably France, Holland, Belgium, Denmark and Japan, is there an agriculture of maximum maintained production of potentiality per acre. Elsewhere, over vast areas the production has been steadily declining. This is particularly so in newer areas which were largely counted

upon to feed the world, *viz.*, the United States, Australia, the Argentine, Canada, South Africa and Venezuela. This is so, because of the devastation caused by poor, destructive and inefficient agriculture and by wind and water erosion. The declining production per acre, especially in India and other Asian countries, is serious in the economic sense as well as in the sense of food production. By mathematical formula, the less food produced per acre, the more the cost of production is increased. This fact lies behind the rising cost of food for the last generation or more. It lies largely behind the demands for higher and higher wages as the cost of living, of which food is the basic item, increases. It is also largely responsible for the 'creeping inflation' which has been in progress during the last two generations and which becomes steadily more apparent as the population increases and the production per acre of food declines and costs of production increase. Food costs rise steadily because of declining production and increasing production costs per acre. High prices limit consumption and create artificial surpluses, especially in the realm of quality and highly nutritious foods. There are no real 'surpluses of food' in this modern world. Rises in industrial wages do not really compensate, since inevitably they are passed on to manufactured commodities, which in turn increases costs for farmers and consequently costs of his economic survival and of production; and ultimately imperil the living standards of all. It is this fundamental which renders all stop-gap remedies in terms of money rather than by production and abundance, utterly futile. The remedy therefore is more efficient and productive agriculture, better means of transport and consequently better distribution. An efficient agriculture, specially mechanised, with proper land use and respect for the soil could produce much the same result in the field of food and fibre as industry has achieved in the field of industrial commodities. It is a little terrifying to consider that at this time the population of the world is increasing at the rate of twenty-five people per minute. That fact makes agriculture and really efficient good agriculture seem more important than it has ever been in all the long history of the world.

The mineral deficiencies of poor or worn-out soils affect not only the living standards of people attempting to make a living on it but also standards of health, vitality, intelligence and initiative which are so fundamental a part of the real wealth of a nation. The formula for a well-balanced soil capable of producing healthy plants, animals and people, as we know it today, should contain abundant organic material in the process of decay, bacteria, moulds, fungi, earth-worms, calcium, phosphorus, potassium, nitrogen and a whole variety of trace ele-

ments, such as manganese, magnesium, boron, copper, cobalt, iron and at least twenty others. It should be a soil in which the whole eternal cycle of life, growth, death and re-birth should be constantly in progress. Plants exhibit symptoms of malnutrition or lack of mineral balance in their diet in exactly the same fashion as animals or people. The organic material is a great absorber and conservator of moisture and is therefore vital to any soils upon which food crops may be grown. Organic material is also vital to the fertility even of land which must be drained to be rid of too much water and land where unlimited supplies of water are available for irrigation. Since calcium is a vital part of soil balance, its place becomes of great importance in the process of unlocking fertility, partly because chemically it has a greater affinity for most minerals and trace elements than have iron and aluminium, and mostly because it snatches the minerals and elements vital to the health and growth of plants from combinations with iron and aluminium in which they remained virtually locked up and unavailable. In combination with calcium, all these minerals and elements exist in a form highly available to plant life. Calcium then is one of the keys to unlocking hidden and unavailable fertility. Moulds and fungi contribute to the breaking down of minerals and their transmutation into availability to plants and together with bacteria they play an important role in the unlocking of inexhaustible fertility. Sir Robert Howard's latest book *Soil and Health* has contributed more than any other authority to the establishment of the important place which moulds and fungi play in the foundation, restoration and maintenance of soil fertility. But none of these bacteria, moulds and fungi can exist or multiply save by the presence in the soil of organic material in the process of death, decay and re-birth. Therefore, organic material in whatever form, becomes of vital importance to the productivity of any soil and particularly to the availability of the native minerals and element in that soil. With calcium, organic material provides the key to that cycle of birth, growth, death, decay and re-birth which makes the mineral content of the soil whatever it may be, available to the plants and consequently to animals and to people. Deficiency in potassium is almost universal throughout the country. Nitrogen produces a rank growth. Potash produces the growth of stalk which can support the rank growth and contributes something to the yield of grain. But potash is linked closely to organic material and the deficiency of organic material is probably our greatest soil deficiency and one which is increasing.

By keen observation and intensive experiments, one is led to think that laws of a well-maintained and productive agriculture are largely based upon balance and upon laws very nearly as absolute as those of



astronomy, mathematics or physics. The balances appear to be three, (1) between minerals and organic materials, (2) between the major elements, nitrogen, phosphorus, potassium, and calcium, (3) between the major elements and the so-called trace elements, manganese, copper, magnesium, boron, cobalt and a score of others. When any segment of the cycle—moisture, bacteria, moulds, fungi, mineral balance, organic materials and the calcium content (which is perhaps the most valuable element in mineral balance) breaks down, the whole chain is broken, and one by one the various links collapse, bringing about the rapidly declining production and eventual sterility which is characteristic of so much once good and still potentially good agricultural land in India.

In the past, the relation between agriculture, medicine and surgery was regarded as a fairly remote one. Such facts as the necessity for calcium and phosphorus in the growth and functioning of the human body have long been known. However, it has been widely recognized only recently, that the shortage or near absence of these major elements from worn-out soils can affect whole areas and affect the growth, health and intelligence of the people living upon soils either originally deficient or badly depleted of these minerals. The effect of minerally depleted or unbalanced soils upon cattle is by now well established. In the realm of the so-called minor trace elements it is rapidly becoming a recognised fact that deficiencies of these elements in soil and consequently vegetarian products may produce derangements of health, resistance, vitality, intelligence and in particular of the functioning of glands. The trace elements include notably iodine, fluorine, manganese, magnesium, boron, cobalt, copper, zinc, sulphur and many other minerals. It is only recently that a few agronomists have begun exploring the whole relationship of mineral balance to the health and productivity of soils. This lack or unbalance of minerals over large areas of the land's surface limits greatly the future food production of the world.

One hears in India often enough observations from travellers and superficial observers to the effect that there seem to be vast areas of lands which are still open to cultivation and there seem to still be unlimited supplies of food-producing land not being utilised. The answer, known only to those whose business is agricultural land, is that those areas which have not been utilised or on which unsuccessful attempts at agriculture have been made are most of them unbalanced or comparatively unproductive soil because of mineral lack or difficult soil structure or aridity. In their present state they cannot be cultivated with any profit and the expenditure of money in making them cultivable by the addition of minerals and organic material is so great that their conversion into productive soils, is in a majority of cases, econo-

mically impossible under existing conditions. That is why it becomes vitally necessary for reasons not only of national or international economy but of health and social conditions that the destruction of existing good agricultural land through erosion or poor and wasteful agriculture be checked and that available possible agricultural land be made to produce its maximum without destruction of its fertility or mineral balance.

Too many farmers are cultivating two, three and sometimes as high as five acres to produce what one acre shall if properly farmed produce. Too many farmers when they seek to increase production and income, go out and buy other lands, instead of gaining the increase by properly cultivating the land they already possess. The farmer who cultivates 5 acres to produce what one acre should produce, is destined for eternal defeat, for his costs in labour, taxes, interest, time, wear and tear are five times what they should otherwise be and will constantly defeat him. Expansion horizontally in terms of land, rather than vertically in terms of production, is economically unsound and spells disaster.

How best then is maximum food production to be achieved and what is the role of the State and of the young men of the country in achieving sufficiency in food? The young men of the country must take to agriculture in very large numbers and must study agricultural science in all its theoretical aspects and practical appliances.

I. The Central Government, as in Soviet Russia, should set up a Central Academy in agricultural science and food chemistry, and an eminent scientist should be appointed as its Academician. Regional research stations should be established in the various States of the Indian Union and a large number of scientists should be employed by the State and their services must be exclusively harnessed to agriculture. A thorough examination of the soils should be undertaken and the scientists in charge of the various regional stations should be made to devote their whole time to devising ways and means of (1) soil conservation, (2) checking run-off water and erosion, (3) soil restoration—the restoration of both organic materials and minerals and maintenance of their balance, (4) resistance to disease, attacks of insects to crops. Scientific methods must be evolved so as to utilise to the best advantage all available knowledge regarding soils. A scientific soil survey should be undertaken and elaborate blue-prints of the lay-out and of the mineral contents of the soil should be prepared as had been done by the department of agricultural settlement, Jewish Agency, Palestine.

II. Young men of the country should be made to undergo practical training, in addition to the theoretical instruction imparted, under these Regional Scientists for a period of at least three years. The services of these young men must be made available to the

farmer. The jurisdiction of these young men, who might be termed Demonstrators, should not exceed two or three villages, and invariably they should be directed to live in a village and get into intimate touch with the peasant. The Demonstrator should shed his aloofness, learn to move freely with the agriculturists. He must speak the language of the peasants, must inspect the farms once a week and disseminate all his knowledge to the peasants. All too often, the farmer is told to adopt certain practices because he will get better yields, make more money or even improve his soil but all too rarely is he told why this is so, or are the processes by which improvements and better yields come about, explained to him. If more were explained to him of what goes on in soils, in plants and in livestock and explained to him in an interesting and stimulating fashion, progress towards a better agriculture would be infinitely more sound and rapid. The good farmer is no fool and he need not be treated as a child. I know of no element in our population more intelligent or more eager for information than our average good peasant. He can understand 'the mysteries' if given half a chance. The Demonstrator should treat the peasant or the farmer with sympathy, understanding and consideration, and place his services unreservedly and unstintedly to make the farmer a combination of specialist, scientist and businessman. The aim of the educated young man should be to have an efficient and really abundant agriculture.

III. The State should set up Regional Seed-testing Laboratories and should undertake and ensure a timely supply to the farmer, pure seeds of improved varieties at the prevailing market rate, of good selective germinating capacity and freed from disease and insect attack. The importance of good seed is very often neglected and very often the effort of a whole year gets wasted if the seed is not carefully selected and supplied to the farmer in time.

IV. The State should supply at favourable rentals mechanical appliances to every village; bull-dozers,

tractors, cultivators, ridge-ploughs, etc., and skilled workmen must be employed by the State to work the mechanical appliances.

V. State Co-operatives must be established on a large scale, and marketing arrangements of agricultural produce at reasonable market rates must be undertaken by the State.

VI. Private farms must be encouraged by the State by granting subsidies in the first instance with provision for recoveries in easy instalments. A well-managed small farm with vegetables, fruit trees and selective good crops provides not only a source of large saving in the family food budget but it is also a source of health, recreation, outdoor life and general contentment for the whole family.

Unless the State applies itself seriously to the above tasks all talk regarding food sufficiently and all campaigns regarding 'Grow More Food' will end in failure and our Indian Agriculture will continue to be wasteful and extravagant. Our food costs will mount and the peasant's margin of profit will decrease. We are living in a world of machines and its teaming ill-fed millions and what we need today is better integration; and some relation to reality and the practical aspects of the earth.

Out of the earth we came and to the earth we return and it is earth itself which determines largely our health, our longevity, our vigour and even our character. In the broadest sense, any nation is as vigorous and powerful as its natural resources; and among them the most important are Agriculture and Forest, for these are eternally renewable and productive if managed properly. Upon these and largely upon agriculture depends another vast source of any nation's power, the health, vigour, intelligence and ingenuity of its citizens. In a world and in a nation where the acquisition of vast money fortunes is fast becoming an impossibility, a farm is a good place to be and agriculture is a good field in which not only to find security but satisfaction in living.



# THE PRESIDENT OF INDIA

By K. K. BASU, M.A., LL.B. (Cantab), Barrister-at-Law

"The Constitution is what judges think it is." Legalism is its very life and its interpretation must be by a competent court with the assistance of lawyers. We notice with regret that Prof. Banerjee<sup>2</sup> has seen fit to take exception to an alleged speech of "an eminent Calcutta lawyer" who searches for the powers of the President of India exclusively in "the letter of the law." The eminent Professor borrows a phrase from Maitland to suggest that such an outlook would be necessarily "untrue to fact." He seems not to have appreciated that this borrowed phrase was in fact used to indicate that the views of an eighteenth century lawyer were inapplicable to more recent developments of the English Constitution. In such a case all views, lawyers' equally with those of laymen's must have been "untrue to fact." But in a written constitution, as ours is, if the text is explicit it is conclusive and a power not conferred must be assumed to have been withheld. Hence no view other than the one ascribed to "the eminent Calcutta lawyer" is, in the nature of thing, possible. We do not know if Principal Sharma is a lawyer. He is not, at least, a practising lawyer. But throughout his article<sup>3</sup> very properly he faithfully adheres to "the letter of the law." A lawyer's view even of the English Constitution is no more "untrue to fact." A lawyer, more than others, must be conscious of the interdependence of conventions and legal rules in the English Constitution. Only, unlike laymen, he does not confuse them as being rules of the same nature. He realises and dwells on the distinction. Such a view may not accord with Political Science which, being given to generalisations from all constitutions only beats about the bush. In the picturesque though somewhat sarcastic language of Maitland, "Political Science is very apt to look like sublimated jurisprudence." But this view is easily and fully appreciated by those<sup>4</sup> who have sound practical knowledge of the working of the English Constitution.

The inherent impossibility for conventions of the English type to wind themselves round a written constitution should by now be abundantly clear. An unambiguous provision of a written constitution can never be rendered obsolete by mere desuetude or contrary practice. In this it differs from the case of the veto power of an English King. Nor is there any room for conventions which are in conflict with the provisions of a written constitution, either express, or implied of necessity. Precarious also is the validity of even a practice which is not in such conflict. Such

a practice can never aspire to be anything more than a mere statement of what has been a convenient rule of conduct, and holds only until a departure therefrom becomes desirable. When occasion arises it is unceremoniously jettisoned and none so poor to do it reverence. If example is needed such example is furnished by the long-standing practice of a U. S. President not seeking re-election more than once, or of a U. S. Vice-President not being raised to the office of President. Historically they had been thought to be conventions almost of the English type<sup>5</sup>; but the one was quietly dropped, and the other was whittled down by numerous exceptions, as and when it became necessary to do so. On a question as to the power of a component state of the United States to provide for Local Government within its territory, Cooley J. is reported<sup>6</sup> to have assented to the view that an unwritten body of rules behind the framework of the Constitution was possible. His actual decision, however, rested entirely on the interpretation of the relevant Article of the Constitution, and his obiter dictum<sup>7</sup> found favour neither with his colleagues on the Bench on that particular occasion, nor with any other jurist ever since.

Prof. Banerjee's views seem to rest upon a fallacious assumption that conventions may control or regulate the working of a written constitution.

The argument of Prof. Banerjee<sup>8</sup> that the conventions of the English cabinet system are ipso facto attracted to our Constitution, because a parliamentary system of government has been set up here, is likewise untenable. Regardless of the impossibility of the growth of conventions under a written constitution, the above view seems to be based on a further assumption, equally faulty, that a parliamentary system of government necessarily imports a government on the English model. Principal Sharma indicates<sup>9</sup> that the pattern of our executive government is really French and not English. Moreover, even if feasible, an adoption of the English conventions relating to cabinet government will conflict with some of the express provisions of our Constitution. As an illustration let us take Article 78(c) of our Constitution. This article contemplates a contact between the President and individual ministers without the intermediation or intervention of the Prime Minister. Such a procedure will scarcely go with the conventions that have grown up in England as a result of the successful protest against King George III claiming a very similar

1. Hughes C. J.: *Addresses* (1900), 139.

2. *The Modern Review*, (Vol. 87), 1950, pp. 450-55.

3. *The Modern Review*, (Vol. 88), 1950, pp. 39-43.

4. Asquith in the House of Commons, 2nd December, 1909.

5. Tiedeman: *Unwritten Constitution*, 102 sq.

6. *Le Roy v. Huribut*, 24 Mich. 44.

7. *Ibid.*, pp. 105-7.

8. *The Modern Review*, *ibid.*, p. 454.

9. *The Modern Review*, *ibid.*, p. 39.

power.<sup>10</sup> And when Principal Sharma<sup>11</sup> hints at the possibility of a discord among the ministers arising from an operation of the above provision he apparently has in view the difficulty of working it into a scheme of government of the English type. In any event, it is doubtful if conventions that have reached slow maturity in one political climate can at all bear transplantation to another.

Both in origin and effect a written constitution radically differs from an unwritten constitution. It (a written constitution) evolves from the charter of a corporate body.<sup>12</sup> It proceeds on the basis of what is technically known as the doctrine of *ultra vires*, viz., that each department of government possesses only a specified delegated authority which cannot be transgressed. It is drafted with utmost precision and circumspection, and is never interpreted in any narrow or pedantic sense,<sup>13</sup> so as to admit of any possible lacuna. But should in fact a lacuna be found there seems to be no remedy to cure it except by amending the Constitution itself. The above implications of a written constitution are fairly familiar to lawyers, and but for apparent misunderstanding of these implications they need not have been repeated. That this misunderstanding should occur is all the more surprising as we in India have lived for generations under written constitutions. It is certainly not expected that laymen will study the Constitution with that meticulous and sifting care which a practising lawyer is obliged to give to it, but the approach to its interpretation should not be different. Introduce notions and theories peculiar to the unwritten constitution of England to the interpretation of our Constitution and a palpably wrong approach is made.

The key to the President's powers is in Article 74 of the Constitution. This Article reads:

"74. (1) There shall be a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at the head to aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions.

"(2) The question whether any, and if so what, advice was tendered by Ministers to the President shall not be inquired into in any court."

From the expression, *whether any*, in clause (2) above-mentioned, it may plausibly be argued that there may be cases where no advice has actually been tendered to the President. But whatever may be the possibility of such unadvised exercise of the President's functions under the Constitution, an unaided exercise of his functions is precluded by the clear language of clause (1). *Aid* signifies collaboration, and necessarily includes *advice*. If, therefore, any function of the President under the Constitution has to be

exercised at all, it must be done with such *aid*, unless the Constitution itself provides otherwise, either expressly, e.g., in Article 53(2), or by necessary implication, e.g., Article 75(1) and (4). Exercise by the President of any of his functions under the Constitution without such aid, except as aforesaid, clearly amounts to a violation of the Constitution for which he is liable to be impeached.<sup>14</sup> This is because of the violation of an express provision of the Constitution, viz., Article 74 and not of "traditional maxims of parliamentary government" as has been wrongly supposed. A charge against the President of an alleged violation of the *spirit* of our Constitution or, for the matter of that, of "traditional maxims of parliamentary government" will not be sufficiently specific to ground an impeachment, which in spite of what Prof. Banerjee suggests,<sup>15</sup> is in substance a trial at law. It has been so throughout the history of such proceedings in England<sup>16</sup> and U.S.A.<sup>17</sup> though the procedure, prosecutors and the judges have been different from those in ordinary criminal prosecutions.

Impeachments, however, are matters of serious political consequence. Nor can they, nor ought they to, be lightly set in motion. The very drastic nature of the remedy makes its frequent invocation, or for matters of minor importance, impracticable. And had there been no other provision in our Constitution, equally effective to ensure the good behaviour of the President, Article 61 would have defeated its own purpose. Fortunately, we have Article 53(3)(b) under which the Parliament can at its discretion denude the President of his executive powers, either partially or wholly, by simply providing for their exercise by another person or authority. On a correct analysis it will be seen that this Article provides a practical, and therefore more effective, check on any act or omission on the part of the President, whether amounting to a violation of the Constitution or not. Thus, the control of the Parliament on the President is more comprehensive, and extends also to cases beyond the purview of Article 61. This control again may be given effect to by a simple legislation unlike the cumbrous and long-drawn procedure of impeachment. Very few Presidents, in the circumstances will risk incurring in any manner the displeasure of the Parliament i.e., of the majority party therein.

That the President is the constitutional head of our State follows directly from the provisions of our Constitution as explained above; and, for establishing the proposition it is not necessary, even if it were at all permissible, to travel beyond "the letter of the law."

10. Baldwin in the House of Commons, 8th February, 1932.

11. *The Modern Review*, *ibid*, p. 41.

12. Brook Adams: "The Embryo of a Commonwealth", 54, *Atlantic Monthly*, 610.

13. *James v. The Commonwealth*, 1936, A.C. 578, p. 614.

14. Art. 61.

15. *The Modern Review*, *ibid*, p. 455.

16. *Halsbury's Laws of England*, Hailsham Edn., Vol. VI, p. 638a.

17. 26 *Harvard Law Review*, pp. 699-705.

\* "Aid" when required by the constitution or by the President in his discretion



# FILM AND EDUCATION

By PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

THE advent of the Film in its obvious and superficial role of providing amusement and information has brought new values to our social life and habits. It has proved to be more exciting than newspapers and more vivid and stimulating than the reading of books. To the illiterates and the half-educated youths, the film has a special appeal, as it presents a lot, within a short time, without the drudgery of wading through pages of printed matter. Its popularity has been enormously exploited commercially by a class of speculators, by tempting our young men and women, by the lure of predominating sexual appeals. In this way a lot of mischief has been done to the mental and moral make-up of our immature youths. This mischief must be counteracted by State control. The obvious remedy is to have special films for boys and girls under the age of 18 years and to forbid their visits to the films for adults and grown-ups.

If properly guided, controlled, and handled by competent and qualified experts, the film could be turned into a useful and effective means of education and a medium of stimulation and development of the best phases of our national life and culture. It could be made to function as an effective instrument of propaganda for the best phases of Indian culture, both at home and abroad. To secure this transformation of its popular and mischievous role into a valuable educative and cultural function, the active co-operation of our best educational experts, working in the orthodox fields of education, is imperative. They need not join the film trade—the business of film production—but their help and guidance could be sought to develop the film in its supremely educative and cultural role.

Sometimes, Indian cultural themes have been exploited by our commercial producers, but, invariably, they have received very incompetent and vulgar treatment in the hands of producers and directors with no pretence for even a superficial grounding in Indian culture or Indian art-history.

By securing the guidance and active co-operation of competent educationists, it is possible to produce films of the highest standard presenting the best phases of Indian culture, fit to be exhibited in Europe and America. If guided and controlled by competent experts, our Indian films by visualizing Indian culture could be made to render more valuable services than what our distinguished Indian visitors are rendering in foreign countries. At any rate, they could provide valuable aids to our cultural missions abroad.

It is possible to present the stories of our epics, and our didactic legends, such as the *Jatakas*, the *Hitopadesa*, the visual presentations of Indian melodies, the lives of our saints and heroes, our old

dramatic 'masterpieces,' our historical pageants, in appropriate and correct atmosphere and environment, set down with meticulous details of costumes, furniture and architecture. In the hands of competent experts it is possible to make the "splendour that was Ind" re-live again before our eyes. To inspire and sponsor such projects would be rendering the greatest service to the cause of education and national development.

It may be necessary to subsidize the production of such cultural films as the commercial producers may not undertake such ventures. As they must be afraid that in the beginning such productions may not be popular to the young film-fans with their tastes already corrupted by the over-feeding with soddy sexual stuff. But a cry of halt must be sent out to stop the incessant spouting of dubious stuff under the pretence of information, education and culture.

If the present film-producers are taken to be what they claim to be, namely, the agents and instruments of education, then they must employ trained educationists, just as our schools and colleges now insist on engaging only trained teachers, Bachelors of Training. The other analogy is the licence now necessary for a trained compounder to dispense medicines at our dispensaries.

Our film-producers have been recklessly dispensing film stuffs of a very dubious quality without the co-operation of competent and trained educationists. My major complaint against the current productions is that they seldom give the necessary scope to the visual artist. From beginning to end, the business of film-producing is the special function of the trained visual artist. Cinematography is the science and art of "picture-making." Our Indian producers, as a rule, boycott the competent visual artists, artists who could help to build *real* pictures in the real sense of the term. As a consequence, the majority of our productions *visually* considered are bad and sometimes very ugly pictures. They are corrupting and undermining the latent sense of beauty of our average citizens and preventing them from appreciating the beauty of real pictures. This denial of the fundamental presentation of beautiful forms in effective and vivid pictures is making the film-goers insensitive to real masterpieces of pictorial art, our great heritage of the great schools of Indian painting.

As a practical course, I would humbly suggest the setting-up of a properly-equipped Academy of Film Art Research for imparting the necessary visual education and to turn out competent producers well-grounded in the principles of visual art. At the Calcutta University, we have organized a scheme



## KATHAKALI—THE WORLD'S MOST ELOQUENT PANTOMIME

By "ART-LOVER"

AMONG the many schools of dancing based on Bharata's *Natya Shastra*\* (the ancient Indian dance scripture claiming its origin to Lord Shiva himself) existing in the different corners of India, Ceylon, Burma, Siam and the East Indies, Kathakali calls for the severest training and provides the largest scope for creative imagination.

The origin of Kathakali is a widely disputed point, but many research scholars attribute its parentage to the Rajah of Kottarakkara (in Travancore) who organised a popular entertainment called "Ramanattam" about the end of the 15th century, which later gained this new nomenclature, which literally means "Story-play."

In Kerala, its homeland, Kathakali is presented in the form of dance dramas at temple festivals and at ceremonial functions in aristocratic households. It is at home enacted by males only, late in the evening hours, when the common-folk of the village spend a sleepless night enjoying the sacred art that is their national heritage. There are some dramas which take up to 12 nights, but the present trend is to seissor them.

The stage for a Kathakali performance centres round the traditional Hindu (cocoanut) oil lamp made of bell-metal and generally about five feet in height, which will be sufficient to light the small stage and give it a peculiar stage effect. Electric lights have been found to kill the very atmosphere of a Kathakali show. There is no curtain or screen on the background, nor are there any "settings." The front cloth curtain is stitched in thick coloured cloth with some artistic design in the centre and a decorated border and is held in hand by two men. When the dance act commences, the curtain is removed and is again stretched when the act comes to a close. Removing the curtain itself is a part of the act ("Theranottam") and the dancer slowly holds it by hand and artistically exhibits his person gradually. There is no privacy either about the stage or green room and in fact, there is no restriction that the stage should even be raised.

The green room is the most interesting part of a Kathakali show. The dressing is very intricate and is an art in itself. The costumes for a pure Kathakali performance are varied and gorgeous, and it is very expensive and difficult to produce a complete set. Generally many of the Kathakali parties have their own sets of costumes, mostly torn and perhaps generations old. The wonderful system of painting the face and eyes is unsurpassed in its beauty and is not found in this form in any other system of Indian dancing. Some of the magnificent conception of mythological figures, demoniac and divine, can be so brilliantly presented on the face and person of the dancer, that a close associate can hardly recognise the



A *Katthi* and a *Red Thadi* in a duel scene in Kathakali

individual. In this aspect (*Aharya Abhinaya*), Kathakali easily excels any other school. The dressing and make-up for a show engage a very long time and is a terrible strain on the actor as well as the green room expert.

The convention of the Kathakali make-up is based on the *Satwika*, *Rajasa* or *Tamasa* aspect that predominates the particular character, and not on any of the principles of modern dramatic realities. The Kathakali costumes have been dubbed unnatural even by some of its own exponents, but the leaders of the Kathakali revival movement have strongly upheld the traditional practice, which has been founded on the argument that the dressing of the mythological figures

\* Kathakali follows *Abhinayadarpanam* and *Hastalakshanadeepika* in many aspects.



is purely imaginary and should only be adapted to adequately serve the end of the art. Anyway, a study of a dramatic art should start with the green room, and therefore let us have a glimpse of the general scheme of dressing and make-up, which is the richest feature of the Kerala art.

The male characters in Kathakali are classified into four :

1. *Pucca* : Kings, gods, heroes and other *satwika* characters appear in Kathakali in short red bodices up to the waist, and ribbon habiliments, which gracefully bulge out towards the bottom.\* They paint their faces green with a *chutti*—a white border-ridge of lime and rice paste slightly protruding along the edge of the face from ear to ear,—paint their lips red, and line their eyes and eye-brows black. A *Kiritam* (crown) of very elaborate and artistic construction in a conical form with a series of domes rising one over the other, fixed to a white circular disc, is used. There are a few varieties of these crowns which are very hard to make, and may cost from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000, with the beads and silver decorations. Some *pucca* characters like Krishna and Rama wear black bodices and have peacock feathers on their crowns.

2. *Katthi* : The *pucca* face with a twisted moustache, painted red, two white knobs attached to the forehead and nose, represents the *rajasa* character of *Katthi*. Asura kings like Ravana and Kansa appear in this get-up, which, but for its demoniac finish, is very similar to the *pucca* form.

3. *Thadi* (meaning beard) is the name given to characters who appear with a red, black or white beard. The red *thadi* represents the *tamasa* type and is offered to the meanest character in the moral plane. The face has black designs in many places and the lips are painted black. The white knobs on the forehead and the nose are there as in *Katthi* and there are two or three layers of *chutti* bordering the face. A red coat resembling animal skin and an enormous head-dress complete the frightening attire of the red *thadi*.

Hanuman and other noble monkeys of mythology appear in Kathakali as white *thadi*. They wear a white hairy coat and a white trimmed beard. The face is painted red with black and white designs and has a *chutti*. The head-dress is like a flat circular hat with a peaked dome in the centre and is small and attractive.

The barbarian hunters of the forest belonging to the lowest stratum of human civilization are made up in Kathakali in black *thadi*. Their face, beard and coat are all of black colour, but for the white *chutti*.

4. *Kari* is yet another *tamasa* type of character

and is offered to devils, and consists of black fantastic costumes with black faces, and boiler-like huge head-wears with peacock feathers tucked up on the top.

In making up the female cast, more attention is given to the artistic expression of feminine beauty than to the cheap manner of dressing we find in to-day's theatre. Men, who only impersonate women characters, have their faces painted in yellowish flesh colour, with darkened eyes and delicately pencilled eye-brows. With the red lips, the coloured silk covering the head, the bodice and ornaments, *minukku* as this make-up is named, though simple, presents a piece of classic feminine beauty.

Rishis, Brahmins, messengers of kings, servants, etc., paint their faces like the women characters. While the Rishis have conical head-dresses and smear their bodies with holy ashes, the Brahmins wear ordinary white cloth with laced border and the others red-cloth turbans. All these characters are bare-bodied down to the waist. (I cannot but state here that Kathakali which has attained such perfection in the matter of dressing and make-up, has failed to present some of these minor characters like Narada properly. In fact, one has to change his conception of a "Narada" when seeing a Kathakali drama! I wish some Kathakali master comes forward to improve some of these details.)

This is a bird's-eye view of the Kathakali system of costumes and make-up, and should enable the reader to get a catch at it, should he have an opportunity to witness a classical Kathakali show. "And however complex and artificial it may be, the effect of it is simple as well as direct—simple in its analysis of character, and direct in its appeal."

But I should warn the readers that this is the standard maintained by only the best Kathakali parties like the Kerala Kala Mandalam, and the Chembakaseri Natana Kala Mandalam; and in the second-rate shows seen every day in the Malabar temples, the costumes, the make-up, and the very picture will be very unimpressive. But it should not be forgotten that a complete equipment for a standard Kathakali party may entail a cost in five figures. Now let us get into the actual stage.

The whole story enacted, usually forming a theme from one of the Hindu legends, is sung by vocal musicians to the accompaniment of drums, cymbals and gong. The songs are in a highly Sanskritized Malayalam language set to Carnatic music. The actors never speak or sing, but present some vigorous dance steps (*Nritya*) and act the meaning of the background music. It is very difficult for the uninitiated to understand the trend of the acting, unless the music is closely followed. Some of the villains and demons in the cast however produce certain screams and sounds just to add to the devilish element in their character.

\* This is to allow free movement of the legs.

† Making up a *Chutti* takes a very long time and therefore paper *chutti*, stuck to a paste foundation, are being used these days.



Here again, I have the comment that the Kathakali music is of a low standard in actual practice. While most of the songs are very well prepared, the poorly paid musicians who have to sing throughout a whole night standing, at the pitch of their voices (no microphone is used in Kathakali) give it a most unmusical touch! Among the few who maintain a standard in this aspect are Unnithan Brothers and Nambisan.

*Abhinaya* (Acting): "The actor having been denied the aid of the spoken word, has to depend entirely on *Angikabhinaya* comprising of hand gestures and other bodily expressions. The hand gestures known as *hasthas* or *mudras* founded on 24 *mudra* alphabets have, by a process of permutations and combinations, reached encyclopaedic proportions on the Kathakali stage and form a complete sign language which does not require the aid of the spoken word. The hand gestures are accompanied by various related bodily movements. A series of these movements express an idea or concept. In this scheme, the facial expressions, particularly the eye movements, are of paramount importance. Facial expressions enliven and give meaning to the hand gestures aiding the process of communication and the creation of *bhava* (mood) and *rasa*. Since there is no scenery as such in this drama, the required scene, whether it be a forest, a palace, a lake, or the mountain peak Kailasa, is projected by the sheer suggestive quality of the actor's gestures." *Sanchari Bhava* (descriptive interpretation) is highly developed in this school. I have seen some Kathakali actors describing the *Gokulam* (Lord Krishna's shepherd colony) for full one hour! On the whole, the marvellous movements of eyes, lips and the face, keep the audience thrilled and stunned, and keep the boredom out of this long performance. Especially, the demoniac forms, when acted by ace dancers, will keep the audience in perfect dreadfulness. Chengannur Raman Pillay's presentation of the *darbar* of Ravana is an instance which will ever be in the memory of the Kathakali fans. By the peculiar sound effect of the drums, the elegant gait and graceful movements of the hands and body, and the majestic screams he produces, an actor of Raman Pillay's eminence can easily create the royal effect of the Asura King's *darbar*, within an hour's continuous acting. In *Abhinaya* Kathakali follows canons different from those adopted by Bharata-natya and other Indian dance schools. While Bharata-natya just suggests an emotion and passes on to the next, the Kathakali exponent completely describes it. While Bharata-natya and other systems adopt natural, life-like expressions and movements, Kathakali expressions and movements are designed and exaggerated. But this is necessary to suit the colourful costumes and ghastly make-up of the dumb-show. Moreover, the Kerala art is a drama, in which dancing forms a part, and hence it has to give much importance to descriptions of situations, which the

dance arts can easily avoid. In any case, the peculiar stage setting, gaudy dresses, the fantastic make-up, and the extraordinary drumming, create a supernatural or at least a symbolic atmosphere for the mythological themes to be enacted. Its present finish is definitely fitting as long as Kathakali does not adopt wordly plots, and confines itself to mythological themes.



A *Pucca* and a *Minukku* in a romantic expression. A rare photograph of Thakazhi Kuntukurup in his world-famous role of Nala

But till the second quarter of this century, this great art had remained unrecognised even in its own home province, and it was the Renaissance Movement of the 1930's that kindled interest in the Indian dance systems, when Poet Laureate Vallathol Narayana Menon came forward to found a Kerala Art Centre (the Kerala Kala Mandalam) staffed by the greatest living masters of Kathakali. The Art Centre soon attracted world-wide attention and many Indian and foreign dancers came to Cochin State to learn this dumb yet eloquent pantomime. Among these were the American danseuses, La Meri and Ragini Devi, Simki (of France), Louise Lightfoot (of Australia) and Indian dancers, Uday Shankar, Ram Gopal and others. Vallathol himself led a Kathakali troupe and exhibited the stupendous dance treasure of Malabar for the first time in the Indian cities. Gopinath, Shivaram, Madhavan, and Haridass were the Kala Mandalam



students who made a name for themselves in India. Kathakali items entered the repertoire of all dancers and solo acts in Kathakali technique became popular in India, Europe, America, Australia and in the Asian countries.

The Kerala Kala Mandalam, now run by the Travancore-Cochin Government under the honorary supervision of the founder-director, the Poet, continues its sincere service for the art, and offers six-year courses each in the different aspects of the drama (like acting, music, drumming, make-up, etc.). The Government bear all food and accommodation expenses of the students since no young boy can be expected to take up to this arduous course, with such a poor future. (It may incidentally be mentioned here that in a Kathakali show costing over a thousand rupees the senior actor's remuneration will only be about Rs. 35!) The Kala Mandalam also offers special short courses for dancers, and even now many reputed artistes like Tara Chaudhuri and Shanta Devi undergo refresher courses there. The newly started Chembakaseri Natana Kala Mandalam, under the direction of Shri Kunju Kurup, is yet another institution which has done some very good work. Here again its capital expenditure as well as maintenance is solely met by an art-crazy musician, Nadaswaram Sankaranarayanan. Among other well-known institutions imparting training in Kathakali are Santiniketan, and Rukmini Devi's Kalakshetra.

Uday Shankar used the Kathakali technique in most of his ballets, but it was Anand Shivaram who first transported Kathakali in its pure and original form out of Indian shores to Australia and Europe. He was followed by Chatunni Panikkar and Monkompu Sivasankaran, who partnered Mrinalini Sarabhai in her recent tour of the continent. And it is evident from press comments that the Kerala art has created a very wide interest in the Western world. In fact, many young boys and girls in the West have

taken to Kathakali practice, as an exercise for the body and mind.

Kunju Kurup, Chembakkulam Pachu Pillay, Mangalam Namboothiri, Chengannur Raman Pillay and Chandu Panikkar are among the best masters of the art today, while the versatile Kalamandalam Krishnan Nair, Kudamaloor Karunakaran Nair and Kalamandalam Ramankutty are the juniors who have turned very popular.

Kathakali generally can be called a manly art and is better at expressing sterner and loftier emotions typical of masculine beauty. It has a sister art meant for the progressive women of Kerala in *Mohini Attam* or Kerala Nritya, another fine system of dance, which can be said to combine the grace and cooler beauties of Bharatanayta of Tamil and Telugu districts, with the virile power of Kathakali. A new section has recently been opened for this dying art in the Kerala Kala Mandalam.

While Kathakali lacks the smooth finish of the Tanjore dance, it has a wealth of material and a foundation of severe training, which no other art in the world can claim. Its glamorous system of costumes and make-up, its most inspiring dramatic effect, its unique standard of *Abhinaya* and grand dance patterns conform to the noblest canons of art, and marks Kathakali out as the most eloquent pantomime in the world.

With the poor remuneration he can hope to get, no ambitious artists may take up to Kathakali in future, unless the Government intentionally give enthusiastic patronage to this art at this critical juncture. Compulsory dance training in schools and colleges as a physical and emotional exercise for boys and girls, and guarantee of jobs to Kathakali exponents, are the only solutions to the reviving of this dying art which once dead can never be replaced by posterity. I can only say that the Government's duty to this art is very heavy.





## ORNAMENT OF THE EAST

### Botanic Gardens, Ootacamund

By DR. NIRA SRINIVASAN, M.Sc., Ph.D.

A lease of life of a hundred years is to be regarded as a proud landmark in the history of any organisation. Coupled with this if it had been the springboard of singular achievements, then it is a matter for universal approbation. Such an organisation becomes history by itself. We have such a unique institution in our country which has been responsible for initiating and developing a variety of activities which have enriched our land both from a point of view of aesthetic beauty and economic utility. It is the Government Botanic Gardens at Ootacamund in the Nilgiris, the centenary of which was celebrated between May 18 and 20 this year.

These Botanic Gardens are an ornament to the Nilgiris and are rightly regarded as a beauty-spot of the East. Situated at an altitude of 7200 feet between the Government House and Todamull Hill, these 51 acres of land are at once a feast for the eyes and provide an unequalled appeal for the mind. None can miss their vastly laid-out beautiful lawns, their pines and oaks standing in all majesty with only the sky as their limit, their innumerable array of variegated flowers and last but not the least their slopes and the lovers' path. Tranquillity reigns supreme in such congenial and natural surroundings. It is no wonder it has become a favourite resort for princes and paupers both from India and abroad.

#### HUMBLE BEGINNING

It is said that great institutions have an humble beginning. Never was this maxim more true than in the case of the Botanic Gardens at Ooty. Far back in 1845 a few European residents joined together with a limited objective of growing English vegetables. Two years later, the first Commissioner of the Nilgiris, with the aid of subscriptions, started "the Agricultural and Horticultural Society of the Neilgherry Hills" and opened a public garden. The organisers had a far-sighted vision and we see proof of this in their laudable objectives for the garden. The garden was to afford an agreeable resort for the residents of the queen of hill stations, to obtain a steady supply of flowers and vegetables, to provide a repository of plants of contiguous countries, to provide a store from which the stations of the Presidency can procure seeds of quality and to assist men of science both in Great Britain and India through an interchange of plant materials.

The then Governor of Madras, The Marquis of Tweeddale, took a personal interest in the garden and

contributed largely to the funds. To meet the need for a scientific gardener, the Court of Directors of the East India Company in 1848, secured the services of Mr. McIvor of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew. He took over in 1849 what was "a patch of vegetable garden with adjacent wilderness." Within a decade he transformed the rugged banks of forests into terraces, lawns and flower-beds and planted a choice selection of plants from all the world over. Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General, was so impressed that he recommended the taking over of the garden by Government, which was done in 1859.

Mr. Proudlock, who came as the next curator, had an international reputation to his credit in gardening. He introduced many rare plants and brought the Botanic Gardens to their present magnificence. Other ably trained curators came in succession and contributed in abundant measure to their maintenance and improvement. It is to the labours of a line of distinguished curators that we behold the spectacle of an *Ornament of the East*, that the Botanic Gardens at Ootacamund are today.



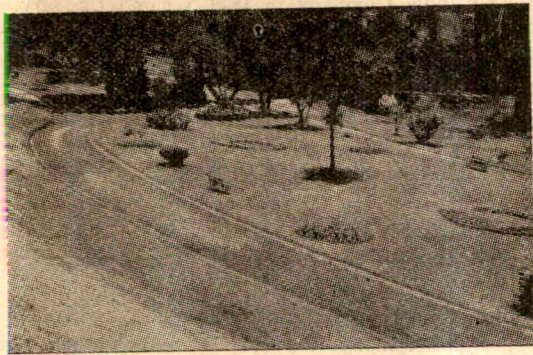
Government House with sunk garden in the foreground, Botanic Gardens, Ooty

#### THE GARDENS

The Botanic Gardens have a claim to be a national asset. Nowhere else do we have such a wonderful collection of all that is worth having in the plant kingdom. There are nearly a thousand plants drawn from thirty countries ranging from Siberia to New Zealand and from Japan to Brazil. The rearing of plants on alien soil is an arduous task and the enormity of the trouble taken can well be imagined when we see no less than thirty-five varieties of eucalyptus, seventy-five kinds of roses and a host of pines, con-



fers and rare medical herbs to boost. Their lawns are truly remarkable and provide poise and calm to the whole atmosphere. There are nurseries and glasshouses for propagation of plants ranging from the tropical to the temperate. Apart from the ornamental value, the gardens, during a century of their existence can take legitimate pride in their achievements for contributing to the industrial wealth of the Nilgiris.



Lawns, Botanic Gardens, Ooty

#### OUTSTANDING ACHIEVEMENTS

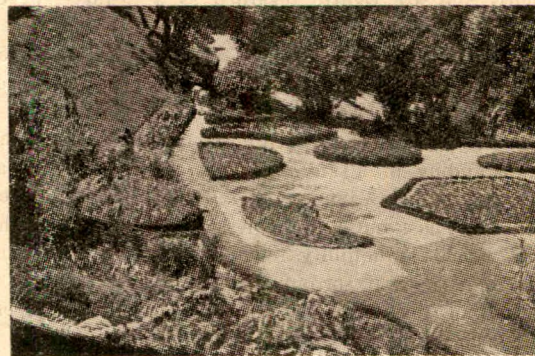
Imagination, patience and hard work have been behind the outstanding achievements of the Botanic Gardens at Ootacamund. Cinchona plantation is an important industry in the Nilgiris and the large quantities of quinine that are produced go to alleviate human suffering from one of the worst diseases known to mankind. This could not have been possible but for the first introduction of Cinchona, the wild trees of the Western Hemisphere, into the Botanic Gardens, their acclimatisation into cultivated ones by careful propagation by the first curator, utilising indigenous and ingenious techniques. By exchange with the Dutch Government at Java newer varieties were introduced and several plants were distributed for establishment at Sikkim and in Ceylon. In a short time by 1863, a stable industry came into being and called for the establishment of a separate Cinchona Department.

The potato is the chief commercial crop of the Nilgiris which is the source of big quality potatoes in this country. The systematic introduction and initial research connected with potatoes were conducted at the Botanic Gardens and it was only in 1917 that work on potatoes was transferred to a separate research station, viz., The Agricultural Research Station, Nanjanad.

The introduction and cultivation of English vegetables on a large scale was the first objective of the Gardens. Today English vegetables are grown extensively on the Nilgiris and their quality and popularity are too well known. With a hundred years of experience in growing vegetables, the Gardens constitute an important source of vegetable seeds and

seedlings for private gardeners and planters. The only Agricultural Station for vegetables was opened at Wellington in 1947 to meet the growing need for vegetables.

The Botanic Gardens have rendered yeoman's service in the introduction into India of several hill fruits, like apple, plums, pears and peaches. Immediately after the establishment of the garden in 1848, good desert varieties were introduced and the first mulberry tree was planted in 1871. Continued experiments with hill fruits led to the expansion of the work into separate fruit research stations like the Burlier Fruit Station started in 1871, the Kallar Fruit Station in 1900, and the Pomological Station at Coonoor in 1920. The Ooty Gardens should be credited with establishing a range of fruits which include not only the hill fruits but others like the mangosteen, durain, avocado and grape fruit, "which in their comprehensiveness of collection is perhaps unbeatable in any fruit research station of the world."



Slopes and walks, Botanic Gardens, Ooty

It was the Government Botanic Gardens that pioneered in the introduction of various types of eucalyptus and now there are no less than 36 varieties. Each of them gives a distinct oil, like the common eucalyptus oil or the sweet-smelling Citriodora oil. In addition, the tree is the chief source of firewood for the hills and the adjacent plains.

The Wattle bark, indispensable for the tanning industry, has become of utmost commercial significance with the stoppage of imports from South Africa. 2000 acres of Wattle on the Nilgiris serve the country's needs at present. Again the early experiments with Wattle were done at the Ooty Gardens. About 20 medicinal plants of value, both native and foreign, are grown here; there are several others like essential oil plants, fodder and fibre crops, rubber and so on. Lastly, innumerable flower-beds with a blaze of colour, hedges, shrubs, orchids and ferns go to make the Botanic Gardens "the prettiest of public gardens to be found in the East."



## NEW HORMONE EXPERIMENTS

Recently a series of experiments have been started with plant hormones as an aid in propagation of several varieties of both ornamental and economic plants. Attempts are being made in inducing seedless fruits in tomatoes by using hormones and also to study the growth phases of economic plants using them. Hybridisation work to evolve new varieties of flowers and the increased production of necessary plants by quicker methods of propagation, to meet increasing demands from within the country and abroad, are also being pursued.

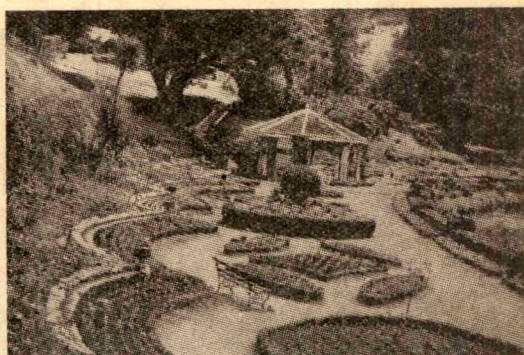
## VALUABLE ADJUNCT

The Botanic Gardens at Ootacamund are a valuable adjunct to the study of Botany in India. The knowledge of South Indian flora has been well gained, thanks to the efforts of several government servants, and Botany has been established on a sound footing in this part of the land. Innumerable students and professors make pilgrimages every year to the Botanic Gardens, to see and know more about rare plants. The hundred and odd natural orders present there are of perennial interest to Botanists.

## THE FUTURE

Various speakers at the Centenary Celebration including the Hon'ble Minister for Agriculture and Sir R. K. Sanmukham Chetty laid great emphasis on the future that lies before this unique institution. At the moment there is an acute lack of scientific personnel for carrying out the many developmental programmes that have been chalked out. Curiously enough the Government of Madras have cut down the present

year's grant by Rs. 39,000. Needless to say this drastic cut would severely handicap the work of maintenance of these beautiful gardens, not to think of initiation of new lines of work.



Italian style bandstand, Botanic Gardens, Ooty

The plan to invite tourist traffic from dollar areas is being incubated in knowledgeable quarters and is being freely talked about in the country. If only to provide a decent fare to the foreign public, it is not only immediate and essential to maintain the Gardens in the best possible manner but also to improve the standard of work going on there by latest methods. It was also pointed out that public support is needed to conserve these gardens. It may be remarked that even a public agitation on a nation-wide basis is called for in an effort to procure adequate funds from the Centre and from the States to restore the glory of the Botanic Gardens.

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## MUSEUM OF THE LAND

By DUNCAN EMRICH

Set against the rolling hills of the eastern State of New York and facing Lake Otsego north of Cooperstown, is the Farmers Museum, one of the most complete folk museums in the United States. It has a country store, a village schoolhouse and a blacksmith shop. And the barn, enormous even as New York barns go, is crammed from end to end and from floor to beams with farm tools and implements. All of them are authentic. All of them were made or used in New York.

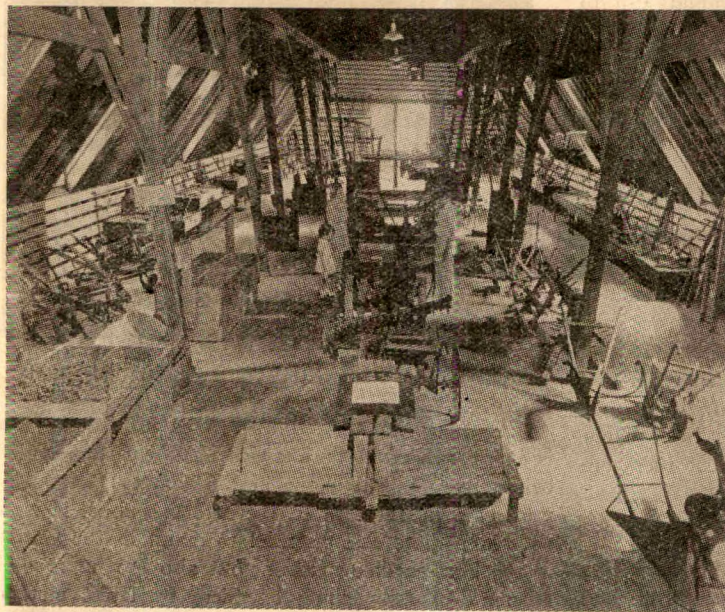
Farmers flock to the museum, as well as do descendants of farmers, which includes virtually everyone whose family has been in the United States for three generations. The museum is young, but the 100,000 people who have visited it in the last three years are missionaries to millions who will visit it in the future.

The museum and the country corners where the school and store stand came into being through the vision and leadership of Stephen C. Clark, descendant of an old Cooperstown family and chairman of the board of trustees of the New York State Historical Association. He conceived the idea of preserving the lore and history of New York's most important industry through a farmers' museum. The museum was dedicated in 1942 in the village of Cooperstown itself, but the collections grew so rapidly with gifts and acquisitions that they were moved in 1944 to their present location, the great stone dairy barn belonging to the Clark family. The barn and green acres around it were given to the Historical Association.

Director of the museum is Dr. Louis C. Jones, a former professor of English and Folklore at the New York State College for Teachers. Two of his assistants



are neither museum-trained nor college-bred. They come right out of the village of Cooperstown and the soil of New York. After all, who knows more about farming implements than a farmer? And who knows more about blacksmithing than a smith?



The Farmers Museum in Cooperstown in the State of New York

George Campbell, who bears the richly deserved title of Assistant Curator, was a farmer before coming to the museum. Fred Hunt, the smith, was once Cooperstown's blacksmith and had a regular and thriving business before tractors replaced horses. Hunt knows everything there is to know about iron, shoes the remaining Cooperstown horses and also manufactures hand-wrought ironwork for tourists and on local order.

Among the exhibits is a life-sized wooden horse which stands in the shafts of a doctor's one-horse shay, facing a country hearse and a tin-peddler's cart. Ranged in the carriage room also are a great Conestoga wagon (a covered wagon used in the American West prior to the building of the railroads), an open band wagon, a century-old hand-pumper fire engine and an ox-cart painted with red buttermilk paint. An elegant country treasure which must have created a mild sensation on the dirt roads is a four-seated, lacquered black-and-red carriage with red plush seats and glittering post lamps.

The rare dog churns for making butter are just inside the main entrance which is flanked by two towering corn silos. One of the churns is a straight treadmill type, the band of the tread revolving over two rollers, one of which is geared to an arm which operated the dash. The second, and more unusual,

consists of a huge circular wheel held off the ground by a wooden-framework support. The dog, running on the wheel like a squirrel in a cage, turned gears which ultimately whipped rich cream into fresh country butter.

In the barn is a small churn called the Quarter Moon. Standing no higher than a foot and a half, curved on the bottom and just wide enough at each end to seat a small child, the churn had been built as a utilitarian teeter-totter or seesaw.

One corner of the barn is now a re-created country kitchen, with its large fireplace, iron pots and kettles, and the old-style dough oven built to one side of the chimney and heated by the fire on the hearth. In the coopers' section, the whole process of making barrels was displayed. The hoops were made of young and small hickory trees split in half and held around the barrel staves with a notch which locked the hoop. There were no nails. Old frows which split the staves from solid blocks of wood were imbedded in place, ready for the cooper's next blow.

The farmers were ingenious. They did not invent tools or equipment for the mere sake of inventing, but out of necessity. They saw their wives aging under the heavy burden of housework and they felt the strain upon themselves in the field. Labor-saving devices and the American knack for invention were the order of the day. The first washing machines were made on the farms. Washing clothes and scrubbing them in water that had to be lifted and carried in buckets from well to fire to tub was back-breaking work. A farmer designed a box with a ribbed interior on a pair of rockers which could swish clothes reasonably clean. A cooper went further and built an all-wood machine that squashed and squeezed the soapy water through the clothes and, with an ingenious little crank, wrung them dry.

The growth of labor-saving techniques is apparent in virtually all the exhibits, but obvious even to the uninitiated in the making of water pipes. The first pipes were hollowed-out logs, open at the top and crudely joined together. They may still be seen at the springs on old farms in New York and the New England States. Chipmunks, bugs and dirt, of course, fell into the logs and there was the constant problem of keeping the water clean. The next development was to hollow out the logs from both ends to make wooden water pipes, joining one to another at



the ends by shaving them down to fit. This was heavy, time-consuming work, but the only method used until the final introduction of metal pipe. The museum has a unique collection of the long-pod augers used in the log-hollowing process, and the director is now on the track of a folksong about them. He has heard of the song, knows it exists, but so far has been unable to locate it.

The great loft in the barn is devoted to implements used in farming the land, beginning with the plows used in the spring, running through the hot days of summer, to the scythes, sickles and harvesting tools of autumn. The unbelievably graceful lines of some of the sickles show clearly that the farmer had a deep appreciation of the beauty of his work tools, quite apart from their sturdy construction for field use.

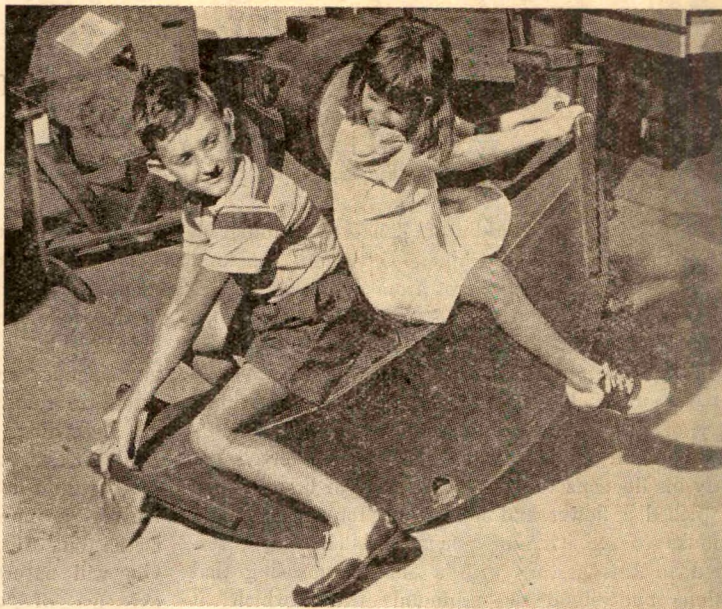
How the vast collections which interpret the life of the farmer grow year by year is a tale of community and farm country pride. The museum staff has scoured the State, of course, but rich treasures come from the farm families who visit the barn on Sunday afternoons. Farmers and farmers' wives often contribute many historically valuable items from their barns and attics.

The museum's one-room schoolhouse with its small desks, wooden pegs for young scholars' coats, water bucket and tin cup, iron stove and Guffey's Readers (the reader used in nineteenth-century American schools) was an actual school which stood for over 120 years at near-by Filer's Corners. It was built in 1817 by Thomas Alvah Filer at his own expense to provide rural schooling for the farm children near the Corners. Like the store and smithy, the building was carefully moved stone by stone and reconstructed at the museum's own Corners. To country folk it brings back vivid memories of youth and stands as a symbol of what early education was in the United States.

Equally nostalgic, equally important was the country store. Here the destiny of states and nations was pondered, here the farmer discussed his crops and weather, here he wrangled over checkers with a neighbor. It was the post office, club, barbershop, medicine chest, shoeshop, millinery store, tobacconist's and hardware store all rolled into one. It dispensed candy and valentines, lamp shades and horse collars, dried apples and buttons, coffee grinders and homeopathic remedies. Peppermint sticks and long whips

of licorice are sold by the storekeeper to children who are tantalized by the candy and refuse to consider it museum property. The squat stove, the cracker barrel and a checker game are in place as they were a hundred years ago. But the most authentic touch is a can of coal oil—the spout plugged with a potato.

If the visitor has any doubts about the museum as a living part of New York life, after seeing the



The Quarter-Moon churn, which did the work while the children seesawed, is one of the many exhibits in the Farmers Museum

barn, schoolhouse and store, the doubts are dispelled for ever at the smithy. Likely as not, the smith will be shoeing a farmer's horse, for the flaming forge is now the only one in Cooperstown. Or he will be pounding out a wrought-iron sign for a summer resident. The smithy, dating from 1827, was moved intact from its original site, a huge horseshoe hanging over the door to proclaim the brief business. The walls are hung with varied types of horseshoes, ranging from the split shoes for oxen to the curious lopsided ones hammered out for fancy trotting horses.

The director hopes to add to the Corners year by year and one of the first additions will be an early farmhouse with its own barns and outbuildings. This will not detract from the present collections in the huge dairy barn, but where the butter churns there, for example, number 20 or 30, the farmhouse will have only the one churn in the buttery, just as the housewife used it.

Then there will be an old tavern, a gristmill, a print shop with handset type, and a gunsmith's shop. Jones plans to operate them just as the blacksmith shop is now run by Hunt. There will be no shoddiness. Everything will be the real thing. Everything must



reflect the American past, its simplicity, its greatness.

Jones has written it well for his own guidance :  
 "Our purpose is never mere antiquarianism, mere collecting for its own sake. Rather, the Farmers Museum has been built on the conviction that a people who understand their heritage are better

equipped to face the present and the future. From a knowledge of the resourcefulness, the ingenuity, the courage, the laughter of our people in the past comes a lift of the chin, a confidence in our hearts that we too shall solve our problems and look forward to the tomorrow of our children's children."—From *Country Gentleman*.

—:O:—

## BODHIDHARMA, FATHER OF DHYANA SCHOOL IN CHINA

By CHOU HSIANG-KUANG, M.A.,

Lecturer in Chinese, School of Foreign Languages, Government of India

As a specific type of Buddhism, Zen is first found in China, being peculiarly a Chinese version of the kind of Buddhism that was brought from India by Bodhidharma in about 527 A.D. His school was known as Dhyana Buddhism, pronounced Chan in Chinese and Zen in Japanese, which means immediate insight into the nature of reality or life. The Chinese traditional history of this school is as follows :

Sakyamuni Buddha who had been forced to modify his doctrine to suit the capacity of his disciples, once picked a flower and held it up for the assembly of monks to see. One of them, Mahakasyapa, responded to this gesture with a smile, indicating that he alone understood the profound truth which it signified. After the others had retired the Buddha called this disciple to him in private and mystically transmitted to him the highest truth of all. From Mahakasyapa, it was transmitted to another disciple, Ananda, who thus became the second in a line of 28 patriarchs, ending with Bodhidharma in China. However, he is known as the first Chinese patriarch who was followed by five others, the last of whom was Huineng, after whom the school split up into several branches and no further patriarchs were created.

The *Continued Biographies of High Priests of China* states that the founder of Dhyana School, Bodhidharma, was the son of a king of South India; but according to the *Records of Loyang Temples*, he was an inhabitant of Po-sseu which is identified with Persia. Bodhidharma arrived at Canton in 527 A.D. during the reign of the Sung dynasty, and after some time he went to Northern China and met Emperor Wu-ti in Nanking. He bluntly told the Emperor that he had acquired no merit by causing temples to be built or Sanskrit books translated into Chinese. The Emperor asked, "What is the most important of the holy doctrines?" Bodhidharma replied, "Where all is emptiness nothing can be called holy." "Who," asked the astonished emperor, "is he who thus replies to me?" "I do not know," said Bodhidharma. The patriarch could not come to any understanding with

Wu-ti, left Nanking and went to Loyang where he spent nine years at Shao-ling monastery gazing silently at a wall. This monastery which was founded in the last quarter of the 5th century A.D. is still the beautiful habitation of a group of Buddhist monks, but its once splendid buildings are now to a great extent in ruins. He died in 537 A.D.

According to Tao-hsuan's *Biographies of the High Priests*, Bodhidharma handed his copy of the *Lankavatara* in four fasciculi to his first disciple, Hui-ke, saying, "As I observe, there are no Sutras in China but this, you take it for your guidance and you will naturally save the world." By the non-existence of "other sutras," Bodhidharma evidently meant that there were at that time no sutras other than the *Lankavatara* which would serve as a guide book. It becomes clearer as we come to Tao-yuan's *Records of the Transmission of the Lamp* in which the author states :

"The Master further said : 'I have the *Lankavatara* in four fasciculi which is handed over to you, and in this is disclosed the essential teachings of the Tathagata concerning his mental ground. It will lead all sentient beings to spiritual opening and enlightenment. Since I came to this country, I was poisoned about five times and each time I took out this sutra and tried its miraculous power by putting it on stone which was split into pieces. I have come from South India to this Eastern land and have observed that in this country of China the people are predisposed to Mahayana Buddhism. That I have travelled far over seas and deserts is due to my desire to find proper persons to whom my doctrine may be transmitted. While there was as yet no good opportunity for this, I remained silent as if I were one who could not speak. Now that I have you, (this sutra) is given to you, and my wish is at last fulfilled'."

The *Lankavatara* Sutra may be divided as regards its textual construction into the following six specifically definable parts :

1. The Ravana chapter.
2. The section devoted to the enumeration of the so-called 108 terms.



3. The prose section in which no verses are found.  
 4. The prose-and-verse section, which may be sub-divided into :

- (a) The part devoted to a discourse carried on principally in verse, for instance, paragraphs on the system of Vijnanas.
- (b) The part containing ideals fully developed both in prose and verse, for example, meat-eating chapter.
- (c) The part containing ideas fully discussed in prose and supposedly recapitulated in verse, as in the greater parts of the text.

5. The Dharani section.

6. The "Sagathakam."

Bodhidharma wrote no books himself but taught that true knowledge is gained in meditation by intuition and communicated by transference of thought. His chief thesis is that the only True Reality is the Buddha-nature in the heart of everybody. Prayer, asceticism and good work are vain. Bodhidharma, therefore, said : "You will not find Buddha in images or books. Look into your own heart: that is where you will find Buddha." The Chinese word for "heart," it should be noted, has a very complex significance and we often come across religious or philosophical passages in which the word might more appropriately, though even then inadequately, be rendered by "mind." The Chinese term is "*hsin*" and this may be regarded as the key-word of the Zen Buddhism which has for many centuries dominated Chinese religious thoughts.

In reading the lives of the great Zen patriarchs and abbots we frequently meet with the curious expression *Shou Hsin Yin*—meaning "to transmit, or to receive, the seal of the heart". This expression is used to denote what we might describe as the apostolical succession. Just as a civil magistrate, when vacating his post, hands over the tangible and material seals of office to the official who is to succeed him, so the Zen abbot when about to die transmits to his successor in religion the intangible and spiritual "seals of the heart."

After Bodhidharma the study of the *Lankavatara* went on steadily as is shown in the history of Zen Buddhism. Hui-ke, the Zen master, followed the *Lankavatara* when preaching Buddhism. Hence he and his disciples were called the *Lankavatara* masters. According to Tao-hsuan, the author of the *Tang Kao Seng Chuan*, we have in *The Life of Hui-ke* the following :

"Therefore, Na, Man, and other masters always took along with them the *Lankavatara* as the book in which spiritual essence is propounded. Their discourses and disciplines were everywhere based upon it in accordance with the instructions left (by the Master)."

Na and Man were disciples of Hui-ke. Further down in Tao-hsuan's *Biographies* we come to the life of Fa-chung, who was a contemporary of Tao-hsuan and flourished in the early middle period of the Tang rule, and who was an especial student of the *Lankavatara*. Here we have a concise history of the study of this sutra after Hui-ke.



Bodhidharma, father of Dhyana School in China

Fa-chung, deploring very much that the deep significance of the *Lankavatara* had been neglected for so long, went around everywhere regardless of the difficulties of travelling in the far-away mountains and over the lonely wastes. He finally came upon the descendants of Hui-ke among whom this sutra was being studied a great deal. He put himself under the tutorage of a master and had frequent occasions of spiritual realisation. The master then let him leave the company of his fellow-students and follow his own way in lecturing on the *Lankavatara*. He lectured over thirty times in succession. Later he met a monk who had been instructed personally by Hui-ke in the teaching of the *Lankavatara* according to the inter-



pretations of the Ekayana School of Southern India. Ch'ung again lectured on it over a hundred times.

Fa-ch'ung, since he began to study the *sūtras*, made the *Lankavatara* the chief object of his especial study and altogether gave over two hundred lectures on it. He had not, however, so far written anything about it. He went about with his lecturing as circumstances directed him, and he had no pre-meditated plans for his missionary activities. When one gets into the spirit of the teaching one realizes the oneness of things; but when the letter is adhered to, the truth appears varied. The followers of Ch'ung, however, insisted upon his putting the essence into a kind of writing. Said the Master:

"The essence is the ultimate reality of existence; when it is expressed by means of language its finessse is lost; much more is this the case when it is committed to writing."

He, however, could not resist the persistent requests of his disciples. The result appeared as a commentary in five fasciculi, entitled *Ssu Ch'i* (private notes), which is widely circulated at present.

The study of the *Lankavatara* after Fa-ch'ung seems to have declined, especially in connection with Zen Buddhism, and its place was taken by the *Vajracchedika*, a *sūtra* belonging to the Prajnaparamita group.

The Zen way of teaching is to demonstrate Reality rather than to talk about it, or, if words are used at all, to avoid formally religious terminology and conceptual statements. When Zen speaks it expresses Reality, not with logical explanations and doctrines but with everyday conversation, or with statements that upset the normal conceptual mode of thinking so violently that they appear as utter nonsense, because Zen desires to get rid of concepts to shatter the rigid frames in which we try to possess life and thus employs a thorough-going iconoclastic method. The following is an example, in which, there is brief dialogue between masters and pupils, which illustrates

its peculiar method of instruction, pointing to the Real directly without interposing ideas and notions about it.

Hui-hai was asked, "How can one attain the Great Nirvana?"

"Have no Karma that works for transmigration."

"What is the Karma for transmigration?"

"To seek after the Great Nirvana, to abandon the defiled and take to the undefiled, to assert that there is something attainable and something realizable, not to be free from the teaching of opposites—this is the Karma that works for transmigration."

"How can one be emancipated?"

"No bondage from the very first, and what is the use of seeking emancipation? Act as you will, go on as you feel—without second thought. This is the incomparable way."

Hui-hai's final remark must not, however, give the impression that Zen is just living lazily and fatuously in the present and taking life as it comes. If this be used as a formula for grasping the reality of Zen, the whole point is missed. A master was asked, "What is the Tao?" "Walk on," he shouted. Thus whenever you think you have the right idea of Zen, drop it and walk on.

Zen is spiritual freedom or spiritual poverty, that is, the liberation of our true nature from the burden of those fixed ideas and feelings about Reality which we accumulate through fear—the fear that life will run away from us. "Scholars," said Lao-tze, "gain every day but Taoists loses every day." Or in the words of Jesus, "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven . . . Blessed are the pure in heart, for they shall see God." A poem from Wu Men Kwan expressing the meaning of poverty and freedom will appropriately end this chapter:

Hundreds of spring flowers; the autumn moon;  
A fresh summer breeze, winter snow:  
Free your mind from idle thoughts,  
And for you any season is a good season.

—:O:—

## SINO-TIBETAN RELATIONS

By PROF. SHER SINGH GUPTA, B.Sc., M.A.

A study of history points to very ancient connections between Tibet and its neighbour, China. Still technically a part of China, Tibet, though really a separate land in point of race, culture, history and geography from China, has always recognized Chinese suzerainty.

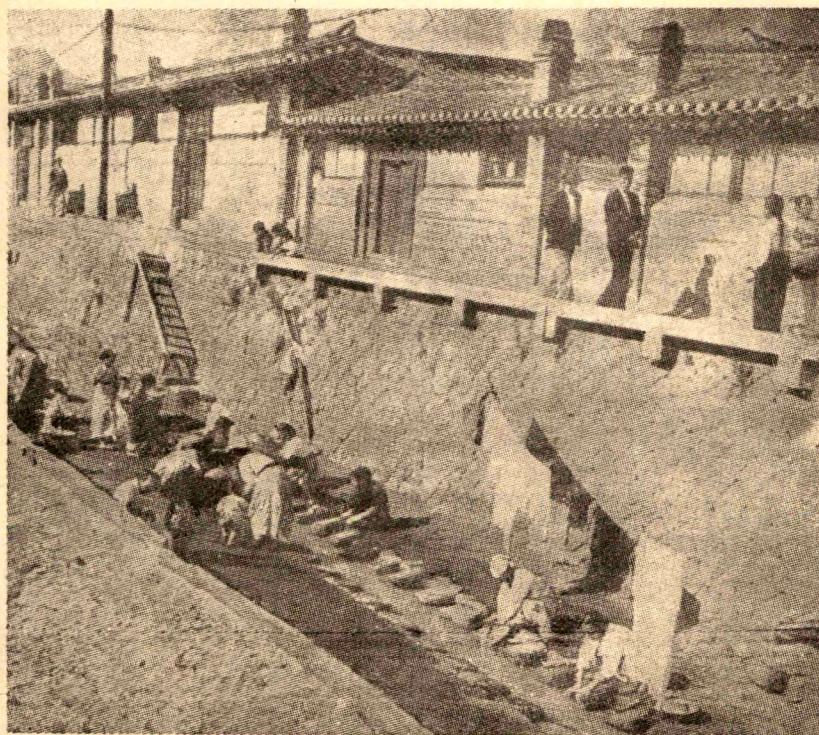
The earliest traces of Chinese influence in Tibet can be found in the seventh century when during the period of the T'ang dynasty a strong kingdom arose in Tibet. During much of the T'ang rule, Tibetan invasions periodically troubled the Chinese. On one occasion the T'ang capital, Ch'angan, was taken by

Tibetans. Kublai Khan, the Mongol Emperor of China, became interested in Tibetan Lamaism and favoured it. The Ming Emperors also supported the Lamas and showed honour to the Dalai Lama, the ruling monk at Lhasa. They established relations with Nepal and brought that State, bordering Tibet and India, to acknowledge Chinese suzerainty. Presumably they did this because it seemed to them the best way to keep Tibet at peace and under their influence. The Ch'ing dynasty which followed the Ming, also pursued much the same policy. The K'ang Hsi Emperor, indeed, extended his rule over the country.



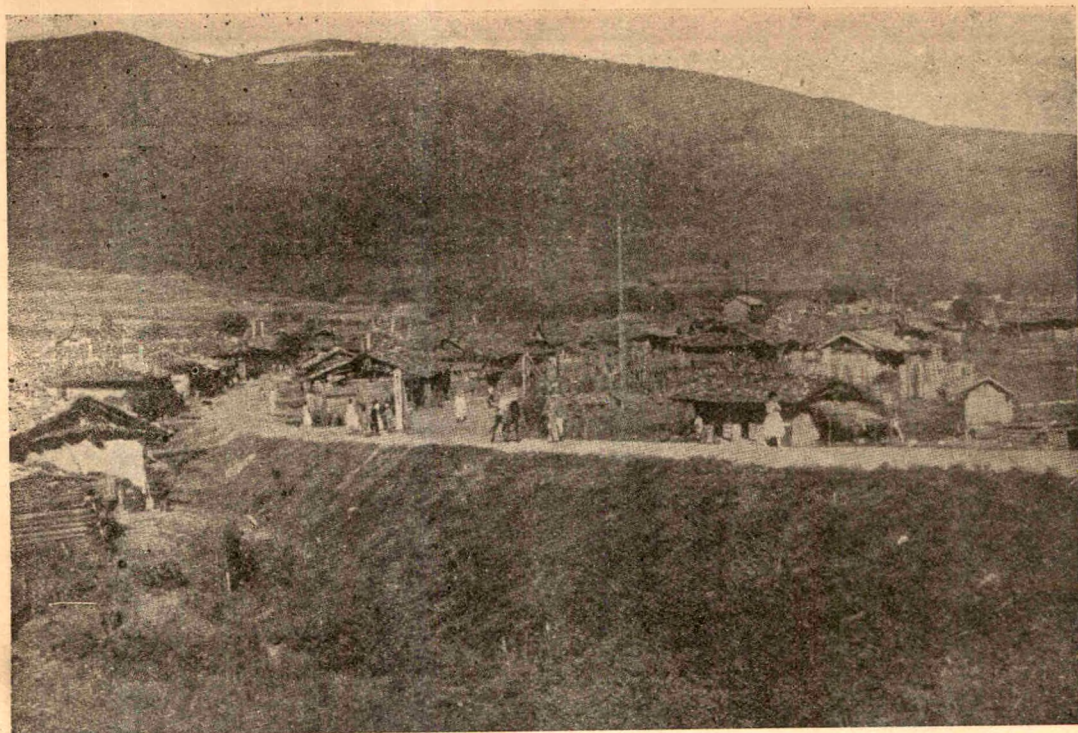


Seoul, capital of South Korea



A street in Seoul, with women at their washing





, A village in the hilly districts of North Korea

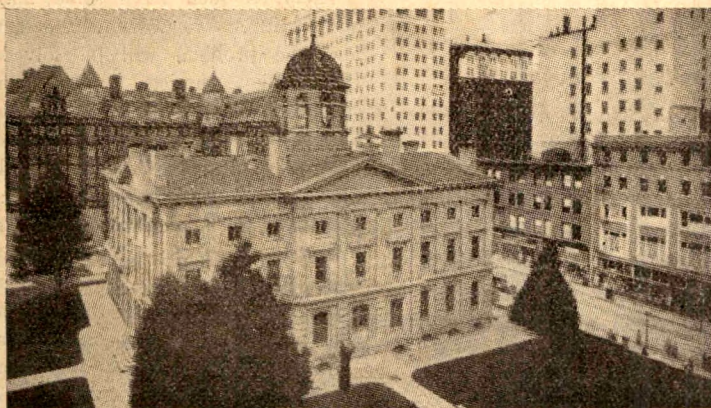


Nojido in North Korea. A peasant is engaged in his household work. A party of hunters is about to leave the place



retired neighbourhood affords specimens of ideas of order, of quiet, of sober, well-established principles which represent peaceful existence.

The first element that one should note in America is the physical immensity of the country. America is larger than India, but that comparison does not evoke the full image of the Titan. This immense country was rugged and virginal only three hundred years ago.



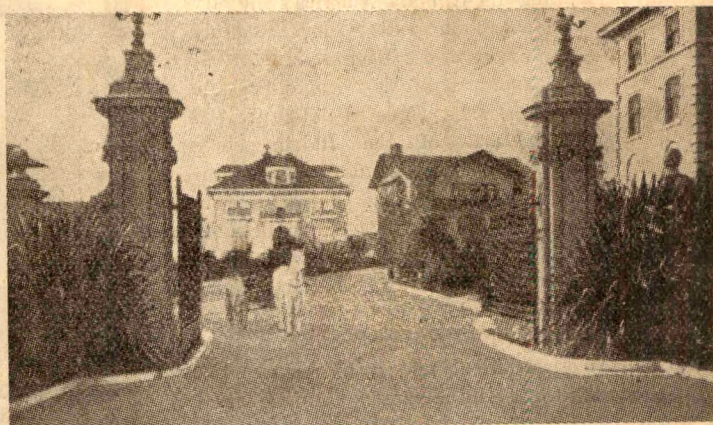
Government Building, Portland Hotel, N. W. Bank and Meir and Frank Building, Portland, Oregon

The lore of the Aryan pioneers who tamed India is now remote from our consciousness. But the saga of the sturdy pioneers who broke the American frontier is still a matter of family traditions. America is the world in miniature. It is, like India, a melting pot of races and religions, colours and creeds. Fresh racial stocks continued to pour into the melting pot. And yet what emerged was not a hybrid but an authentic type—the American.

The characteristic of the American life is to be found in the obliteration of differences between rural and urban life. In America even a hamlet is a city in miniature. It has paved roads, cinemas, radios, a hospital, a school, the town hall, and even a local dramatic society. A farmer, off his work, wears clothes in the style of Hollywood stars, and he has the musical tastes that match with the tastes of those who frequent New York's Metropolitan Opera House or Chicago's Grand Opera House. The result is this: many people in America prefer to live in villages, while in India few educated persons care to go to villages in spite of patriotic appeals.

The taste of the American in the cultivation of land, and in what is called landscape gardening is

unrivalled. They have studied Nature intently, and discovered an exquisite sense of beautiful forms and harmonising combinations; and what delights me, is the creative talent with which the American decorates the abodes of village life. The rudest habitation, the most unpromising and scanty portion of land, in the hands of an American of taste, becomes undoubtedly a little paradise. With a nicely discriminating eye he seizes at once upon its capabilities, and pictures in his mind the future landscape. The sterile spot grows into loveliness under his hand; and yet the operations of art which produce the effect are scarce to be perceived. The cherishing and training of some trees; the cautious pruning of others; the distribution of flowers and of tender and graceful foliage; the introduction of a degree of taste and elegance in rural economy—the trim hedge, the grass-plot before the door, the little flower-bed bordered with snug box, the pot of flowers in the windows—all these bespeak the influence of



Entrance to Presidio Terrace, an exclusive residential district, San Francisco, California

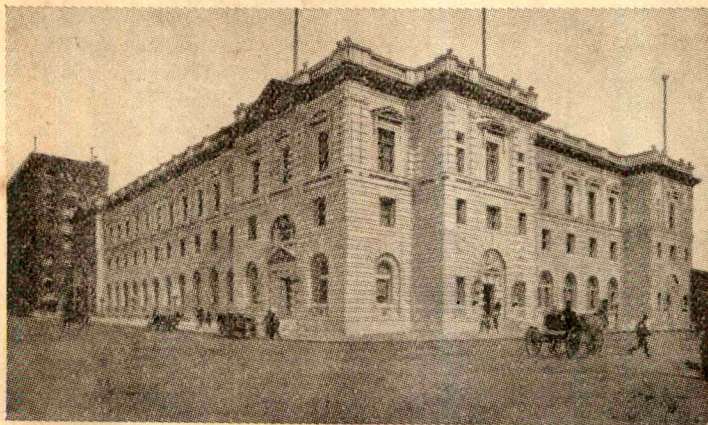
taste flowing down from high sources and pervading the lowest levels of American life.

Although America is a land of great trusts and combines and corporations, it has also a cult of creative artists who belong to the liberal revolt. Sometime ago these were described as the "muckrakers" and now they are called progressives or leftists. Their aim is to hit big fortunes and to extol the common man through the medium of their literature. Many have attacked the so-called Robber Barons, and noteworthy among them are Doss Passos, Steinbeck, James T. Farrel and Upton Sinclair.



American literature offers an open-door policy to all writers and artists. Most cultures of the world are suspicious of foreign ways. Most professions are intolerant of foreigners. America has accepted and even glorified foreign writers residing on its soil and writing in English. I can cite many names but I shall limit myself to only two writers who are no strangers to thinking Indians—the late Dhana Gopal Mukerjee of

The American theatre is the liveliest that I have seen anywhere. I have seen English dramas, and some Chinese and Japanese plays. I know all too much about the Indian theatre not to feel pained. Of all the national stages I have seen I like the American stage most. Even today, America can boast of such playwrights as Eugene O'Neill, Robert E. Sherwood, and William Saroyan.



Post Office, San Francisco

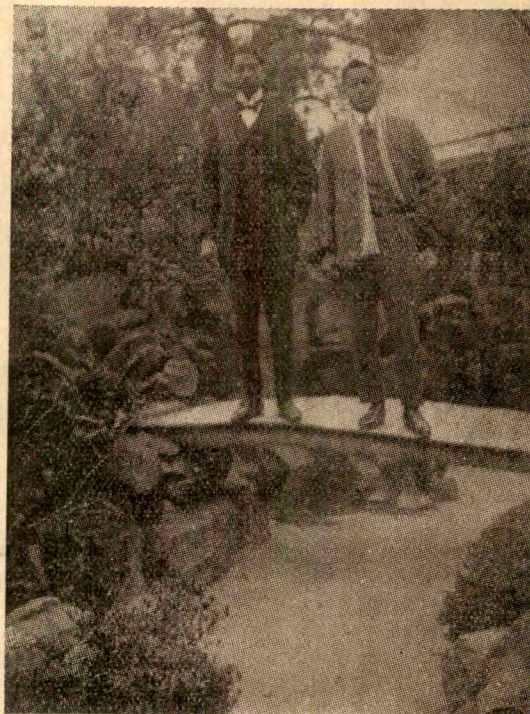
India and Lin Yutang of China. America's literary tastes know no national boundaries; they are truly catholic in the non-religious sense of the term.

The backbone of American life is the middle class. The mass of the American people belong to the middle class, while the mass of the Indian people belong to the masses. In other words, there is no appreciable middle class in India. Literature in America, therefore, is less class-conscious than in most countries of Europe and Asia. Most of the workers of America still think of themselves as potential millionaires. The myth of the social ladder still persists. The central note of American life is, therefore, success and progress. The American mind refuses to regard even the sky as the limit. It is the most optimistic mind in the world.

In America, the intellectual labour of a man or woman is rewarded, which ought to sound reassuring in this land of literary penury. And in quite a few cases literature brings high rewards. Some American novelists are as rich as industrialists. That is because book business has almost become an industry, like almost everything else in America. The mass production and mass enjoyment of a successful book have been possible mainly through the various book-clubs whose business it is to guess beforehand what the public will like and then make the public like it. The greatest writers of the world gravitate to America in search of gold. So competition is very stiff, and standard extremely high.

Facts as such have some magic quality in America. Know the facts, and the problem will be solved—that is the American credo. Americans are the world's best fact-finders, but they are not as good theorists as the Germans or the Russians. The worship of facts has elevated the common man and today the industrialisation, nationalisation, and hundred other plans derive their strength from the American preoccupation with facts.

Lastly, the greatest thing about America is that it always looks to the future and seldom to the past. This has developed a certain consciousness that raises



The writer with a friend at Corvallis, Oregon, U. S. A.

the American life to exhibit elegance and strength and robustness of mind which have a salutary effect upon the national character.



of elementary training for the visual arts. This could be developed into a full-fledged teaching institute for producing trained film-artists and producers with a special grounding in pictorial art, art-history, and archaeology. There should be a rule that the commercial producers shall not be allowed to produce any film without the service of a trained "picture-man," holding a diploma from the proposed academy.

In my humble way I have attempted to neutralize the evil effects and the injury to our visual powers of appreciation, which the continual presentation of "pictorially" bad pictures has been inflicting on us and damaging our aesthetic faculty. I have

organized a small society called the Rupa-Rasika-Sabha which, in the course of its short life of about eighteen months, arranged for sixteen illustrated lectures presenting the best masterpieces of painting, sculpture and architecture, commented on by expert interpreters. Though widely advertised with open invitations to all, our illustrative lectures have never been attended by any members of the large group of film-directors, who claim to produce masterpieces of machine-made "pictures."\*

\* Memorandum submitted by Prof. O. C. Gangoly before the Film Enquiry Committee.

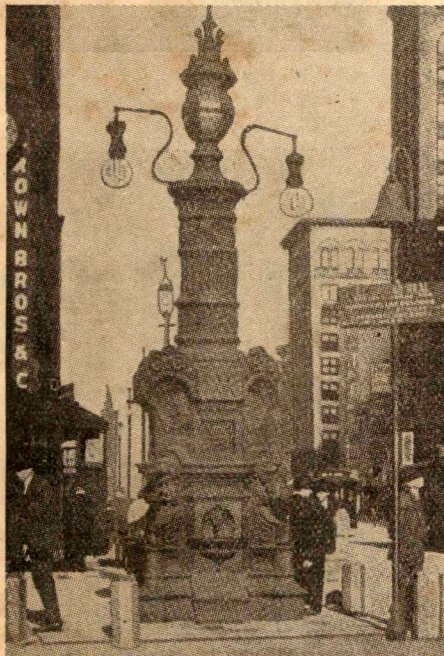
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## SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF AMERICAN LIFE

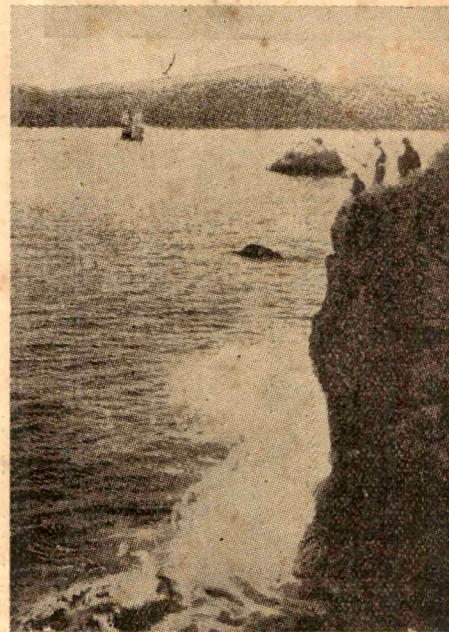
By SUNIL PROKASH SHOME

A stranger, who wants to travel in America, must not confine his observations to the metropolis. He must go into the country; he must visit farm-houses and cottages, and wander through parks and gardens;

abodes of the elegant and intelligent society only, and the village is inhabited almost entirely by boorish peasantry. In America, on the contrary, the metropolis is a mere gathering place, or general rendezvous



Lottas Fountain, San Francisco, California



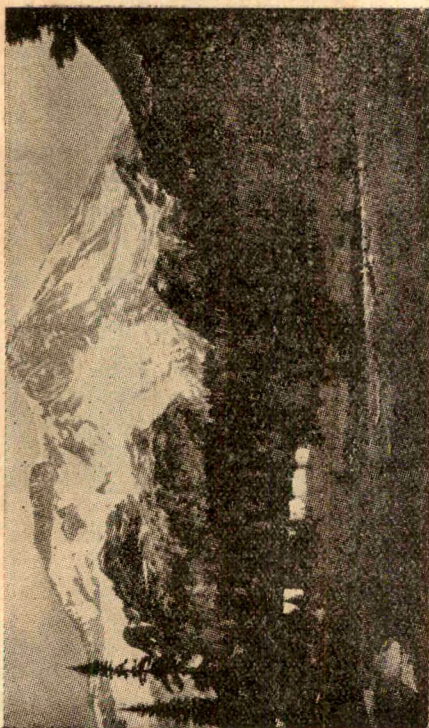
Fishing Rocks, Lands End, San Francisco, California

along hedges and green lanes; he must loiter about country churches; attend fairs and other rural festivals; and meet the people in all their conditions and all their habits and humours.

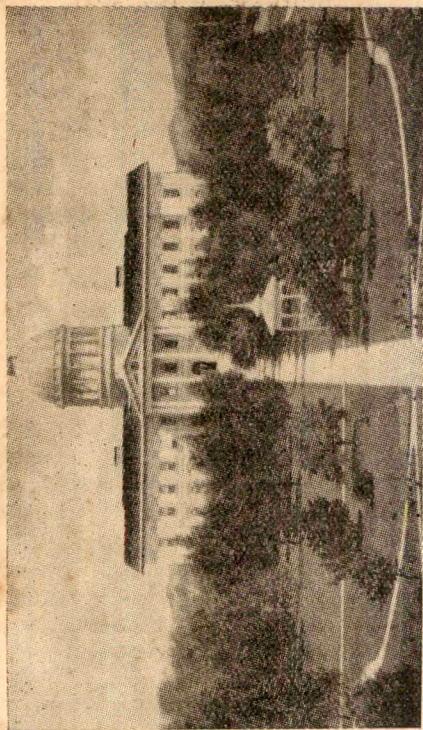
In some countries the large cities absorb the wealth and fashion of the nation; they are the

of the polite classes where they devote a small part of the year to hurry and gaiety, and having indulged in this kind of carnival, return again to the apparently more congenial habits of rural life. The various orders of society are therefore diffused over the whole surface of the United States, and the most

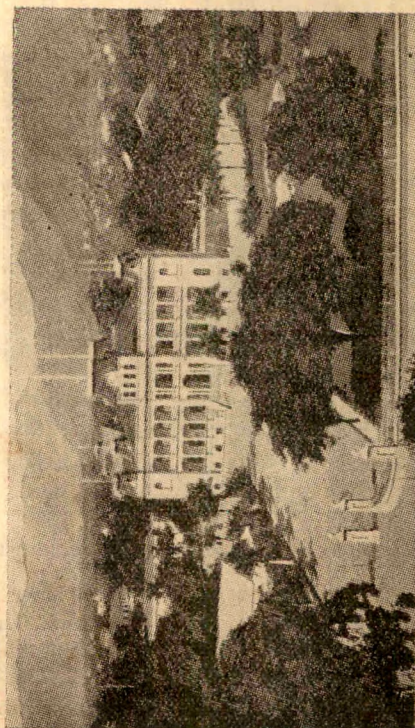




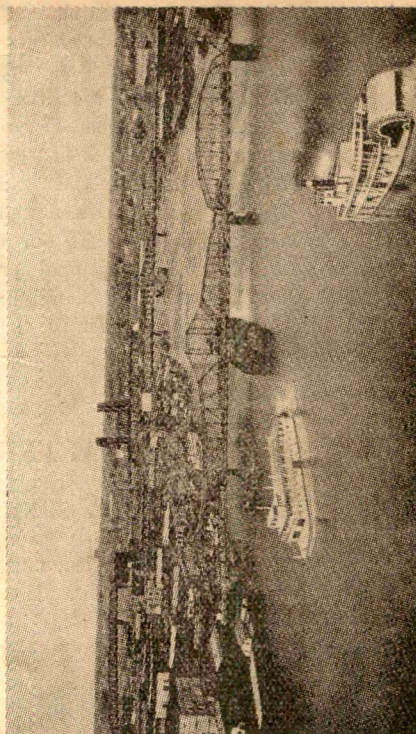
Mount Rainier, Washington



State Capitol, Salem, Oregon



Capitol at Honolulu, Hawaiian Islands



Portland Harbour, Portland, Oregon



In a dispute over the succession to the Dalai Lama-ship there was danger that the man of Mongols opposed to K'ang Hsi would attain the post. The K'ang Hsi Emperor intervened; in 1720 his forces entered Lhasa as victors, his candidate was enthroned, and he appointed commissioners to direct affairs, established a garrison in the city, and posted troops at strategic points on the road to China. Tibet thus became a part of the Chinese Empire and in theory and usually in actuality has remained so to this day. During the Ch'ien Lung period, late in the eighteenth century, the connection was threatened by an invasion of the Gurkhas, from India. However, the Ch'ien Lung Emperor sent an army which, in spite of the vast distances from its base and the inhospitable terrain, drove back the Gurkhas and, indeed, brought Nepal to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Ch'ing.

At the dawn of the nineteenth century most of the Tibetans were under the overlordship of the Ch'ing dynasty. But this was more true of portions nearer to China than Outer Tibet which lies farthest from China Proper and over which the Chinese exercised little or no control. Outer Tibet, with its chief centre at Lhasa, has been more within the British than the Chinese sphere, although China still claims suzerainty.

#### ANGLO-TIBETAN CONVENTION

With the beginning of the twentieth century the British began to take active interest in Tibetan political affairs. In 1904, fearing Russia, Great Britain sent to Tibet a military mission headed by Sir Francis Younghusband. The expedition, after a little fighting, made its way to Lhasa and there obtained an Anglo-Tibetan convention which clearly placed Tibet within the British sphere of influence. By it Tibet undertook to remove all armaments and forts which might impede free communication between the British frontier and Lhasa, and, except with British permission, not to cede or lease to any foreign power any Tibetan territory, nor admit a representative of any foreign power to Tibet, nor grant to any foreign power any concession for railways, telegraphs, mining, or other rights, nor to pledge any of her revenues to a foreign power. China, not unnaturally, questioned an arrangement which affected one of her dependencies, but it was not until 1906 that in an Anglo-Chinese convention Great Britain agreed that the term "foreign power" in the Anglo-Tibetan agreement did not include China and that she would not annex any Tibetan territory nor interfere in the administration of Tibet.

On the formation of the Republic of China in

December, 1911, Tibet loosened the ties that bound it to the Government in Peking. And despite the assurances given by the new government that the Tibetans will inherit their titles, properties and the right of equality with the Chinese, the former drifted further away. The republican administration insisted that Tibet was still a part of China. However, by the end of 1912 Chinese troops were expelled from all but the fringe of the land. The British attempted to bring about a tripartite settlement between themselves, the Chinese, and the Tibetans, but the Chinese would not assent to the proposed agreement. In 1914, Great Britain reached an accord whereby the portion of Tibet which adjoined India was to be autonomous, although still technically a part of China.

A few years ago (1928) the portion next to Szechwan was marked out by the Chinese as the province of Hsik'ang, and the second south and west of Kansu as the province of Chinghai, or Kokonor. But the political control of the Chinese over this area is by no means constant or universally recognized.

#### PANCHEN-DALAI TUSSE

On the death of the last Panchen in Western China in 1937, the Lama dignitaries of Kumbum Lamasey near Kokonor in China's remote north-west, in 1941, chose Tuteng Chuch-Chik of Yuehsang for the high office and put him under the regency of Lo-Ch'ang Ching-chen. The Kuomintang Government enthroned this 12-year youngster as the Panchen Lama of Tibet. The Lhasan authorities do not accept this boy-novice as their young Panchen. Now he is in Communist hands and there will be real trouble in Tibet if this young Rimpoche would come or even attempt to come to Tashilhumpo, his holy diocese. The Dalai Lama's Government is determined to resist such a move with all their strength and strategy. This explains the reason why a Tibetan delegation of the Dalai Lama's was recently refused entry into Mao's China.

In recent times, as a result of its unique position in Central Asia, Tibet has become a land of international interest. On various occasions in the past this country has been a play-ball of the foreign powers of Britain, China and Russia. As a result of the political change-over in India, Britain which was a balancing factor in Tibeto-Chinese relations has withdrawn and Tibet seems to become that old play-ball again. A permanent settlement of the dispute between the two Lamas, the Dalai and the Panchen, seems to be the only way out of the present impasse failing which Tibet may well be drawn into the arena of cold war between world powers.

## THE UNKNOWABLE

By SARDAR SARDUL SINGH CAVEESHAR

Our difficulty in explaining to the uninitiated the nature of Godhead is due to the fact that a Being who transcends our comprehension is in fact an unknowable entity :

"Everybody calls Him great because he has heard people call Him thus;  
But how great He is, only they realise who have seen Him.  
We cannot know of His greatness, we cannot define Him in any way.  
Those who speak of Thee, O Lord, remain absorbed in Thee."

Guru Nanak: *Asa*

"How can I speak of Thee? How can I praise Thee?

How can I explain or know?"

Guru Nanak: *Japji*

However penetrating may be one's intellect, it is unable to break its own limitations and reach God who is beyond those barriers.

"His condition cannot be known ;

How can one depict Him by clever words?"

Guru Arjan : *Devghandari*

"Even the Devas, the Vedas and all other religious books cannot know the mystery of His nature."

Guru Govind Singh: *Jap*

"The Vedas know not how to define God; Brahma knows not the secret.

The *Avatars* know not His extent. He is the Supreme Master, the Supreme *Brahm*, beyond all bounds.

He alone knows what He is.

All others speak of Him as they hear from others."

Guru Arjan: *Ramkali*

"Siddhas, Munis, Jakshas, Devas and Danavas (different orders of Hindu saints) know not even an iota of the mystery surrounding His nature."

Guru Govind Singh: *Swayyas*

As already stated, according to the Indian philosophy this world is the result of combination in various degrees of the three *gunas*, the three qualities or attributes of nature; natural knowledge is confined to these three qualities; every object in the world, ideal or real, has its being in these three aspects of nature. But God is beyond these three aspects; His attributes are infinite; you cannot therefore know of Him in His comprehensiveness.

"Beyond my mind, beyond mind is my Master;  
Unfathomable is knowledge of Him.  
Infinite are His attributes."

Guru Govind Singh: *Swayyas*

God is thus on quite a different plane from the natural order of things. Just as in the Euclidian Geometry we can think of only three dimensions, and the idea of a fourth dimension is quite incomprehensible to it, the same is the case with the idea of God,

when viewed as an intellectual category. It is true that Einsteinian Mathematics has popularised a theory of the fourth dimension. Theoretically, we can talk of even an infinite number of dimensions, but from the Euclidian commonsense, or experimental point of view we cannot go beyond the three dimensions. Even the introduction of one more dimension has become a stumbling block for the understanding of new mathematical ideas, because the popular mind cannot yet go beyond the old notions, associated with the three dimensional universe.

The analogy should not be carried too far. It is sufficient for our purpose to know that God is beyond the reach of our ordinary conceptions and perceptions. God according to the Sikh Gurus, is *Agam* and *Agochar*, beyond mind and beyond senses;

"God is beyond conception and perception;  
He is unseen and beyond limit."

Guru Nanak : *Bilawal*

"The Absolute, the Unborn is beyond mind and beyond senses."

Guru Nanak : *Sarang Asa*

The Teacher hath shown me the untrodden path;  
God is beyond mind and beyond senses."

Guru Arjan : *Bhairon*

The new fourth dimension is a mathematical dimension and not a spatial dimension; we cannot visualise the Time dimension which plays as important a part in the occurrence of an event as length, breadth and height. The universe as we see it, moves in three planes; to understand God we should try to lift ourselves to the fourth plane.

"Life and death are the work of three *gunas*;  
All the four Vedas speak of the world of forms;  
They explain of the three states of nature;  
But we can know of God when, through the Teacher,  
We reach the fourth state."

Guru Nanak : *Gauri*

"The world is absorbed in three *gunas*;  
The Guru's followers have found the Lord in the fourth plane."

Guru Amar Das : *Siri Rag*

"The created knows not the worth of the Creator."

Guru Arjan : *Sukhmani*

"As a son knoweth not the time of his father's birth, how can I tell of Thy secrets, O Lord !

Guru Govind Singh : *Vachitar*

"How can I guess the joy of living at God's lotus feet ;  
Their beauty cannot be described, it can only be realised when seen ;  
Even if I see Him, to whom shall I describe His face ?

No one would be satisfied with my words;  
God is His own example.  
I live in the joy of praising Him."

Kabir : *Shlokas*

God is not apprehended by logical or mathematical reasoning but by largeness of consciousness. Reason is, in this respect, incorrigibly presumptuous.

"Intellect can present only a fragmentary and motionless view of life." The faculty to organise all knowledge into one unity is not a function of the mind. Reason sends forth true light, but only up to a certain limit. As far as it goes, it must be trusted and followed, but it cannot serve all the wants of human nature. "The world by reason knew not God."\*

When a person tries to know of God by ordinary mental faculties his efforts are just like those of the born deaf trying to understand music through eyes, or of the born blind trying to see light through the fingers. Perhaps it is such an effort of the mind which Tagore has ridiculed :

"O Fool, to try to carry thyself upon thy own shoulders."

In the mental sphere the main factors that help us to recognise a thing under the law of association of ideas are contiguity, similarity and contrast; but as these are obviously inoperative in the case of Divine Existence, the incomprehensible remains uncomprehended.

This should not lead one to believe that Sikh Gurus under-estimated the value of reason. According to them, the idea of God was super-rational but not irrational; the spiritual conception of God surpassed reason, it did not contradict it. Otherwise,

"It was in wisdom that we served the Master and were honoured ;

It was through reason that we studied and learnt the secret."†

It was after all man's reason that pointed the way to God, though it had not the power to take him unaided to the goal.

God transcends human reason as such. He is unknowable. This may lead one to believe that Sikhs perhaps were agnostics. Sikhism and critical philosophy, and its child, Agnosticism, agree only in so far as they admit the inability of human intellect to comprehend an entity that is beyond its scope. But Sikhism has nothing in common with those of the agnostics who even go so far as to say that there was no sufficient ground either for an affirmative or a negative answer to the question, Does God exist? Herbert Spencer when he says that we can know that an Ultimate Reality exists but do also know that Reality is unknowable, and Mansell when he says that man is compelled to believe in God's infinite being though he is unable to comprehend it, are, in this respect, more near to the Sikh Gurus than Comte whose position was that we could not answer the question about the existence of God one way or the

other, or Huxley who, in order to distinguish himself from Atheists, propounded the theory that neither the nature nor the existence of God, nor the ultimate character of the universe, that is, whether it is material or ideal, is knowable.

The objects whose knowledge the agnostic believes to be impossible, are such as are the primary concern of metaphysics and theology. God, soul and the ultimate realities, of which phenomenal things are believed to be appearances, come under this head. According to Agnosticism, even if we would assert their existence we are still ignorant as to their essence. Hamilton and many other agnostics have called all our knowledge as impure or relative, because we come into touch with noumenal, *satata*, through the phenomenal, *Maya*. But according to Frederick Tenant, all knowledge being relative the difference between the knowledge which the agnostic asserted and which he disclaimed is one of degree of verifiability, not of kind or of intrinsic constitution. Science itself is at bottom interpretative, constructive, ejective and partly symbolical. Its inductive method involves faith, for which there is reasonable, but not logical justification. Knowledge as to the objects with which metaphysics and theology are concerned, is but a further extension of the same method and the same sustaining faith as science uses.‡

We need not discuss here how far the scientific truth and the spiritual truth resemble each other. It is sufficient for our purpose to say that Sikhism and Agnosticism agree only in so far as they deny to the intellect the power to define Godhead adequately; to seek any more resemblance between these two sets of ideas would be unjustifiable. Sikhism by recognising a separate faculty in man other than reason (call that faculty Divine Sense, God-consciousness or by any other name) resolves the controversy which centres in Europe round the theory of human knowledge as to its relativity or absoluteness, as quite irrelevant.

In this respect the Sikhs have also nothing in common with the Buddhist agnostics. Their position is to a great extent the same as that of Comte, though some Buddhists now assert that Buddha's attitude towards the idea of God was that of humility rather than of doubt.

Reference may also be made to the well-known schools of Moslem agnostics, popularly known as *Daharias* and *Mutzas*. Shahab-ud-Din Subrawardy, one of the most zealous of Moslem agnostics, and who was done to death by organised Moslem fanaticism for that zeal, has explained the position of the sect as of those who believed in the impossibility of predicating any attributes to God or explaining the

\* St. Paul.

† *Gitanjali*.

‡ In the article on Agnosticism in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* on which the above two paragraphs are based.



mode in which He worked in the universe. The Sikh conception of God bears a closer resemblance to this idea than the ideas of Western agnostics. But here too the differences, specially as regards the existence of Divine sense or God-consciousness in man, in which Moslem agnostics had no faith, are vital.

The Sikh Gurus deprecated the spirit of controversy that, under the garb of rationalism, had often engulfed Hindu, Christian and Moslem theologians about the various attributes of God. Whether God or Universe were one or two; whether God had hands, eyes or feet like man, or whether his existence was of another order; whether God had friends and foes and children, or whether all this was a heresy; whether God was a unity or trinity—these questions were foreign to the spirit of the Gurus. Towards such controversies, the attitude of the Gurus was :

"People talk of true knowledge; they discuss and debate, the controversy ends in *trouble*. Few keep themselves back from wrangling; but

none will be saved without having been dyed with the love of God."

Guru Nanak : *Bilawal Sashtpadis*

"The unrighteous and unknowing do not know the secret ;  
They talk and talk, and quarrel about phenomenon ;  
But the blind fools cannot come to any right conclusion."

Guru Amar Das : *Gauri*

"People talk noisily so that people may hear them ;  
But they do not try to understand what they speak."

Guru Ram Das : *Nat*

"Words do not dissolve doubts ;  
People waste their time in wrangling."

Kabir : *Sorath*

When one *fool* questions, seven wise men can scarcely answer ; but when one wise man questions, seven fools are ready to answer. Under such circumstances agnosticism of a certain type is quite justifiable. Many of the controversies in the religious world are due to *wrangling about false notions* in a sphere where knowledge in the ordinary sense of the word is not possible.

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## ENGLISH POETS VERSUS PURISTS

By S. R. SWAMINATHAN,

Head of the Department of English, University of Saugor

THE English have taken words from the lips of friends and enemies alike in peace and in war and enriched their language. Among the poets of the world, those of England have an honoured place wherever men's eyes and ears are undimmed by cultural or other prejudice. The handling of so rich a language by poets whose work is among the world's most cherished possessions must be of interest to all those who love their own languages and wish them well.

Purists have not been lacking in England. They have often condemned the corruption of the chaste native English idiom by Gallicisms and other foreign elements. They too quote their Scripture ! They hold up the Bible and its style as the model for all good writing. But even the language of the Bible is not so pure as the purists believe. I quote a passage below. Inverted commas indicate loan-words. The reader will see how vitally they contribute alike to the meaning and the beauty of the extract.

Behold ! I show you a "mystery." We shall not all sleep, but we shall be "changed." In a "moment," in the twinkling of an eye, at the last "trump," for the "trumpet" shall sound, the dead shall be "raised incorruptible" and we shall be changed. For this "corruptible" must put on "incorruption," and this "mortal" must put on "immortality"; and then shall be brought to "pass" the saying that is written—Death is swallowed up in "Victory." O Death where is thy sting ? O Grave where is thy victory ?

These loan-words notwithstanding, the language of the Bible is in great part pure. But can such a language be adequate for all purposes ? Middleton Murry's opinion on the subject will meet with common consent.

"The vocabulary on which the translators of the Bible drew is singularly pure ; purer than Shakespeare's by far. But the strength of a vocabulary does not really lie in its purity—and purity is in itself a very arbitrary conception when applied to language—but in its adaptability as an instrument. Think what you could do with Shakespeare's vocabulary as compared with what you could do with the vocabulary of the Bible ; no comparison is possible. I can conceive no modern emotion or thought—except perhaps some of the more Hegelian metaphysics—that could not be adequately and superabundantly expressed in Shakespeare's vocabulary ; there are very few that would not be mutilated out of all recognition if they had to pass through the language of the Bible."

### THE ROAD TO CANTERBURY

English ballads illustrate how some natural loss, sorrow or pain can be best expressed in pure Saxon words. A mixed style cannot achieve the effect of lines like

*Had we never loved sae kindly,  
Had we never loved sae blindly,  
Never met, never parted,  
We had never been broken-hearted !*

But these are among the lanes and alleys of English poetry. The broad highway goes back to Chaucer and the pattern of language he adopted. From France and Italy, he gathered a rich harvest of words strikingly different from the native ones in accent, texture and suggestive qualities, and wove them together. The result was a fine blend of the raciness and vigour of the idiom of 'merrie' England with the charm and refinement of exotic tongues. From his day to this, English poets have been content to put themselves to the same schools on the continent. They have also been content—and it has broadened through the centuries from precedent to precedent—with the highway that Chaucer laid out for himself in the wilderness of the confused debate between native dialects and foreign languages in his day. If you open *The Canterbury Tales*, you will find at least one foreign word in every line; these words are often polysyllabic, and they influence the meaning and music of the lines decisively. But this did not prevent Spenser from recognising this mixed vocabulary as the "well of English pure and undefiled."

## SHAKESPEARE

No writer in the world's history throws a greater burden on his words than Shakespeare. His language adapts itself to the imperious temper of kings. It discourses philosophy. Cordelia, Portia, Desdemona—types of gracious and beautiful womanhood—need another harmony for their low and gentle voices. It becomes the tripping measure of Ariel and Puck. Or with other notes than to the Orphean lyre it sings of madness, jealousy and murder.

It is not easy to explain the secret of this varied power. But one thing will strike even the casual reader of that great poet. And that is the breadth and comprehensiveness of his vocabulary. Teutonic, French, Italian, Roman and Greek voices mingle in this grand orchestration. Of all styles, his is the most mixed (or is it the most corrupt?) style.

In single lines and phrases he mixes native and foreign words. Let the reader of Shakespeare savour again his random memories of stray lines:

"Sessions" of sweet "silent" thought; green and "salad" days; green and yellow "melancholy" (Gk. *melan* means black); "concealment" like a worm in the bud; "patience" on a "monument" smiling at grief; maiden "meditation fancy"-free; in cradle of the "rude imperious surge" and the "visitation" of the winds.

He extends the same principle of a mixed style to longer passages. In his famous soliloquy, Hamlet begins with low breathings in monosyllabic Saxon words and rises to the full articulation of his thoughts in the long foreign words. *Consummation* is the Latin equivalent for English *end*; but what a world of difference in sound and suggestion between them!

Shakespeare needs both. Think of this passage without the Latin word:

. . . to die; to sleep;  
No more; and by a sleep to say that we end  
The heart-ache and the thousand "natural shocks"  
That flesh is heir to, it is a "consummation"  
"Devoutly" to be wished!

Consider the soliloquy of Macbeth meditating Duncan's murder. He begins muttering in simple native particles, swells up to the climax of his infinite doubt and fear in the long reverberations of his very being in polysyllabic loan-words, and again falls back on native words. This is the only use of the word *assassination* (from Ar. *hashish*) in Shakespeare, and Jespersen says that the word was a new one in English when the poet laid his eager hand on it.

If it were done when it is done, then it were well  
It were done quickly; if the "assassination"  
Could "trammel" up the "consequence" and "catch"  
With his "surcease, success": that but this blow  
Might be the be-all and the end-all here,  
But here upon this bank and shoal of time,  
We'd jump the life to come.

Can the infinite agony of Macbeth's revulsion after the murder be expressed without the foreign words in the lines:

This my hand will rather  
The "multitudinous" secs "incarnadine"  
Making the green one red!

Shakespeare applies the same principle to whole plays. The language of the speeches of Lear in the first part of the play is full of the pride, pomp and circumstance of these foreign words. In his anger, Cordelia is more hateful to him than

The "barbarous" Scythian  
Or he that makes his "generation messes"  
To "gorge" his "appetite."

But to the chastened Lear, all pride shed, Shakespeare finds words which the translators of the Bible might have envied:

Do not laugh at me;  
For as I am a man, I think this lady  
To be my child Cordelia.

## MILTON

"Fancy's child with his native wood-notes wild"—that is how Milton refers to Shakespeare, perhaps expressing dissatisfaction with his 'small Greek and less Latin.' Chaucer borrowed his words from the Romance languages; the poets of the Renaissance from these and the classical languages in addition. But Milton—outstanding example of scholar-poet—prefers to draw more largely on the classical languages. Modern debunkers—and the decay of classical scholarship increases their number—condemn Milton's language as un-English and noisy. Others familiar with these languages find in him the last reward of consummate scholarship. Matthew Arnold's estimate represents the catholicity of English taste in such matters.

"This master of the great style of the ancients is English. All the Anglo-Saxon contagion, all the Anglo-Saxon commonness beats vainly against the great style, but cannot shake it, and has to accept its triumph. But it triumphs in Milton, in one of our race, tongue, faith and morals. Milton has made the great style no longer exotic here; he has made it an inmate amongst us, a leaven and a power."

## WORDSWORTH

Though not a purist, Wordsworth's professed partiality for simple words is well-known. But haven't we reason to be thankful that he had the courage and strength to write against his own principles of writing? I am sure readers of that poet cherish the memory of lines and phrases like:

Years that bring the "philosophic" mind; the thought of my past years doth breed in me "perpetual benediction"; a dim and "undetermined" sense of unknown modes of being; the heavy and weary weight of all this "unintelligible" world: I have felt a "presence" that "disturbs" me with the "joy" of "elevated" thoughts, a "sense sublime" of something far more deeply "interfused"; from the boy there came feelings and "emanations" quiet as a nun breathless with "adoration."

What a loss these lines would suffer if we took away their loan-words!

## KEATS

*The Paradise Lost*, writes Keats in one of his letters,

"though so fine in itself a corruption of our language...it should be kept as it is unique...a curiosity...a beautiful and grand curiosity. The most remarkable production in the world. A northern dialect accommodating itself to Greek and Latin inversions and intonations. The purest English, I think... or what ought to be the purest... is Chatterton's. The language existed long enough to be entirely uncorrupted by Chaucer's Gallicisms, and still the old words are used."

This is charming ignorance! Keats did not know Latin or Greek; nor much of the earlier language of England. Whatever his opinions on the subject, his handling of words in his poems leaves no doubt that he knew the charm of loan-words. He certainly liked the phrase—*Full in the "speculation" of the stars*. His *Urn* is a *bride of "unravished" quietness*. Revising the first draft of the *Nightingale Ode* he cut out the northern epithet "keelless" and put in the French "perilous" for those seas of romance and fantasy! The "*magic casements*" opening on them are not English. His *Madeline* must sleep an "*azure*"-lidded sleep on "*blanched*" (why not white?) "*linen*" (why not bed-sheet?), and it must be "*lavendered*"! Her lover must bring the finest dainties for her so that Keats may find exquisite foreign words for them!

"Lucent syrups tinct" with "cinnamon." "manna" and "dates," in "argosy transferred" from Fez, "spiced dainties" from silken Samarkand to "cedared" Lebanon! Would Keats have cut out lines like "diamonded" with "panes" of "quaint device" for all his love of northern Chatterton English! Shades of Chaucer and Milton! How you conquer!

## SWEET JARGONING!

Racy Saxon monosyllables, says Walter Pater, close to us as touch and sight, the English writer readily intermingles with long savourous Latin words rich in second intentions. Am I exaggerating if I recall the *Mariner's* lines to describe the variety of the English poetic idiom?

*Sometimes adropping from the sky,  
I heard the sky-lark sing:  
Sometimes all little birds that are;  
How they seemed to fill the sea and air  
With their sweet jargoning!  
Now it was like all instruments  
And now like a lonely flute.*

## IF KALIDASA COMES BACK

By a perverse irony, there are men in the public life of Free India who would forge chains for her mind. Fetters of purism more disgusting than the irons Siberian criminals wore! But the common man can be trusted to play the revolutionary with the laws of the purist.

And the poets too. For it is they who know the power and beauty of words. All craftsmen love their material. The cobbler knows the secret of his leather; the carpenter the intellect of his wood, and the potter communes with the very genius of common clay! A good writer savours his words on his tongue and ear, keeps them on long probation before he lets them kiss the lips of a dying Cleopatra or be hallowed to human memory through Bhishma's voice from his bed of arrows discoursing wisdom to the warriors of the Mahabharata.

Kalidasa knew all the passion of the pursuit of the fugitive harmony of word and image. No wonder he compares the ideal union of Parvati and Parameshwara to the attunement of word and meaning! If he comes back, he will gather all the wealth of words from China to Peru, and forge a style like a trumpet to unawakened India! Like Chaucer, Shakespeare, or Milton he will lay diverse cultures and languages under contribution. I trade with the living and the dead, said Dryden, for the enrichment of our language. He will rise and soar and sing, while the brood of purists, like dumb and blinking owls, will flutter and hoot about in amazement and dismay of that large full-throated eloquence.



## STEERING THROUGH THE STORM (1928-35)

[Being a Chapter of the History of the Bethune Vidyalaya]

By JOGESH CHANDRA BAGAL

THE Non-co-operation movement subsided, bearing no immediate fruits. But the cravings for self-rule or *Swaraj* it generated in the hearts of the people, came to stay. Indians were not satisfied with the sort of responsible government they received at the hands of the Britishers, and demanded a real share in the affairs of the State. The British Parliament sent out a Royal Commission to India with Sir John Simon at its head. It was an all-white Commission, Indians being strictly left out. This was taken exception to by all the political parties in India. The Indian National Congress came forward to start a boycott movement against the Commission with the slogan "Simon go back." As a preliminary to this, an all-India *Hartal* was proclaimed on the 3rd February, 1928.

Miss G. M. Wright was still the presiding deity of the Bethune Vidyalaya, under whose strict discipline it expanded and prospered so much. But the wave of Nationalism swept away all the barriers reared up with so meticulous care. The students joined the *Hartal*. This was considered as breach of discipline and Miss Wright did not hesitate to take severe steps. She closed the Vidyalaya and the Hostel *sine die*. The public mind was so much agitated against this measure that Miss Wright found the place too hot for her. The Governing Body of the College also could not subscribe to her view. It should be said to her credit that she preferred to relinquish the reins of office rather than give up her principles. She went on leave on 7th March, 1928, preparatory to retirement. During her leave-period Krishna Chandra Bhattacharyya, the famous philosopher-professor of the College, officiated for her as Principal. She retired on a proportionate pension in June, 1928. Mrs. Raj Kumari Das, Principal of the Eden High School for girls at Dacca, joined the College as Principal on June 25. She was an ex-alumnus of the Bethune College and younger sister of its first Indian Principal, Miss Chandra Mukhi Bose. An M.A. of the Calcutta University, she had also obtained Teacher's Diploma from the London University.

The troubles that beset the Vidyalaya, did not affect its usual satisfactory results in the University examinations. In 1928, 23 candidates appeared at the B.A. examination, and 19 passed. Three of these passes secured Honours, one each in English, Sanskrit and Philosophy. Of these latter again, Miss Surama Mitra secured a first class in Sanskrit Honours and stood first amongst the candidates. Of the 23 I.A. and 11 I.Sc. candidates, 18 and 10 respectively came out successful. The number of students rose high up to 170 on the 31st March, 1929.

Improvements in some other respects were also effected during this session. Physical training was introduced under a well-qualified physical instructress in the person of Miss Doris Webber. A drill-shed was completed and brought into use after the close of the year. Classes in music, both vocal and instrumental, were held regularly, under the auspices of the Sangit Sangha. The College Magazine, the Debating Society and the Old Girls' Guild continued. Annual Social functions such as the memorial meetings of Bethune and Vidyasagar as well as the prize distribution, were held with due éclat.

To feed the Women's Colleges, there must be more high schools. During the year 1928-29 some improvement was in sight in this respect. The Government gave their general approval to the policy that one school for girls should be established at each district headquarters on a grant-in-aid basis, of course within the limits of available funds. High Schools were started accordingly as an experiment at Khulna and Howrah during this session.

The year 1929 was seemingly lull though preparations were going on for a gruesome political struggle in the year next. This, however, could not affect the College during the session, and its work went on smoothly. The number of students on the 31st March, 1930, stood at 182. The examination results were excellent. Amongst the B.A. candidates, 25 in number, 21 succeeded. These passes included five Honours students, three in English and two in Sanskrit. Of the latter again, one, Miss Pritilata Gupta, secured a first class and stood third in order of merit. Twenty and ten students passed respectively from amongst the 22 I.A. and 11 I.Sc. candidates.

Miss Webber did excellent work in organising Physical Training both in the College and the Collegiate School. Drill was taken to with zeal by the girls. Classes in Music were carried on as before. Besides the usual social functions which reflect the lighter side of a collegian's life, some excursions and outings were resorted to in this session. Diamond Harbour, Barrackpore Government House, Victoria Memorial, Indian Museum and a Jute Factory at Serampore were the principal targets. This year's prize distribution ceremony was presided over by Her Excellency Lady Jackson. Some special awards were presented, and it was proposed that these awards would be given, if funds permitted, for domestic subjects and fine arts—cooking, needle-work and music, both vocal and instrumental, thus showing that the feminine and softer side of women's education was not neglected. Another feature of this year's Prize Day was the special prizes awarded by the Principal and staff

to students who had done remarkably well in the University examinations. Ava Sen, Surama Mitra, Basanti Das and Rama Datta were the recipients of these prizes. Another mentionable event of this year was a visit to the College of Hon. Emily Kinnaid, who spoke to the collegians on international relationships and the interdependence of nations. The speech was very much appreciated.

The civil disobedience movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi in April 1930, inspired our countrymen—men, women and children—with a new hope of deliverance. This affected most of the educational institutions. Our student community, especially the young men and women of Colleges, responded to the call of Mother India in this time of her prime need. It was no wonder then that the numerical strength of the Bethune Vidyalaya would decrease considerably. The Vidyalaya came to lime-light during this movement owing to certain actions of the Principal. Once in April and again in July the students abstained from attending College on account of some general strikes called *Hartal*. On the latter occasion the Principal rusticated all the students of the College who were absent on this day. This action of hers led to a flutter in the Press. The public mind was also greatly moved. The Governing Body of the College, however, intervened and decided that those who were willing to leave the College would be given transfer, but those who wanted to remain, must apologise and give an undertaking for future good conduct. Taking advantage of this decision many students left the College. The result was that from 182 students on the College rolls the number dwindled to 140 on the 31st March, 1931. *Review on the Progress of Education in Bengal for 1927-32* mentions this event in the following vein :

"It should be noted with regret that a wave of unrest spread amongst a section of the students of the Bethune College during the civil disobedience movement which rendered disciplinary measures necessary. A few students were compelled to leave the College and others that remained had to give an undertaking for their future good conduct."

The national upheaval was also not a little responsible for the disparity between the candidates sent up and the passes at least in the Intermediate examination in 1930. Some students had either abstained from appearing at the examination, or could not pay adequate attention to their studies. Though there was perceptible disparity between the candidates sent up and the passes, nevertheless the results were not altogether unsatisfactory. Amongst the 23 B.A. candidates, 18 passed, as many as eight securing Honours—4 in English, 2 in Philosophy and one each in Sanskrit and Mathematics. This number in Honours was the highest since the Honours subjects were introduced. Of the 31 candidates for I.A. and 12 for I.Sc., 20 and 9 respectively passed.

Social and annual functions of the College and the Collegiate School were held as usual. Adequate attention was paid to the physical instruction of the girls both of the College and the Collegiate School. Miss Webber, the Physical Instructress, having resigned,

her place was filled up by Miss Mary Rickets in August, 1930. Prizes are awarded on the results of the annual examinations every year.

With the advent of 1931 things at the Bethune Vidyalaya had a bit settled down. In spite of the disturbances of the previous year, the high standard of results at the University examinations was maintained. All the five candidates, sent up, secured Honours two having the first class in Sanskrit. Of these two Nanibala Dutta Gupta stood first class second. Other results were also very satisfactory. Besides the 17 successful B.A.'s from amongst 20 sent up, 23 out of 24 girls passed I.A. and 5 out of I.Sc. examination. In B.A. Honours and I.Sc., there were cent-per-cent successes. There was also a small increase in the number of students which stood at 149 on 31st March, 1932.

Not only in 1931 but during the whole quinquennium the Vidyalaya kept up its high efficiency so far as the results of the University examinations were concerned. *The Quinquennial Report of the Bethune College and the Attached Collegiate School for the years 1927-32* gives a summary of these achievements in the following words :

"The College maintained its standard of reputation in the high percentage of passes during the quinquennium except in one year. The results in Sanskrit have been uniformly good. The College topped the list of successful candidates in First Class Honours in Sanskrit at the B.A. Examination in 1927 and 1928; our girls secured the second place in the first class in 1929 and 1931 in Sanskrit.

"One of our students secured the Duff Scholarship for standing first in Chemistry in 1928 and also obtained the Sarada Prasad Scholarship and Janaki Prasad Scholarship for standing first in Botany. Our girls have carried off the Nawab Abdul Latif and Father Lafont Scholarship in science subjects for six years in succession from 1925 to 1930. In 1927, 1928 and 1930 our girls secured the Gangamani Gold Medal awarded to the best scholar in Moral Philosophy at the B.A. Examination. In 1930 one of our girls secured the Barakim Chandra Gold Medal for original composition in Bengali at the I.A. Examination and in 1931 another girl obtained the same gold medal for original composition in Bengali at the B.A. Examination."

Since the inception of the Padmavati Gold Medal up till 1931, the Bethune Vidyalaya supplied twenty-two recipients, a unique honour for any institution of any clime or country. In the quinquennium under report, three obtained this medal, Abha Sen in 1927, Kamalrani Sinha in 1929 and Nanibala Datta Gupta in 1931.

The *Quinquennial Review* of the Education Department for the period, also acquaints us, amongst other things, with the progress made in the higher education of women in Bengal. The following table of successful women candidates in examinations in 1926-27 and 1931-32 will at once show the rapid strides of our women's progress in higher education :

		Matric	Int.	B.A.	M.A.
1926-27	..	157	89	44	4
1931-32	..	394	183	88	10

The portals of the Calcutta University were open to our womenfolk, long long ago. It was a happy sign of the times that they now resorted to post-graduate studies in larger number. Students who took up Honours in their B.A., were mostly suited for these higher studies. Bethune College did her mite to prepare girls for these.

Good times were ahead. With the increase in number of students, the paucity of accommodation had been keenly felt for a long time. During the quinquennium, 1927-32, the premises of the Christ Church School, adjacent to the Bethune College grounds, were acquired at a cost of Rs. 2,50,000, originally with the intention of providing additional hostel accommodation for the Bethune College. The School was allowed to occupy the buildings till 30th April, 1932 at a fixed rent. But how these premises were converted into the present habitat of the College is a really interesting story. We shall have to tell it in the course of our narrative. The corporate life of the College was nourished by the Old Girls' Guild, the Debating Society, socials and excursions. The College *Magazine* re-appeared after a lapse of nearly three years in March, 1931, under the editorship of Prof. Beroy Kumar Choudhury, M.A. Nanibala Datta Gupta was the student sub-editor. Classes in Music were held as usual under the auspices of the Sangit Sangha. Instruction in physical culture continued as before. Miss Margaret Peterson was appointed physical instructress in December 1931 in place of Miss Rickets who had resigned.

The year 1932-33 was a landmark in the annals of women's education in Bengal. The number of Arts Colleges for Indian women rose from 4 to 6. These institutions included the Women's Section of the Vidyasagar College considered as a separate unit and the Intermediate classes started at the Victoria Institution, Calcutta. They registered 508 students on 31st March, 1933, as compared with 366 on the corresponding date of the previous year. Besides this number there were 346 girls reading in Arts Colleges for men and in the University. The Ashutosh College, Calcutta, and the Brojomohan College, Barisal, opened separate sections for women. In August 1932 the Government approved the proposal to admit women students in the Krishnagar College.

This opening of so many women's Colleges or sections in 1932-33, meant much for the Bethune Vidyalaya. Though the higher education, for which the Vidyalaya stood, found a great impetus in this way, the unique position it had held so far in point of numerical strength, was no longer tenable. The strict discipline of a Government institution was also not a little responsible for the large decrease in number in this session. It should be mentioned here that the Vidyalaya again faced troubles in February 1932, when the Civil Disobedience movement commenced for the second time in India. It was for these reasons that the students on the rolls of the College on 31st March, 1933 fell so low as to 95 as against 149 in the previous year. The cost of educating a student in the College necessarily increased,

being Rs. 885 annually. Of this amount Rs. 816 was met from the provincial revenues. The College, however, excelled in the University examinations of 1932, beating even the premier institution of the province in point of percentage of passes. Of the 19 B.A. students, 17 passed, 4 securing Honours. Out of 24 I.A. candidates, 23 succeeded. There was cent-per-cent success in I.Sc., the number of passes being 5. The corporate life of the College was strengthened by the starting of the College Union in 1932.

India was passing through troubles. The Round Table Conference held its sessions in London, thrice in the three years 1930-32, to thrash out a democratic constitution for India. Mahatma Gandhi attended the second session of the conference as the sole representative of the Indian National Congress. It should be noted that Sarojini Naidu represented the progressive section of the Indian womanhood at this session. The hopes with which the Congress joined it, were frustrated by the conspiracy of the vested interests and the reactionary forces of the country. Mahatma Gandhi returned to India, only to be clapped into prison by the powers-that-be. The second Civil Disobedience movement was not allowed to proceed further this time. The underground methods of the revolutionary party got the upperhand. The youths universally brave the hazardous path, and India was no exception. Our educated young ladies, including several ex-students of the Vidyalaya, namely, Bina Das, Pritilata Waddadar and Kalpana Datta, did not hesitate to risk their lives in pursuit of their ideals.

The Bethune Vidyalaya suffered greatly. But just as in former years, it did not take much time to recoup its former position. By July 1933, its numerical strength rose from 95 to 148. The number of candidates, appearing at this year's examination, was, however, small, but the results were not very unsatisfactory. Amongst the eight B.A. candidates six passed, one securing Honours. Seventeen candidates sat for the I.A. and four for the I.Sc. examination, and twelve and three respectively passed. I have referred to the starting of the College Union in the previous year. Under its auspices debates, excursions and trips were held during the session. The *Bethune College Magazine* again came to light in March 1933, after a lapse of one year, this time with Professor Chintaharan Chakravarti, M.A., Kavyatirtha, as Editor. The *Magazine*, under the editorship of Professor Chakravarti, became a regular forum of the academic and extra-academic activities of the College. Calamity strengthens the bonds between man and man. The Behar Earthquake in January 1934, drew out the best that was in us to relieve the distressed humanity. The students of the Bethune Vidyalaya could not remain idle. To raise sufficient funds, they organised a charity performance of *Vishnupriya* on the board of the University Institute and sent the net sale proceeds to the proper quarters. Another notable event of the session (1933-34) was the retirement of Principal Rajkumari Das and



installation in her place of Mrs. Tatini Das, an ex-audience of this College, an erudite scholar, holding the post of the Professor of Philosophy in the College since July 1932. She infused new life into the working of the College in different spheres.

The session following, 1934-35, promised well for the College. The number of students increased to 194. By the re-arrangement of class-rooms and by the provision of holding classes in the Library Hall, increased accommodation was made available. Proper arrangements were made in this session for the teaching of Civics and Economics by the appointment of one more teacher for the subject.

The number of candidates and passes at the University examinations in 1934 also increased considerably. At the B.A. 11, the I.A. 32 and the I.Sc. 13 candidates appeared. Of these 8, 26, and 10 passed respectively. One girl secured Honours. Another, Miss Asima Mukherjee, won the Nawab Abdul Latif and Fainer Lafont Scholarships for standing first in Science subjects among the lady students in the I.Sc. examination, besides one Senior Scholarship (for girls). Miss Azizunnessa Khatun of the third year class won a medal at the Art exhibition held during the session at the Sakhawati Memorial Girls' High School. This year many a scholarship holder of the Calcutta as well as the Dacca University got admitted into the first and the third year classes of the College.

The corporate life of the students was strengthened by placing the College Union on a strong footing. A constitution, drawn up at the instance of the Principal, was placed before a general meeting of the Union on the 14th July and passed. Provision was made in it for an all-sided growth of corporate life in the College through four departments, e.g., (1) Socials and Excursions, (2) Debates, (3) Magazine, and (4) Sports. During this session work began in all these branches. Excursions and trips were carried on under the guidance of the Professors in different groups. Dr. D. N. Maitra delivered a course of lectures on the 28th July and the 18th August. The subject of the lectures was—"Lesson and Experience of European Tour." The lectures were illustrated with lantern slides. The old Girls' Guild, latterly known as Old Students' Association, instituted in the College on 3rd September 1921, was instrumental in keeping touch with their *Alma mater* and the students by organising a College Day in the first week of September every year. This association helped poor and deserving students by way of stipends. A constitution was also prepared for and passed by this body in 1934.

It should be mentioned to this year's credit that three special prizes were instituted anew. The Sadharan Brahma Samaj of Calcutta offered two annual prizes out of the Hemaprava Memorial Fund and out of the Kali Prasanna Das Gupta Fund to those students who would stand first respectively in Botany and Mathematics in the Intermediate Examinations of the Calcutta University among the students of the Bethune College. Mrs. Sarojini Datta offered a prize to the most regular student of

the Second year Botany class in memory of her daughter Miss Madhuri Dutt. All the prizes were awarded for the first time in 1934. Mrs. Dutt also awarded this year a gold medal bearing her daughter's name to the best Bengali essay-writer amongst the first year students.

The storm that was raging so furiously in the political horizon of India, subsided considerably in 1935. The Joint Select Committee appointed by Parliament had thrashed out a draft constitution out of the babel of opinions of the Indian politicians. It was passed by the Parliament and received Royal assent in course of the year. It came to be known as the "India Act of 1935." The Indian National Congress, too, at last resolved to make the best out of this Act. This had certainly a healthy repercussion on the educational institutions of the country. The Bethune Vidyalaya had already passed the crisis. Its number of students rose up, being 260 on the 31st March, 1936, an increase of 66 over the preceding year. Results of the University examinations were uniformly good. In 1934 the Bethune College had occupied the first position among the affiliated women's Colleges and women's departments attached to men's Colleges in Calcutta. The results of 1935 were no less satisfactory. All the students at the B.A. examination who had taken up Honours came out successful. Miss Latika Basu and Miss Pratibha Neogy respectively secured the fifth and the ninth place in the First Class among the successful candidates with Honours in Sanskrit. The passes in the B.A., I.A. and I.Sc. examinations were 4, 26, and 10 respectively, the percentage being 81.2 and 76.8 in the latter two. Only one student appeared in the B.Sc. for the first time from the College as a non-collegiate student and passed in the Pass Course.

The College progressed during the year in more ways than one. It was affiliated to the Honours course in Economics, a subject that was growing popular even with our women-folk. The physical education of the girls was especially looked after. On the retirement of Miss Margaret Peterson on 1st March 1935, Miss Bidhan Nandini Majumdar, an Assistant Mistress of the Collegiate School, was appointed physical instructress. She was all along full of enthusiasm for the development of a sporting spirit among the students. The Old Girls' Association offered a Silver Cup of Rs. 30/- for the students for inter-class competition in games. This turned into an annual function. This was a sure means of cementing the bond of fellowship between the old and new alumni of the institution. The number of special prizes was augmented by the *Pramila Devi Gold Medal* instituted by Principal Mrs. Tatini Das in memory of her mother. This was to be awarded annually to the best student of the College, that is, the student who would secure the highest number of marks at the B.A. examination among students of the College. The Kshirode Chandra Roy Memorial Prize was for one year awarded by Miss P. Roy in memory of her father to the student of the Third year class who stood first in English (Honours) at the annual Prize test competition. Both of them were awarded on the results of 1934. Students

of the College began to win laurels even beyond the precincts of the College. On the Foundation Day celebrations of the Calcutta University, they, among the girls of the different Colleges, led the March Past. But this was not all. In an essay competition held under the auspices of *The Modern Student* Miss Gaurirani Roy of the First Year Class joined and won a gold-centred medal in recognition of the excellence of her composition. The subject of the essay was 'Contribution of Western Education to the Emancipation of Indian Womanhood.'

Social functions of the College were held at usual. Socials, excursions and trips went on. Subjects discussed at the Debating Society and special lectures

organised for their edification, were mostly of a high level. "The same curriculum should be prescribed both for male and female students" was discussed threadbare in a debate and thrown out. This shows how our girls think over the matter. Professor Nirmal Kanti Majumdar's lecture on the Joint Select Committee Report, apart from its educative value, served to bring the girls in touch with the topics of the day. The old students' Association, to which I have referred already, continued its work of helping poor students. The College Day, organised by students, was really a feat to be conjured with.\*

\* By courtesy of the *Bethune Vidyalaya Centenary Celebrations Commemoration Volume*.

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## SHIP-BUILDING IN THE VICINITY OF CALCUTTA

By JATINDRA NATH BOSE, F.R.G.S.

SHIP-BUILDING is one of the greatest assembling industries of a country. The industry is often described as a "Trade barometer," as it reflects, perhaps more faithfully than any other trade, the general state of the world's commercial activity. At the same time it is the key to the prosperity, or otherwise, of a large number of subsidiary industries. A strong navy, able to maintain the freedom of the seas and to protect the country's merchant marine, is essential for its independence and liberty.

India, although she cannot show actually any remains of her ancient ship-building arts, can convince anybody that her maritime activity was great in the Bauddha period for the spread of religion and trade. The Biblical records go back several thousand years and the remains of ships used by the Vikings in their discovery of America may be seen today in the museum of Massachusetts built 5 or 6 hundred years before Columbus (1492) or Amerigo Vespucci (1493) sailed for the West. The caravel used by Columbus in attempting to reach the Indies was 230 tons, 128 feet long by 26 feet broad, and was a big advance on man's original raft 70 feet by 20 feet, used by Egyptians, 3000 B.C., the like of which selling their catches of fish can still be encountered by ocean-going vessels off the coast of Peru.

Ship-building has undergone change from wood to iron, and iron to steel, and from sail to steam for power and recently Diesel-engines and in near future atomic energy. In the early years of the 19th century, the transition from wood to iron for ship construction gradually took place. In the early transitional stage a combination of wood and iron

was employed, the internal structure being of iron with wood-planking attached to iron ribs forming the outer skin. The composite structure was the basis on which some of the "clippers" were built. With the opening of the Suez Canal, the clippers became uneconomic as compared with steam-ships. They could not sail through it. Steam was first used as a method of propelling a ship in 1788. The earliest steam-ships were propelled by paddle wheels; after 1850 the screw propeller became the more general method. A great impetus was given to metal construction by the development of mild steel of the 19th century. The reduction in scantlings due to the superior qualities of steel compared with iron was an important factor in hastening the change-over and in little more than ten years from its adoption, mild steel had practically superseded iron, and steel holds the field. The development of steam tonnage followed the progress made in steel production, and was especially influenced by the production of the Siemens-Martin open-hearth process, whereby a mild and ductile steel became available superior to iron and cheaper than steel made by the Bessemer process of that time. The open-hearth steel with a tensile strength of 30 tons per square inch compared with 22 tons per square inch also permitted a substantial reduction in the scantlings of marine boilers with an increase of steam pressure, to meet the needs of the engineer for the development of the multiple expansion reciprocating steam-engines.

The engine and hulls must be made of cast iron and steel. The steel plates from which the boilers and the hull are made are of special alloys. Hulls will corrode

in sea water at a very rapid and uneven rate when the distribution of the non-metallic elements in the metal varies. Particularly is this the case when the distribution of carbon is irregular. A section of the plate with lower carbon than the other sections will pass into solution rapidly although painted over, paints being very often porous membranes and not necessarily excluders of moisture. The piston and cylinder covers of Diesel engines are subject to high temperature, and the pig iron used must contain low percentages of phosphorus. Other parts, such as engine cylinder liners and piston rings, require high resistance to wear. Hence they are alloyed with nickel and chromium or hardened by sulphur. Boilers sometimes crack, due to the action of alkali; it was discovered some time ago that small quantities of alkali in the boiler water would prevent excessive corrosion, but excessive concentration of alkali causes fracture to occur. The application of Electro-Chemical science to the protection of boilers and hulls has been made full use of. Formerly zinc-plates were attached to the interior of boilers and condensers and on the hull behind the bronze propellers, which corroded away in preference to the steel of the boiler shell or hull, the zinc being more electro-positive than the steel. Provided zinc-plates are fairly pure and do not contain segregated lead, this method has proved of great use. Electric current protection has also been used to prevent the boilers and hulls corroding. This employs a positive anode of iron in circuit with a negative boiler shell or makes the hull negative. This process is effective, but has the disadvantages of leaving a flocculent precipitate of ferric hydroxide in the boiler, which is liable to cause "priming" and consequent choking of the turbine blading in turbine-engined ships.

The repeated use of the boiler water is necessary on board the ship to avoid excessive make-up from the main tanks or from the evaporators. Also to increase the engine efficiency, the engines are fitted with condensers, through which sea water is pumped to condense the steam. To check corrosion of the condenser tubes a slight increase in capital cost involving the use of a single phase copper nickel alloy will practically solve the problem. Practical sea-faring men found that a cast iron propeller was rapidly destroyed in sea water and that bronze propellers stood up better to the action of the sea water. A bronze alloy of copper and tin were expensive and therefore brass alloys of copper and zinc were used. These were later strengthened by the addition of iron which was added to the brass in the form of an alloy of iron and manganese. Hence manganese-bronze-propellers were produced which are actually brass with iron as hardening agent (about 1 per cent) and traces of manganese. With the advent of turbine-driven high speed propellers, the amount of sea water passing over

the surface in a given time, was rapidly increased and the corrosion effects became more noticeable. Since high-speed propellers tend to produce cavities in the water in their vicinity it was thought that the collapse of these cavities set up "erosion" forces which mechanically knocked holes in the propeller blades and eroded them away. The mathematicians were turned on to the problem and it can be shown quite readily that if a vacuum cavity collapses instantaneously very large forces come into play. What was overlooked in applying the mathematics to the problem was that in the region of the propeller there can be no such thing as vacuum. The cavities are full of air and moisture containing salt in solution—an ideal condition for corrosion—not for erosion. The result of the erosion theory was to harden further the manganese-bronze by eliminating the softer X-phase by the addition of more zinc and the addition of nickel instead of iron as hardening agent. Thus a strong metal was produced with only one phase and with higher corrosion-resisting qualities.

The corrosion of brass in sea water or salt water atmosphere is of importance in life-boats which were (and are) filled with light brass tanks to give buoyancy. These tanks when opened up for inspection were frequently found to be cracked and useless. The examination of all such cases of cracking under high-power magnification after suitable etching shows that the weak and highly corrosive Y-phase is present. The reason why this has not been recognised is due to the fact that the phase diagrams have been established under laboratory annealing conditions, which are very different from the conditions of large mass annealing under industrial conditions.

One of the recent developments in ship-building has been the increased use of welding in place of rivetting.

British and American scientists are combining in plan for the creation of atom-driven ships. U. S. A. navy has placed a contract for an atomic pile and equipment for building such ships. According to a British scientist, a ship's atomic plant supplying 150,000 horse-power would need 1000 tons of steel and concrete in order to protect the crew from lethal radiations. If a defect arises, months will elapse before the radio-activity subsides enough to allow for repairs. Problems to be overcome include temperature control, cooling methods and avoiding discharge overboard of contaminated materials. Full details regarding developments are considered secret by both countries.

News have been received that plans are being drawn by A. C. Hardy, Britain's foremost ship designer. The *Atom Queen* will be nearly a third as long as the *Queen Elizabeth* and will cross the Atlantic in about three-quarters of the four days now taken by the *Queen Elizabeth*. She is designed to take 2500 passengers and will cruise 36 knots, equal to the full



speed of a fast destroyer. One of her greatest attractions is that her fares will be at least a quarter lower than present-day fares. This is possible for lower cost of fuel. Fuel for the 22 round trips across the Atlantic which the *Queen Elizabeth* makes every year costs about £750,000. Another economy will be that the engine room will be worked entirely by electronic brain robots. It will be controlled from the bridge by push buttons, and the navigation bridge will look like the cock-pit of an air-liner. Another factor in the lower fares is that meals will not be included. Passengers will pay as they eat, and the man who wants luxury and the man who wants economy will both be catered for. The outline of the ship will be very different from that of existing ships. There will be no superstructure. Funnels and masts are unnecessary and the bridge will be in the enclosed top deck. The top deck will be a tough transparent plastic, and will have under it swimming pools, tennis courts and recreation spaces.

The 1950 edition of the standard reference work *Janes Fighting Ships* predicted "revolutionary types of warships" in the next few years, including the atom-bomb carrier, the guided destroyers and ships driven by gas turbines.

The National Physical Laboratory of Great Britain has two tanks available for investigation of designs by ship-building firms. Models are made on the basis of the designs proposed and these are tested in the tank under scientific control and experiment so that improvement may be suggested. During the last 20 years, increase in the knowledge of hull-form resistance has brought about a reduction of 8 per cent in the resistance of average merchant cargo ship. Over the same period, experimental tank research has added to the knowledge of the designer in the selection of the best propeller dimensions, blade shape, etc. to ship, speed and engine conditions. This has resulted in a general gain of 9 per cent in the propulsion efficiency, so that 17 per cent less fuel is now burned to produce the same speed due to the improved design of the hull-form and propellers.

We have also National Physical Laboratory at Delhi and Electro-Chemical Research Laboratory at Karaikudi and expect to get help, suggestions and advices on various points before actually starting a new ship-building industry.

Under present conditions only three ships can be constructed by the Scindia Navigation Company at Bishakhapattam Ship-building Yard. Every year some 30 m. tons of merchandise and some 3 m. passengers are mainly carried by foreign ships. India holds only 5 per cent of their great carrying trade against 95 per cent carried by foreigners. In coastal trade Indian ships cannot carry more than 20 per cent of this merchandise. In sea-trade, British holds 64 per cent, other foreign companies 35 per cent and Indian Shipping Companies a little over one per cent only.

This situation can be improved if India builds her own ships. As it would not be possible for India to buy a sufficient number of ships from abroad in order to be self-sufficient in carrying trade, she must expand her ship-building arts with all her attempts in quickest possible time.

The three main requirements of ship-building industry are : (1) A navigable waterway, as near to the sea as possible, in which vessels can be launched, (2) an easily available supply of the appropriate building materials, and (3) plenty of labourers for seamen as well as for various other capacities. All these can be easily fulfilled in the vicinity of Calcutta. We are glad to learn that our Government have paid attention to this and suitable sites, such as Diamond Harbour, Rajganj, Uluberia and Geonkhali are being considered. The Scindia Navigation Company was at first eager to start ship-building at or near Calcutta, but their attempts were then baffled by the then League Government for the protection of British interests. Failing to get any site near Calcutta they selected Bishakhapattam as their ship-building yard. That Calcutta and its vicinity is an ideal place for ship-building has been announced and proved by various authorities besides Scindia Company. Col. Watson in 1780 attempted building ships near Calcutta, the locality near Kidderpore Docks is still known as Watgunj after his name. The ship-building yard of this locality built 237 vessels within 40 years from 1781 to 1821. Uluberia had also a ship-building yard and 27 vessels were built here within 17 years from 1811 to 1828. There was also a ship-building yard near Barrackpore between Titagar and Khardah, and a ship of 1500 tons was built here in 1800. There are at present 16 Indian vessels engaged in the India-U.K.-continental trade. There are six engaged in the Calcutta-North American Trade. There are two vessels engaged in the Calcutta-Canada trade. None in the Calcutta-Mexican Gulf trade. None in the Calcutta-River Plate trade or the Calcutta-South America trade, or the Calcutta-African Ports trade or the Calcutta-Far Eastern trade. There is not one Indian Tanker though a very large quantity of oil has to be imported into India.

Few Indian ships are concerned with export trade from India and import trade to this country with very occasional picking-up trades on the wayside ports. Indian shipping has no thought of entering into what is called "Cross Trade" or trade between ports unconnected with India. Comparison of foreign shipping about this is striking. For example, the three Fenno-Scandian countries of Norway, Sweden and Denmark have less than 2 per cent of trade with India, and yet the number of ships of these three countries plying to and from India is double the number of all the Indian ships engaged in the entire trade with the United Kingdom and the continent. It has also to be

remembered that the mercantile navy of war-affected countries are fast developing. Italy has almost restored its pre-war mercantile marine. Germany is sure to come into the trade sooner or later. The European countries have not only restored their pre-war tonnage and shipping but are fast increasing far beyond that tonnage. Japan is now working on a new ship-building programme for 46 ocean-going vessels totalling 400,000 tons and is converting 23 liberty ships into ocean-going vessels. General MacArthur, Supreme Allied Commander, announced that \$24m. of U.S. aid would be given up to Japan to help rebuild her merchant fleet. This amount will be released from the yen proceeds of the sale of American aid supplies. Japan will build vessels totalling 275,000 tons in 1950 and convert 272,000 tons of non-standard shipping to ocean-going shipping meeting International standards. U. S. aid will finance 50 per cent of the new construction and 70 per cent of converting 29 old vessels.

Russia's ship-building yards for sea-going ships are at Leningrad, Nikolayev, Sevastopol and Vladivostok. There are new ship-yards at Komsomolsk-on-Amur. River-crafts are built at the Sozmovo yards (Gorki) near Kazan, Perm, Krasnoarmeisk (near Stalingrad) on the Volga, Kiev on the Dnieper, and Tyumen on the Ob-Irtish system. About Russia's navy strength Admiral Sherman, Chief of U. S. Naval Operations, recently declared that Russia had more cruisers in active service than the U.S.A. and that Russian ship-building capacity was reported to be double its 1940 level. Modern cruisers built in Russian ship-yards were heavy ships of high speed, armed with a standardized rapid-firing high velocity 7.1 inch triple turret battery. The total number of Russian cruisers are 14 (the U.S.A. has now 13). The Russian fleet's known strength are 3 old battleships, 14 cruisers, 110 destroyers and about 270 submarines.

According to Lloyd's Shipping Register, the tonnage of ships built throughout the world in 1949 exceeded that of 1948 by 822,062 tons. Excluding ships of less than 100 tons gross and warships, 926 ships totalling 9,131,805 were built. Well over 1,260,000 were from Britain and Northern Ireland of which 41.2 per cent was for owners abroad. The tonnage output of other leading countries in 1949 was given as : U.S.A. 633,306; Sweden 323,099; Holland 169,295; France 154,359 and Japan 147,974.

We are glad to learn that the Government-sponsored first Shipping Corporation known as Eastern Shipping Corporation started functioning with a fleet of two vessels, West Bengal and Bombay. These two 10,000 tons Canadian Victory Ships were purchased by the Government of India in April 1949, at a cost of Rs. 20 lakhs each. The vessels built in 1944 have been operating on the India-Australia Line since July last

on behalf of the Government with Scindias as Managers. The authorised capital of the Corporation is Rs. 10 crores and an issued capital of Rs. 2 crores. The Government will own 76 per cent of the shares leaving the balance to the Scindia Steam Navigation Company who will act as Managing Agents for the Corporation.

The Corporation expects to have soon five more ships—three "owned" and two "chartered." The Corporation routes will be India-Australia, India-Far East, India-Singapore and India-East Africa. The other two Corporations, scheduled to run on the India-U.K.-Continent line and the India-America line, are, however, not likely to be formed in the near future owing to financial stringency.

The normal draught of the modern largest vessels in the world is at present 37 feet. A good navigable channel at least 1,000 feet wide and 40 feet deep at mean low water springtide in the Hooghly should be maintained up to the port of Calcutta. Owing to the budgetary position, the Government of India have for the present given up the idea of acquiring the Ship-building Yard of Bishakhapattam, but have agreed to place orders for the construction of 3 cargo ships of 8,000 tons at a price of Rs. 64 lakhs each. This would give Government time to make the necessary financial arrangements to take over the ship-building yard. It is expected that the execution of the contract for building of these ships will take fifteen months. The contract price is extremely high because it involved a loss of Rs. 24 lakhs per ship to the Government in view of the fact that the market-price of such ships, built in Britain, was about Rs. 40 to 42 lakhs. But it is understood that the contract will ensure the execution of the work on a non-profit no-loss basis. One of the reasons of high cost in the building of the ships in India is the country's dependence on overseas markets for several essential materials required for the industry. The most important of these is the shortage in the type of steel required for the purpose.

According to Port Trust Administration of 1949, the total tonnage of sea-borne traffic handled by Calcutta Port during the year 1948-49 amounted to 8,163,067 against 6,949,528 the year before. In view of the growing importance of the trade of Calcutta it would be necessary and advantageous to start ship-building in the vicinity of Calcutta.

A research organisation should be made to assist various departments by offering advice on subjects which are outside the ordinary run of their experience and by bringing to their notice the results of scientific studies which have a bearing on their work. Free discussions should also be invited from any man interested and who can throw some light towards structural and navigational aids.

## PROSTITUTES IN BOMBAY PRESIDENCY

BY DR. D. P. KHANAPURKAR

THE view that poverty and economic inequality are the sole causes of prostitution, is not correct. The majority of the prostitutes in this presidency do not come from a class of women, who lead this life because of poverty and dire need of maintenance. On the contrary, they are mainly recruited from classes, which can be termed 'courtesan classes.' These classes have a religious sanction behind them and were in the first instance dedicated to the service of God and His temple.

Amongst these classes Kalavants rank highest. They are also known as Naikins and are found in Kanara and Ratnagiri districts. They derive their name from 'Kala' (Art) and are singers and dancers by profession. They claim descent from Apsaras and Gandharvas and give as proofs of their claim their hereditary services in temples. Their original home appears to be Vijayanagar, where a large number of these women attended upon the Kings, but after the capture of Vijayanagar by the Muslims they went to Sonda and the Kanara coast. Paes, in his account of Vijayanagar, refers to them as women who belong to the temples. He adds :

"These women are of loose character and live in the best streets of the city. They are very much esteemed and classed among those honoured ones, who are mistresses of the captains. They are allowed to enter the presence of the queens and they stay with them and eat betel with them, a thing which none other can do."

Formerly at the age of eight or nine years, the Kalawant girls underwent a form of marriage called *Shes*. At this occasion the Kalawant girls were invested with ankle-bells and upper garments, which they had to wear in a concert or dance. The *Shes* ceremony consisted of marriage with a dagger, the emblem of Kartikeya, which was held at the time by a girl dressed in a man's robes. According to traditions, the female issues of Kalawants become prostitutes, while those who had no female issues adopted minor girls of out-caste people. Besides Kartikeya, the patron deity, who is considered God of War, the Kalawants worship Mhalsa, Shantadurga and Kamakshi, whose shrines are in Goa.

The hereditary occupation of Kalawants is singing and dancing. The well-to-do employed them to sing and dance at thread and marriage ceremonies, and on other grand occasions. They were also engaged to dance in Hindu temples and in return enjoyed the produce of certain temple lands. Besides singing and dancing, they also acted as courtesans. Formerly women of other prostitute classes were not hired to dance unless they were invested with scarfs

and bells by a Kalawant, who was considered to have special privilege of dancing in temples.

In Karnatak one of their sects is known as Patradavaru or Shawl-weavers, who claim to represent the heavenly dancing girls Rambha and Urbashi. The girls of this sect were invested with ankle-bells and scarfs at the age of seven years and were made to undergo a form of marriage called Halpudi at the age of twelve. It is similar to *Shes*, except that the bridegroom is represented by a *madal* or double drum instead of a dagger. Their family goddesses are Gultemma and Hulgemma. Another section of Kalawants in Karnatak is known as Saibs or Lingayat Kalawants. They appear to have come from Gulburga in Nizam's dominions. Among them good-looking girls are invested with anklets of small brass bells and become prostitutes while the less favoured ones marry.

Next to Kalawant rank Bhavin or Devli. They are sometimes known as Naikins and are found in Ratnagiri, Kanara and Sawantwadi. The class is chiefly formed of women of Maratha and Bhandari castes. The women from lower classes were allowed to become Bhavin by the simple ceremony of pouring oil on their head from the God's lamp in a temple.

In old days when a Bhavin girl attained puberty she had to undergo the *Shes* form of marriage. In this ceremony the bridegroom was not represented by a dagger but by God from the temple. The ceremony took place on an auspicious day and the God Ganapati was worshipped as well as Punyah-wachan was performed at the girl's house as well as in the temple, by Gurav. Then the Gurav and other servants of the temple went in a procession to the girl's house taking with them a dagger and the mask of the God. After returning with the girl to the temple the marriage ceremony was performed with the same details as an ordinary marriage, only the mask taking the place of the bridegroom. As the ceremony involved a great expenditure, it was frequently dispensed with, and instead the young girl was asked to worship Ganapati, and to place a coconut and a packet of sugar, before the image of the God in the temple, where she was accompanied by a party of Bhavins. The Gurav and other temple servants then invoked on her the blessings of the God.

The Bhavins practise prostitution, differing from the common prostitutes only in being dedicated to the Gods. They choose two or three of their female children to succeed them. Except these, other daughters are allowed to marry.



The third class is that of Bandis or bondsmen, who are found in Karwar and Kumta and along the coast as far as Honavar in the Kanara district. They appear either to be descendants of slaves either imported or captured in war and once the property of the landed proprietors, or the offspring of women who have served as concubines or have been taken in adultery. Among them marriage was rare, the girls generally became prostitutes and even the married women led irregular lives, though they avoided men of low castes. Another such community is of Padiars, who are found in Kanara district. The word 'Padiar' is modification of 'Padiwal,' which means a hired servant paid in grain, the word 'Padi' meaning a measuring of grain. Like Bandi, they are a class of prostitutes recruited from women taken in adultery. Among them the *Shes* ceremony of the girl was performed, when the girl was over ten years of age, and was married to the God Mahabuleshwar of Gokarna. Many women of these classes act as courtesans as well as singers and dancers.

Another class of prostitutes is Muralis, who are found all over the Deccan in small numbers. When a man has no children or when his children are short-lived he vows that if Khandoba blesses him with a child he will set it apart to worship and attend upon the God. The girls offered to Khandoba in this way are called Muralis. Sometimes married women also become Muralis, leaving their husbands and even children saying that they have made a vow to Khandoba or that they were warned in a dream that they should be wives of Khandoba and not of men. When a Murali is married to Khandoba, she is taken to the temple of Khandoba at Jejuri in Poona. There the girl is bathed and God is rubbed with turmeric along with the girl. The girl puts on a new robe and bodice, green glass bangles round her wrists and "Mundaval" to her brow, and stands near the God. The Gurav after worship of the God takes in his hands a necklace of nine cowrie shells and fastens it round the girl's neck while the guests throw turmeric over the God-bridegroom and the bride, saying twice 'Elkot ghe.' When the Murali comes of age, she finds a patron who pays her a sum amounting to Rs. 100 or more. With this sum the girl buys a robe and a bodice for herself and a bedding. Formerly she used to sit in a bamboo-frame dressed in new clothes and with green bangles on her wrists. After some time her lap was filled by other Muralis and she went to the village Maruti, where she presented a coin and betel to the God. Thereafter she was free to live with her patron. The Muralis mark their brows with turmeric powder and wear a necklace of nine cowrie shells. At the time of begging they sing songs, generally indecent, in praise of Khandoba.

The class which stands at the lowest ladder among

the prostitutes is that of Holar and Madig, found in Karnatak. The communities by themselves do not belong to courtesan class but they form the recruiting ground for the present-day prostitutes. Except Holar and Madig, other classes have undergone a revolution. The spread of education among them has changed their outlook and they no more believe in dedication to God. Instead of prostitution, the girls lead a married life and accordingly the tradition of prostitution among them is dying its own death. But the same cannot be said about Holar and Madig communities, who are illiterate and poor. The money that the prostitutes of the communities earn gives incentive to others to dedicate their girls as Jogtins, in order to carry on the profession. The religious belief, the desire to have easy money and illiteracy lead them to the canker of prostitution. The relatives of the Jogtins, especially the parents and brothers, do not feel ashamed if the Jogtin is carrying on her profession in the same house, with patrons, who do not permit them to enter their houses and temples on the plea of untouchability.

Formerly when a Holar had all daughters and no son he made one of his daughters a Basavi or a prostitute, and took her on a lucky day to the temple of Goddess Adchawa with flowers, coconuts, betelnuts and leaves. In the temple, the Pujari of the Goddess worshipped the idol and tied a lucky thread of gold and glass beads round the neck of the girl, after rubbing her with cowdung ashes. From that day she was declared 'Basavi' and was free to act as courtesan. This entitled her to inherit her parents' property like a son. The daughters born to her were not treated as Basavis, but were freely taken in marriage by the community. While Holars dedicate the girls to Adchawa, the Madigs dedicate the girls to Yellamma and Durgavva. In some places Madig girls remaining unmarried till after the age of puberty are not allowed to marry, but are dedicated to Yellamma and have to carry on prostitution.

It will be seen from the above account that there existed a religious sanction behind the courtesans, though the main idea behind it was dedication and service to God. It cannot be ascertained with certainty as to when it degraded into prostitution. But once it was sanctioned, it continued for the easy money it gave to the women and their relatives. It is hard to eradicate the canker of prostitution unless the community which carries it on is educated. At the same time the educated patrons ought to change their attitude towards the problem. Though most of them openly view it as bad, yet secretly they try to encourage it by all means. As long as this attitude is not changed, the prostitution is bound to exist in one form or the other.

## THE 15TH ALL-INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

By DR. CHARU CHANDRA DAS GUPTA, M.A., P.R.S., Ph.D. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Cantab)

In the first week of last November the session of the 15th All-India Oriental Conference was held at Bombay. In 1919 the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute was founded at Poona to commemorate the memory of the late Sir Ramakrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, the doyen of orientalist in India at that time. It was decided by the enthusiastic members of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute to inaugurate a conference known as the All-India Oriental Conference. Much earlier we find the inauguration of a similar congress in Europe which is known as the International Congress of Orientalists for discussing various matters relating to oriental history and culture. There are points of similarity between the All-India Oriental Conference and the International Congress of Orientalists. First, Indian culture is found within the scope of both these conferences. The following are points of dissimilarity between them. First, whereas the All-India Oriental Conference is held every second year, the International Congress of Orientalists is held every third year. Secondly, whereas in the All-India Oriental Conference discussion is made only of Indian subjects, in the International Congress of Orientalists discussion is made of other oriental subjects besides Indian.

The 15th All-India Oriental Conference was held at Bombay from the 5th to the 7th November last under the joint auspices of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society and the University of Bombay. The meetings were held at the University Convocation Hall, St. Xavier's College and the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. Some of the delegates were stationed at the hostel of St. Xavier's College and some at the buildings of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan. The Reception Committee made good arrangement for the board and lodging of the delegates.

The inauguration of the 15th All-India Oriental Conference was held at Bombay at the University Convocation Hall on the 5th November at 2 p.m. The meeting started with a speech of welcome by His Excellency Raja Sir Maharaj Singh, the Governor of Bombay. He delivered a short, lucid and penetrating address. In his speech he declared that the All-India Oriental Conference congregated scholars and research workers in various branches of orientalia and facilitated the integration and co-ordination and the publication of work in diverse subjects. He further opined that there was still considerable virgin ground for pioneers of research in practically all branches of oriental learning.

After this speech of welcome Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. P. V. Kane, Chairman of the Reception Committee, delivered also an interesting address. In it he

gave an idea of the importance of Bombay as a centre of learning and culture and also appealed to the newly rich people to come forward to help and encourage the studies pursued by scholars in oriental literature, philosophy and arts with part of their wealth.

Then came the address of the general president, Dr. Sushil Kumar Dey, late Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Dacca. It is a matter of profound regret that Dr. Dey could not attend the conference owing to the serious illness of his father and, therefore, sent his presidential address for being read at the conference. This was read by one of the general secretaries, Dr. R. N. Dandekar. It was a learned, suggestive and thought-provoking address. In course of his address he deplored the absence of any central organisation for co-ordinating research and offering necessary assistance to earnest workers, of equipped libraries of sufficient standard and magnitude for helping higher study and research in oriental subjects. Then he reiterated the opinion sponsored by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Ganganath Jha that oriental research had not received that attention in this country which was its birth-right. Then he said that there was scope for research in any department of oriental learning. He further regretted that there was unfortunately a tendency to underrate the value as much of modern method, on one hand, as of traditional method, on the other. Then he spoke about the re-orientation of the policy regarding oriental learning. He deplored that it was not properly felt even today that oriental studies furnished to us the key to the understanding of our own culture and tradition, of our own ways of life and thought, of our own morals and manners, in fact, of ourselves. Then he advocated for the wider range of subjects for the curricula of the All-India Oriental Conference and, thinking along this line, he believed that the All-India Oriental Conference might be transformed into a kind of Asiatic conference of oriental learning.

On the 6th November the session began with the reading of the presidential addresses of different sections. There were as many as eighteen sections. The reading of each presidential address was allotted half an hour and along with the reading of each presidential address the reading of different papers belonging to different sections as well as symposia on interesting subjects were taken. It was, therefore, not possible to attend the meetings of all presidential addresses, of all papers as well as symposia. This was a real drawback of the session of the all-India Oriental Conference. The whole session was only for three days though the programme was so heavy that it certainly required at least a week's time for the programme being enacted in a proper manner. This can be done in either of the

following ways. First, if the meeting is held every year and if the number of sections is lessened, then the number of papers and presidential addresses will be automatically less and then it will be possible to finish the deliberations within three days. On the other hand, if the meeting is held every second year and if there are as many sections as eighteen, then the session should be held for at least a week.

There are as many as eighteen different sections which were presided over by a scholar of established reputation. The following are the different sections and their presidents: 1. Vedic—Prof. Visvabandhu Sastri of Hoshiarpur, 2. Iranian—Dr. J. C. Tavadia of Santiniketan, 3. Classical Sanskrit—Dr. V. Raghavan of Madras, 4. Islamic Culture—Prof. Humayun Kabir of New Delhi, 5. Arabic and Persian—Maulavi Mahesh Prasad of Benares, 6. Pali and Buddhism—Prof. R. D. Vadekar of Poona, 7. Prakrit and Jainism—Muni Jina Vijayaji of Bombay, 8. History—Dr. A. S. Altekar of Benares Hindu University, 9. Archaeology—Dr. N. P. Chakravarti of Delhi, 10. Indian Linguistics—Dr. Siddheswar Varma of Nagpur, 11. Dravidian Culture—Prof. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri of Tiruvadi, 12. Philosophy and Religion—Prof. V. A. Ramaswami Sastri of Trivandrum, 13. Technical Science and Fine Arts—Dr. V. S. Agrawala of New Delhi, 14. Marathi—Dr. Y. K. Deshpande of Yeotmal, 15. Gujarati—Sri K. M. Munshi of Bombay, 16. Hindi—Prof. K. P. Mishra of Benares, 17. Kannada—Prof. K. G. Kundanagar of Belgaum and 18. Urdu—Dr. Mohan Singh of East Punjab University.

Most of the presidential addresses were not printed in advance. The only presidential address of which we got a copy was that of Mr. Munshi. I think that it should be a general rule to publish summaries at least of the presidential addresses in advance. All the presidential addresses of different sections were delivered on the 6th November.

A book containing the summaries of the papers was given to the delegates in advance. It was very useful and excellently printed and got up. It contained the summaries of all papers which were intended for reading at this session. There were many learned papers which were sent for reading; but as the reading of the papers in different sections took place at the same time, it was not possible to listen to all the papers. Here I may mention a few papers in order to give an idea of the general nature of the papers sent for reading at this session. The following is the list of those papers: (1) The name Indra: An etymological investigation: By V. M. Apte; (2) The Riddle of the Vedic Calendar: By R. K. Prabhu; (3) Vedic Studies in the West: By E. J. Thomas; (4) Draupadi-vastraharana episode: An interpolation of the Mahabharata: By G. H. Bhatt; (5) The Danasagara and the Danaratnakara: By Bhabatosh Bhattacharya; (6) Value and Importance of Manuscripts in Olden Times: By

Chintaharan Chakravarti; (7) Oriental Studies: The plan for the future with the requirements in accordance with the present changed conditions: By K. G. Gopala Rao; (8) Basic Sanskrit as a State Language: By Satish Chandra Guha Thakurta; (9) Popularisation of Sanskrit: By G. S. Huparikar; (10) A Problem in the Mudrarakshasa: Was Rakshasa in league with Parvatesvara? By K. R. Kangle; (11) Arabic Alphabet: By S. Mahdihassan; (12) Fragment of an old manuscript of a Pali text in an old Indian script: By P. V. Bapat; (13) Delhi: What was it in hoary past? By N. N. Chaudhury; (14) Public Opinion in Ancient India: By Radha Krishna Chaudhury; (15) The Myth of Aryan Migration into India: By V. M. Kaikini; (16) Origin of the name Bombay: By Lachmi Dhar; (17) Achaemenian Rule in India: By R. C. Majumdar; (18) Was Ancient Egypt ever a Dominion of India?: By Lachmi Dhar; (19) The East in the West: By Lokenath Bhattacharya; (20) Mother Goddess Durga: By N. N. Chaudhury; (21) The Time Lag Problem in Indian Art History: By H. Goetz; (22) Some Reflections on the present-day Indian Music: By V. M. Kaikini; (23) Magadha—The Ancient Indian Emporium: By L. B. Kenny; (24) Lithic Monuments in Early South India: By V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar; (25) The First Greek Conqueror of India: By R. D. Karmakar.

The authorities of the all-India Oriental Conference also arranged other interesting items. One such item was the lantern lecture which was delivered by Khwaja M. Ahmad, Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad on recent archaeological excavations at Panagiri. The other items which were arranged were a number of symposia which were "Sanskrit as a Terminological *lingua franca*," "Oriental Studies and State Policy" and "Simplified Sanskrit."

The all-India Oriental Conference also arranged a visit to the famous Elephanta caves near Bombay. Caves are of two different varieties, *viz.*, natural and artificial. In India, we find the foundation of artificial caves from hoary antiquity, *i.e.*, certainly from the time of the emperor Asoka, if not earlier. Caves were hewn in many parts of India, *viz.*, Bihar, Orissa, Central Provinces, Bombay Presidency, Madras Presidency, and Hyderabad. Among all these places Bombay Presidency possesses the largest number of caves. They are meant for Hinduism, Buddhism and Jainism. Caves at the island of Elephanta are Brahmanical because here we find all the caves full with sculptures showing various episodes of the life of Siva. These sculptures have rightly been considered as the masterpieces of ancient Indian sculpture. Among them we have the world-famous sculpture of Siva showing the *trimurti*. It is a masterpiece and any nation possessing such a sculpture may be rightly proud on account of its great beauty. The officer-in-charge of the Elephanta Caves was good enough to



explain to all of us the qualities and characteristic features of these sculptures.

This account will be incomplete if we do not mention the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, the newly-founded research institute for oriental learning. It is one of the most up-to-date and magnificent oriental research institutes in the world and has come into being through the earnest efforts of the well-known Indian political leader, Sri K. M. Munshi and his talented wife, Srimati Lilavati Munshi. It is a splendid edifice equipped with a big lecture-hall, library, research rooms and staff quarters.

The authorities of the all-India Oriental Conference made excellent arrangement for the entertainment of the delegates. On the first day Kalidasa's

*Abhijnana-Sakuntalam* was enacted. On the second and third days there were the Marathi and Gujarati entertainments. They were all excellently done.

Three receptions were arranged. One was the tea-party at Government House. The second tea-party was given by the Reception Committee and the third by Mr. and Mrs. Munshi in the premises of the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan.

It was decided at the concluding session of the Conference that the next All-India Oriental Conference would be held at Lucknow in 1951. Here I would suggest that the All-India Oriental Conference should be held annually and for five days. Then the number of the papers will be less and delegates will be able to attend the reading of more papers.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Editor, *The Modern Review*.

### ENGLISH

SOME ASPECTS OF EDUCATION IN ANCIENT INDIA : By C. Kunhan Raja. *The Adyar Library Series No. 78. The Adyar Library, Madras. 1950. Pp. III. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This monograph consists of a course of two lectures delivered by the author, a well-known Sanskrit scholar, under the terms of a Madras University lecture endowment in 1949. The subject has been treated of late by a number of Indian scholars. But the author, even while treading on familiar ground, makes observations which are suggestive and stimulating, though not always convincing. Thus he rejects (pp. 12-13) the view of another scholar who finds references to the *upanayana* sacrament and the *Brahmacharin* student in *Rig-vedic* and *Atharva-vedic* texts. But at the same time the continuity of unbroken tradition "for at least 25 centuries from the age of the *Kalpasutras* to the present day" makes him assume (p. 14) that the *upanayana* ceremony and the system of studying the Vedas by rote from a teacher was a *Rig-vedic* and perhaps an even earlier (*sic*) institution. Again he finds fault with still another scholar for failure to make the distinction between *upanayana* (initiation of student under a teacher by his parent) and *upasadana* (voluntary approach to a teacher by an advanced student for further study). While rejecting contrary views on the subject, he holds (p. 30) on the authority of references in the *Arthashastra*, the *Raghuvamsam* and the *Uttara-Ramacharita*, that elementary education was imparted to the boys some time after *chuda-karana* and prior to *upanayana*. More speculative is the author's statement (p. 37) that there must have been a cataclysm in

Vedic civilization and that thereafter Vedic study in detail was confined to the Brahmana caste and differences in details relating thereto on the basis of caste became pronounced. The author's further observations are sufficiently interesting. Thus he concludes (p. 62) from a close examination of a famous *Taittiriya Upanishad* text that the real purpose of Vedic study under a teacher was to make the student a worthy citizen. Again he infers (p. 77) from a study of the relevant rules that the student's education had two stages, the obligatory stage relating to the recitation of Vedic texts and the *Vedangas* and the optional stage concerned with a further critical study of the Vedas.

It will appear from the above examples that the work, though short, is a real addition to the growing literature on the fascinating subject of ancient Indian education. But its scope is too narrow as it makes but the briefest reference to the education of women; while it is completely silent about branches of education other than the Vedic. Of references to the educational ideas and practices in the Buddhist and Jaina literature there is not the slightest trace.

U. N. GHOSHAL

SHORT STUDIES ON CHINA AND INDIA : By V. G. Nair, Asst. Secretary, Sino-Indian Cultural Society of India, Santiniketan, West Bengal. Published by Thompson and Co., Madras. Pp. 164. Price Rs. 3.

Prof. Tan Yun-shan, Director of the Visvabharati Chinabhabana, introduces the author of this book—a collection made up of articles of unequal importance already published in various Indian papers—as a valued colleague in extending the field of Sino-Indian friendship and knowledge that would help cement it.

There is nothing new in the things told here ; the author appears concerned with the past of the two countries, and the revolutionary forces that have been remaking China have not received his attention except in the article published in pp. 53-56. Even this slides over the surface. We have seen Chinese Communist theoreticians trying to debunk the philosophy and practice that Confucius inculcated—the sheet-anchor of Chinese life—on whose wreckage they hope to build their New China. Of these there is no indication in this book.

Of the Indian subjects—two or three only—dealt with in the book, these refer to South Indian subjects. written for present-day popular journals, these just point to the past of this part of India. The only article that has a modern reference is the “Banasthali Vidyapith,” being built up as a centre of rural reconstruction by Sree Hiralal Sastri and his wife Srimati Ratan Bai; women are being trained there for the purpose in view.

**AMERICA IN JAPAN :** *By Andrew Roth.* First published in U. S. A., September, 1945. First Indian edition, August, 1946. Published by Kutub Publishers, Bombay 5. Pp. 240. Price Rs. 3. .

The book saw the light of day almost a month after the surrender of Japan in the wake of the blast of the atom bomb on Nagasaki and Hiroshima. An American publicist who has specialized in inter-nations affairs specially relating to East Asia, the author has based the present volume on facts, gathered during years of study on the spot.

One argument runs through it that the United States as the dominant party in the occupation of the Japanese empire should avoid the *zaibatsu*—the oligarchy of Japan—and depend on the democratic forces that since the Meiji era (1868) have been fighting the feudal-capitalist-militarist combination. More than half the book is devoted to depicting this gallant fight. And it would not be from lack of knowledge that General McArthur would be acting to rebuild Japan as an arsenal of democracy in the Pacific Ocean area.

But as fate would have it the dictators of policy in the United States have chosen the path against which Roth has warned them. In their anxiety to stumble on a “stabilizing” force in Japan they have been misled into the arms of all the reactionary forces that thrive under the Emperor cult. The war in Korea has spot-lighted the danger of this policy. The choice made has been forced by the inherent conflict between individualism and totalitarianism ; it has been complicated by Asia's new nationalism enriched by the ideal of a just distribution of human labour—the centuries-old fight which Communism spear-heads today. Andrew Roth's thesis proves again that a prophet hath no honour in his own country.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

**YOGA : The Method of Reintegration :** *By Alain Danielou.* Published by Christopher Johnson Publishers Limited, 109, Great Russell Street, London, WC 1. Pp. 166. Price 16s. net.

The author, who was born in Paris, is the son of a French Cabinet Minister. He has lived in Benares for a long period of twelve years and devoted himself entirely to the study of yoga and other aspects of ancient Indian culture. He is also a leading authority of Europe on Indian music on which he has written three volumes. This short but masterly exposition of

yoga is compiled from a good many basic scriptures on yoga and the teachings of some living exponents. It is different from other books on yoga in this respect that it presents the abstruse subject in the light and language of the Sanskrit texts published and unpublished. More than 352 quotations that are incorporated in the body in translations are appended in their Sanskrit originals in Devnagari script. The volume gives an authentic account of the aims, methods, results, postures and forms of yoga and may be used as a *Vade mecum* by the students and the scholars alike. Every page bears the mark of extraordinary thoroughness, erudition and clarity. A colourful picture of the six Chakras or plexuses of the subtle body and five other illustrations enrich this handy volume which is nicely printed and got up.

The book under review is divided into five parts of which the last contains five appendices. The first part is introductory and deals with the definition, method and literature of yoga. In it the author defines yoga as a method of reintegration which means identification with Divinity. This definition of yoga is in agreement with Vyasa, the commentator of Patanjali's Yoga-sutras, who says that yoga is synonymous with ‘Samadhi.’ In fact ‘Samadhi’ is a state of super-consciousness wherein cessation of all mentation takes place. The learned author uses yoga in a very wide sense and studies it in almost all its manifold aspects. The twelve chapters into which the second part is sub-divided deal with seven steps of Hath yoga, Raja yoga, Mantra yoga, Laya yoga and Shiv yoga. Shiva yoga is that form of arch yoga where the supreme Self is realised. Other forms of yoga are Karma yoga, Bhakti yoga, Jnana yoga, Kundalini yoga and Asparsha yoga. Gaudapada, grand-guru of Sankaracharya, has propounded the philosophy of Asparsha yoga in his commentary on the Mandukya Upanishad. The guide, initiation, various types of aspirants, rules relating to food and mode of living and obstacles to yoga are fully treated in the third and fourth parts. In the five appendices the subtle body, the siddhis or occult powers and asanas or postures, etc., are dealt with. Appendix C contains the names and definitions of eighty-four main asanas rarely found elsewhere. In the Appendix D a very valuable list of nearly fifty-five important Sanskrit treatises on yoga is given for further study and verification. The learned work may rightly be considered a comprehensive compendium of yoga since almost all essentials and aspects of yoga are treated in it with extraordinary accuracy.

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

**SEX IN SOCIAL LIFE :** *Edited by Sybil Neville Rolfe, O.B.E.* Published by Allen and Unwin, London 1949. Price 21 shillings net.

The book is a well-planned and well-edited one. Though written by different authors—authorities it would be more proper to say, e.g., Waddington, Rev Gray, Kenneth Walker, etc., to name only a few—the various contributions supplement each other and what is missing in one is found in another. A psychological outlook runs through the whole. The suggestion for improvement of social customs and standards and methods of education given in the book are based on scientific facts and studies and not on emotional tinged idealism.

The reviewer would have liked to see the name of Glover in the list of contributors. The omission does not, however, mean that the discoveries of psychoanalysts have not been given consideration. Rather

it is those contributions which have been utilised by the different contributors with reference to the special problems which they have respectively treated. The first part of the book deals with the purely technical and scientific aspects of sex; while the second part concerns itself with the relation between sex-life and society.

It is a fact that many misconceptions still prevail amongst laymen as also amongst those who ought to know better regarding the part played by sex in the behaviours of men. A perusal of the volume will surely help to remove many of these misconceptions. How to impart sex education to children, how marriage failures can be prevented, and how one has to prepare oneself for marriage and parenthood are some of the extremely urgent but at the same time highly delicate problems that have been frankly as also scientifically discussed without undue overweighing of any particular element or concept. The advice and suggestions that have been incorporated in the volume will benefit any reader for it may be safely assumed that every reader, whatever might be his or her age, occupation or status has his or her unsolved problems relating to sex.

Since the pioneer days of H. Ellis many volumes have been written each dealing with different aspects of sex-life. The present volume is to be specially commended because it takes all aspects into consideration—physiological, psychological, educational, sociological and practical—and gives us a thoroughly comprehensive view of our sex-life. It is not only an eminently valuable contribution to the literature of sex but it is also an extremely useful gift to all those who are sincerely striving to introduce a healthier moral tone in the correct sense of the term in our social behaviours.

S. C. MITRA

**WORKMEN'S COMPENSATION ACT AND OTHER SOCIAL INSURANCE LEGISLATION:** By J. N. Baksi and J. K. Mitra. Published by S. C. Sarkar and Sons Ltd., 1/C College Square, Calcutta 12. Pp. 300. Price Rs. 10.

Workmen's Compensation Act is of increasing importance on account of the rapid industrial development in our country. Its provisions are little understood by our employers of labour; and even for lawyers a case-noted up-to-date edition of the Act was long overdue. The Act has been well annotated by the editors; and the relevant rules appended.

Not only this Act, but 15 other Central and Local Acts, such as the Indian Fatal Accidents Act, Bengal Maternity Benefit Act together with the Rules framed under the respective Acts have been given. This has enhanced the value of the book greatly. Half the modern legislation consists of Rules; and they are not easily available. The authors have earned the thanks of the public by giving these rules. Considering the present-day high prices of paper and printing, the price fixed is not too high. The printing and get-up are good.

**THE INDIAN MERCANTILE LAW:** By A. K. Banerjee. Book Company Ltd., College Square, Calcutta. Pp. 842. Price Rs. 10.

This is the third edition of the book, which shows its popularity among the students and the general public. The book is good so far as it goes; but the revision has not been of the standard expected from the author. For a book published in 1949 to include

the Trade Disputes Act of 1929, when it has been repealed by an Act in 1947; or to give the old Factories Act of 1934, when it has been repealed by Act LXIII of 1948 without any mention of which Act the provisions are summarised is unpardonable. We hope the author would publish a supplement correcting such omissions, and bring it up to date.

J. M. DATTA

### SANSKRIT

**SRIRAMACHARITAM, Part I:** By Mahamahopadhyaya S. Nilakantha Sastri, Pandit H. H. the Maharaja's Sanskrit College, Trivandrum. Price and publisher not mentioned.

This is a Sanskrit version of the famous Tamil classic *Kamparamayana*. We have here only a portion of the work, six cantos of Book I, covering the narrative up to the birth of Rama and his brothers. The need for popularising the literary gems of different parts of India among the people of the country at large cannot be exaggerated. But works of this type which make their appearance from time to time compiled in a language known to and cultivated by a limited circle of educated people scattered over the country cannot be expected to serve the purpose. These will at best remain as literary curios admired and appreciated by scholars of the orthodox school. But it must be admitted that they reflect no small credit on the learned authors whose number is unfortunately on the wane.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

### BENGALI

**BHARATA-KATHA:** By Chakravarti Rajagopalachari. Ananda-Hindusthan Prakashani, Sri Gauranga Press, Calcutta 9. Cloth-bound. Pp. xi+265. Price Rs. 8.

As a life-long friend and follower of the Mahatma, and as imbibing in all its implications the Gandhian conception of *dharma*, it is but natural that Chakravarti Rajagopalachari should have a profound respect for Indian culture. And this ancient Indian culture and *dharma* is, more than anywhere else, embodied in the two great epics of India. The Gita is but a part and parcel of the Mahabharata.

Outside his own province Chakravarti Rajagopalachari is better known as a political leader and shrewd tactician, but in Tamil Nad he is recognised as a wise philosopher and writer of distinction. C. R. is one of those few politicians who have contributed something of value to literature. Politics is of the day but literature is lasting.

From time immemorial the Ramayana and the Mahabharata have been a source of strength and inspiration to countless millions. It is in the fitness of things that the erstwhile Governor of Bengal should have his book translated in Bengali. The name of Kasiramdas is a household word in Bengal. It was probably at the close of the sixteenth or in the early part of the seventeenth century that Kasiramdas rendered the Mahabharata in Bengali verse. Even before that there had been extant various other translations of the Mahabharata. In the sixties of the nineteenth century Kaliprasanna Sinha with the aid of some of the great Pundits of the period brought out his great translation of Vyas's Mahabharata in elegant Bengali prose. It has become a classic in our language. There is also a very accurate Bengali rendering of Vyas's epic as published by the Burdwan Rajbati.



Rajkrishna Ray's verse-translation of the Mahabharata is a stupendous work. Upendra Kishore Roy Chowdhury's *Children's Mahabharata* is an adaptation from the Sanskrit epic. Rajshekhar Bose's *Mahabharata* abridged is also a very comprehensive translation, and he introduces the grand epic in all its essential features. Bankim Chandra Chatterjee's *Krishna-Charitra* is a reconstruction of Sri Krishna's life and character as is to be found in the Mahabharata. He stresses the human aspect of his character, and in his book the Superman shines forth in all his greatness and glory.

For nearly four hundred years there has been, in Bengali literature, an almost unbroken continuity in the line of the presentation of Vyas in multifarious forms. Sri Rajagopalachari's is a mid-twentieth century addition to those great performances. He presents the Mahabharata in an original way. It is a new departure. There are a hundred and seven chapters in his book. In each chapter he takes up a character, an incident, an episode or a story from the epic and deals with it fully and in an interesting way so that the educated as well as the uneducated may enjoy and not find it difficult to be acquainted with the beauties of Vyas. He compares the past with the present and comes to the conclusion that human nature has remained essentially the same as it was in the days of Kurukshetra, and even in five thousand years the principles and practices of the past have not changed materially. His chapters on *Sarbagre Arghyadan*, *Bishakta Sarovara*, *Sri Krishna's Dautya*, etc., are examples of masterly treatment. In *Bharata-Katha*, Bengali readers will find food for thought.

The Mahabharata is an epic of humanity. It is a palace of thousand chambers. Krishna-Dwaipayana Vyas is its grand architect. Those who are not well-versed in Sanskrit are denied the privilege of enjoying its grandeur in all its manifold details. General readers who are not all scholars will, as they go through the *Bharata-Katha*, thank the author for opening to them the portals to that palace of wonder.

In a short preface, Prof. Priyaranjan Sen introduces the book to the Bengali reading public. Srijit Seshadri has done well to translate the *Bharata-Katha* in Bengali. His is an able translation. It is a matter of pleasure to us that a Southerner can write so effortlessly in our language. His Bengali prose is idiomatic and elegant. The printing and get-up of the book are excellent.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAW.

#### MARATHI

AVAJACHI DUNIYA : By Shudhasarang. Published by Vimal Chitre, Baroda. Pp. 191. Price Rs. 5.

A sheaf of seventeen critical essays dealing with music and musicians on the air and on the screen, full of constructive suggestions for preserving the purity of the Art.

G. M.

#### HINDI

PANGHAT : By Sudarshan. Vora and Company, Publishers Limited, Bombay, 2. Pp. 235. Price Rs. 3-8.

A third edition of the fourth volume of fourteen short stories by the doyen and delight of Hindi short-story writers. Like its predecessors, the present volume also is packed with the poetry and pathos of our work-a-day life. Sudarshanji is, indeed, an ideal watcher of the human sky.

G. M.

#### GUJARATI

MARI JIVANAKATHA : By Dr. Rajendraprasad. Translated by Prabhudas Chhaganlal Gandhi. Navajiban Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. January, 1950. Price Rs. 8.

Dr. Rajendraprasad's autobiography, written in Hindi, first published by the Sahitya-Sansar in the pages of the *Himalaya*, has been before the public for about three years now, awaiting translation into the different Indian languages and also into English. Dr. Prasad had his college education in Bengal, and his autobiography contains grateful appreciation of the land and people who had inspired him with lofty ideals in the formative years of his life. In view of that, the Bengali translation should have been published by now; as a matter of fact the Bengali version has been lying almost ready, and it is a pity that an enterprising Bengali publisher is yet to be found to sponsor the publication. The Gujarati language deserves to be congratulated in being, so far as is known, the first Indian language in which the translation of the book has been published.

The translation has been done in a faithful manner, and the translator is a well-known worker, whose grandfather was a first cousin to Gandhiji, and who was himself one of the first products of the Gandhi movement, or as we many term it, Gandhi community. Sri Prabhudas Gandhi is the author of an invaluable book, *Jeevanmun Parodh*, which remains to be reviewed.

In considering the contents of the book, *Mari Jeevanakatha*, it will be fitting to take note of what Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel says in his very interesting foreword to the book. He had been drawn to Dr. Prasad since the Kheda Satyagraha in 1918, and the ties of friendship between the two had grown strong with the passage of time. Sardarji says: "The reader will find in it a living account of the momentous changes that occurred during the last 25 years coloured by the loving eyes of a patriot. Rajendra Babu's love for his country began in 1905, in the days of the Bengal Partition, and from that beginning his life has steadily travelled in one direction. In 1917, at the time of Champaran struggle, he came to Gandhiji's feet and renounced a worldly career. From that day onwards, for the last 30 years, his life has been the story of his public activities. Whoever reads the book will get inspiration for turning his life to a higher key. No true patriot should fail to read this book."

The book, in course of 164 chapters, gives a more or less connected narrative of Dr. Prasad's life from his early days to the formation of the Constituent Assembly ending with January 1947.

It must be admitted that, neatly printed and on good paper, the volume, extending over 884 pages, has been made available to the public at a quite moderate price.

P. R. SEN

PRATIMAO : By the late Jhaver Chand Meghani. Published by the Gurjar Granth Ratna Karyalaya, Ahmedabad. 1947. Cloth-bound. Pp. 194. Price Rs. 2-8

Nine illustrative stories of the good and evil sides of human nature, told in Meghani's peculiar style, have proved so attractive that a third edition had to be brought out in twelve years.

K. M. J.



# INDIAN PERIODICALS



## George Bernard Shaw

V. Krishna Rao writes in *The Indian Review* :

Shaw was born at Dublin on the 26th of July 1856. His father, George Carr Shaw, was for some time employed in the Dublin Corn Exchange, where he does not appear to have come by any prosperity. His mother Lucinda Elizabeth Gurly was the daughter of a landed proprietor in County Carlow. Three children were born of them—two daughters and a son—Lucinda Frances, Elinor Agnes and Bernard Shaw. Shaw has always felt that he had no celebrated ancestry. Once Sir Arthur Jones had the temerity to refer to Shaw as "a freakish homunculus germinated outside lawful procreation." In resenting the suggestion, Shaw traces his family descent from one Shaagh, the third son of Macduff immortalised by Shakespeare as "having been from his mother's womb untimely ripped."

Whatever the ancestry, the family does not seem to have been in affluent circumstances. Poor Shaw was sent to the local Wesley College, where he gave no evidence of his future brilliance. It is recorded of him that he was generally near or at the bottom of his classes. He had an aversion for the schooling, which prejudice he carries up to this day. He stayed at home and absorbed much music from his accomplished uncle.

While yet 15 years of age, he got into a job as a land agent at Dublin on a magnificent salary of £18 per annum. His penury made him persist there for a year when he was promoted to the post of a cashier on £48 per year. Feeling that he could not go passing rich with £48 a year, he resigned the job and joined his mother in London where she had set herself up as a professional teacher of music. And this is what he said of his plight :

"I did not throw myself into the struggle for life. I threw my mother into it. I was not a staff to my father's old age. I hung to my father's coat tails. Callous as comes to moral babble, I steadily wrote my five pages a day and made a man of myself (at my mother's expense) instead of a slave."

Again in 1896, he refers to his early days :

"When people reproach me with the unfashionableness of my attire they forget that to me it seems like the raiment of Solomon in all his glory by contrast with the indescribable seediness of these days. When I trimmed my cuffs to the quick with scissors and wore a tall hat and soi-distant black coat green with decay."

Suffering is the badge of the literary tribe and Shaw had quite a decade of it. In a later preface to an earlier novel, *Cashel Byron's Profession*, he gives a moving account of the trials. Between 1879 and 1893, he had a budget of five unpublished novels which went their weary round from publisher to publisher, and did not put a single penny in his pocket. He had not with him the six pence to pay the postman or parveyer. He secured the patronage of a 'Citerie' journal in which his *Cashel Byron* appeared

as a serial. It drew some attention and Shaw came into public notice.

Meanwhile he had interested himself in socialistic literature and joined Henry Hyde, Champion, Morris, Besant, Carpenter and the Webbs. He had an enthusiastic time of it, and wrote some effective tracts for the Fabian Society. He was also doing some hack work. He reviewed books for the *Pall-Mall Gazette* and was a critic of pictures for *The World* and musical critic for the *Star*. It is a bit comical to note that he then used a sobriquet "Corno di Bassetto." He announced himself under the famous initials G.B.S., when he became dramatic critic for the *Saturday Review*.

Shaw managed to secure the sympathies of William Archer, who pushed him into the literary world. He later collaborated with him in the dramatic art.

Being of a dynamic cast, he had absorbed a good deal by reading and observation and perhaps felt like bursting. It is said of him that at this time he took to public speaking and addressed audiences of every description from 'University dons' to London 'washer-women.' He had by this time drawn some public attention and was lucky enough to be co-opted as a member of the Vestry of St. Pancras Borough Council with which he was associated for six years, and the experience therefrom resulted in the publication of his book *Commonsense of Municipal Trading*.

Shaw came under the influence of Sidney Webb and his wife—later Lord and Lady Passfield. They laid the foundation of socialism in England and their influence on Shaw seems to be considerable. It is pleasing to note that a man of Shaw's vitriolic temper and literary antagonism has nowhere a harsh word to say of the Webbs. His references to them are always respectful and reverential. Shaw had much of their hospitality. During this period, a well-to-do but unmarried lady of some culture, Charlotte Payne Townshend, was a frequent visitor at the Webbs. Bernard Shaw came by a nasty cycle accident one day and had to be put up in the hospital at London. Miss Townshend seems to have attended upon him throughout the period of his illness and conceived an attachment for him which resulted in their marriage. She appears to have spent much devotion and money upon him and procured him decent quarters in the famous Adelphi Square. Fortune now began to smile upon him and led him to a series of literary successes. He began new experiments.

He turned from a novelist to a playwright, for that suited his dramatic mind.

Mr. Warren's *Confession*, *Candida*, *Man and Superman*, *The Doctor's Dilemma*, *John Bull's Other Island*, *Major Barbara*, *Back to Methuselah*, *Heart Break House*, *St. Joan*: they came in succession.

Each created a first class sensation. The literary world was taken by storm not merely by the novelty

of expression and method but also the boldness and bravado of the themes. In the eyes of this superman the world about him is a sorry scheme of things and things are ajar. "Our laws make law impossible. Our liberty destroys all freedom, our property is organised robbery. Our morality is an impudent hypocrisy, our wisdom is administered by inexperienced or mal-experienced dupes. Our power is welded by cowards and weaklings and our honour is false in all its points." This he says, set him on a revolutionary career. He began a reassessment of values. Men and institutions came under his lash. He laid his hands on literature, art, science, politics, religion and every other interest that the mind of man had fashioned so far and has left us only a wreckage. In this view, he is the greatest iconoclast of the day. It is hard to find out the constructive side of his achievement. There have been others of his contemporaries who have indulged in the caricature of the times. They too have protested against the present order of things, but they told us what would make them happy. G. K. Chesterton and Hilaré Belloc beckoned us to the middle ages. That great intellectual, H. G. Wells, had an utopia of his own and diverted himself with anticipating the shape of things to come. But no page of the past has a charm for Shaw and the future is only for supermen like himself. His theory of God and man only leads us to a bleakness in the future. God, according to him, is a finite force which has not yet realised itself. It is in the course of progressive perfection. It is creating instruments for the realisation of its purposes. Where the instruments fail it, they are destroyed as witness the mammoths of old. Man is not the last but only the latest of its creations and if he does not subserve his purposes he too will be destroyed and a better instrument created. Man must therefore behave better. How? What a destiny for man and how comforting the doctrine! But Shaw is vehement in his exhortation that man must so live that when he dies God must be in his debt. How are we to know the mind of this God? Where are his revelation? Shaw does not vouchsafe us any.

With this caprice, or uncertainty at the centre of things, no stable synthesis is possible in any field of human endeavour. His achievements, therefore, in Art, Politics, Science, Religion and Philosophy and other spheres are mere pyrotechnics, exciting for the moment and blank in the sequel.

The value of his critical profession lies in the provocation it offers to the mind and set it a-thinking on all things that matter.

Erratic as his mind appears to be, his life gives evidence of a discipline, which is remarkable. His persistence of dashing at least 5 pages a day, has led him to an amazing literary fecundity and won for him the Nobel prize for literature in 1926. His habit of munching every morsel of food 36 times before he sent it down the throat has so far endowed him with 94 years of mortal life. His vegetarianism and teetotalism, which has made him abstain from meat, drink and smoke, keeps him in a sanity which is enviable at his age and senility is as far as ever. Chesterton may call them fads—they may appear as oddities to many. But the facts are there and speak for themselves. There are others of a similar kind. He sleeps with his windows open in all weather; he wears woollen close to his heart; he uses a French bathing powder daily in his bath tub. These have given him his health and his vigour of mind, he says, and who can

disprove him? There are two passages where Shaw sums himself up:

"I am a bachelor by heart, but a married man by ring and book; an atheist, a tee-totaller, a fanatic, a humourist, a playwright, a social democrat and a *fluent liar*," (whatever the last may mean).

"I have played my game with a conscience. I have never pretended that G. B. S. was real. I have and over again taken him to pieces before the audience to show the trick of him. And even those who inspite of that cannot escape from the illusion regard G. B. Shaw as a freak. The whole point of the creature is that he is unique, fantastic, unrepresentative, inimitable, impossible, undesirable on any large scale, totally unlike anybody that ever existed before, hopelessly unnatural and void of real passion. Clearly such a monster could do no harm were his example real (which it never is)."

Can you improve upon this?

### The Cloudburst

The New Review observes:

War clouds are hanging heavily over Berlin, Greece and Yugoslavia, Iran, Formosa and Korea. The storm burst over Korea. Why Korea? The storm-field was chosen by Russia and the choice is significant. The Korean aggression was not to be the first combat of a world-war; it was only a test of American reaction and preparedness. At every other point aggression would have set the world on fire. On the contrary Korea was a small peninsula in a corner of the world. American politicians had belittled the opinion of General MacArthur and the importance of Korea; they had left the country with a weak administration and a weaker army. There was a chance that the view of the politicians would prevail, the more so that public opinion might interpret the move as an internal strife for Korean unity. In any case, the incident could be liquidated before outsiders could usefully intervene, and would lead to nothing more than verbal protests and more wrangling at the U.N.O. What surprised Russia most was the speedy and unanimous reaction of President, Congress and public to the aggression; what wrecked their plan was the pace at which General MacArthur moved to the battle-front planes, tanks, guns, ground-troops and even cavalry.

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# MILITARY OPERATIONS

The aggression in Korea was well timed. It was a Sunday morning when civil and military America was relaxing. The two-month rainy season had begun and low clouds would for days on end hamper air observation and support. Not only tactical surprise but superiority in weapons gave the North their crushing victories during the first few weeks. The weapons which panicked the South-Koreans and rolled back American infantrymen were the tanks: the 50-ton Russian T-34s (35 m.p.h.; 85 mm. guns; unusually broad treads for rain-soaked roads) and the 12-ton T-70s which are light and manoeuvrable. North-Korean artillery was also of a superior calibre (120-mm. mortars and howitzers). South-Koreans had only 81-mm. mortars and 105-mm. howitzers. What was worse, they lacked anti-tank weapons; it was only after days of combat that suitable bazookas were brought into play and did the good work howitzers could hardly do swiftly and effectively. Stranger still, they had no stock of landmines.

President Truman publicly admitted that the U.S.A.'s high command had seriously underestimated the speed and power of the North-Korean ground forces and had little prepared against a surprise.

For the first three weeks, the defenders could only fight rear-guard actions and gain time by sacrificing space; moreover fifth columnists greatly hampered their defence. What saved the situation was the resourcefulness of General MacArthur who was appointed Commander-in-Chief of the U. N. forces. He scraped whatever he could from his three divisions in Japan and hurried planes, equipment and ground-troops to the battle-front as fast as they could be landed in Korea. On the map, it was indicated that he should build up a strong defence line behind the Kum river and protect the Sochon-Taejon-Taegu-Pusan rail-road against frontal and lateral attacks. He had no opportunity of doing so and he did what was best under the circumstances; he used his forces piecemeal to stem the advance of the enemy and spare time to build a solid bridgehead in the Pusan sector. Armchair experts occasionally grew impatient at the American retreat and even riled at American efficiency. They were losing sight of the fact that it takes 250,000

tons of shipping and twenty days to bring one division from the Pacific west coast to Korea. The air force was on the spot quite early though many of its bases were far away and ill supplied, and they did splendid work. But infantry remains the queen of battle and is indispensable to reconquer and reoccupy South-Korea.

No blame whatever attaches to General MacArthur for the reverses in Korea. Before the incident, he had had nothing to do with Korea's defence. Time after time he had remonstrated with Washington; he had pleaded for more troops to buttress Japan, had requested a strengthening of Formosa's defence and had warned that the capture of Formosa would breach the American defence-line, Japan-Okinawa, Formosa, Philippines. His strategic conviction is that 'there is no security on this earth; there is only opportunity.' Politicians overruled the soldier and decided the

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policy; then they ordered the soldier to save the policy by winning a war. Thus fumbles the division of powers in democracies.

### The Wisdom of Tao

Taoism, as presented by Lao Tze, was an ancient formulation of the same wisdom which all the world's great teachers have expounded, in terms differing with the times. Merton S. Yewdale writes in *The Aryan Path* :

Taoism is a very ancient metaphysical system of life and thought. The name of its founder is unknown. Lao Tze, the Chinese philosopher of the sixth century B.C., embodied its principles in his great work, the *Tao Teh King* (Book of the Tao and Its Virtue). The Taoism of today, with its temples, its priests, its monasteries, and its practice of magic, bears no resemblance to Lao Tze's system of pure thought. The *Tao Teh King* continues its existence in the minds of those people throughout the world who have been influenced by its wisdom. Taoism is a cosmic state of the mind.

The understanding of Tao is one of great difficulty. A man might meditate upon it for a thousand years and never come to its farthest depths. Lao Tze referred to it as a Thing, "tranquil and fathomless, self-existent and changeless, all-pervading and inexhaustible," the source from which the universe emanates periodically and to which it returns. It has no name. "Tao, the Infinite, is unnamable." Lao Tze alludes to it as Tao (Way), before the manifestation of the universe, and as Teh (Virtue), after its manifestation. "When Tao manifests itself as Teh, It becomes comprehensible."

Now there is an Eternal Rhythm which expresses itself in a never-ending cycle of alternating periods of manifestation (evolution) and non-manifestation (involution), both cosmic and earthly. By this Rhythm, all things in the universe, as well as the universe itself, periodically come into existence, live out their appointed time, and then return to the place whence they came, there to remain until the time for their rebirth in new form. This unceasing movement constitutes Eternity. "The progression of ever-recurring life is called Eternity." The mysterious power and intelligence behind the Eternal Rhythm, together with its way of functioning, was beyond naming, and the Ancients called it Tao, or Way, in English translation, in the sense of the Cosmic Way, the Universal Way or the Way of the Eternal Rhythm.

The *Tao Teh King* opens with an exposition of the Tao. Lao Tze writes :

The Tao that can be defined  
is not the Ultimate Tao . . .  
The name that can be spoken  
is not the Ultimate Name . . .  
The source of Heaven and Earth  
is nameless.  
That which has name is the Mother  
of all created things.

The Wise who are free  
from all earthly desires  
Seek to penetrate the mystery  
of the Unmanifest.  
The others who are earth-bound  
Seek to understand its emanation,  
The Manifest.

These two attributes  
are from the same source,  
But divergent in nature.  
Yet in their profoundest depths  
They are One in Essence.

Clearly, the picture is that of an Infinite Power, wholly impersonal—a pure conception of Divinity which, unmanifested, is beyond the understanding of the human mind. Explaining Tao further, Lao Tze says :

Tao is Infinite . . .  
It supplies us endlessly.  
It is profound—  
the source of all.  
It softens harshness.  
It unravels all complexities.  
It harmonizes each discord.  
It brings unity to all beings.

With the establishment of Tao, Lao Tze undertakes to explain the metaphysical process by which the universe comes into being. In a few lines, he presents the complete picture of its evolution and formation :

From Tao Unity proceeds ;  
Unity manifests Duality ;  
Trinity issues from Duality ;  
Trinity brings forth all things.  
All things manifest through the negative—  
Yin, and the positive—Yang, principles.  
These are brought into harmonious union  
by the Divine Breath of Tao.

That is, from Tao comes Unity or One, signifying the universe as yet unified and unmanifested. From Unity comes Duality, signifying the two primordial principles, the Yin and the Yang (contraction and expansion, rest and motion, disintegration and integration, passivity and activity), and their action and interaction under the direction of Tao, with the



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consequent birth of the phenomenal universe, which is formed on the basis of pairs of opposites (light and darkness, heaven and earth, male and female, etc.). From Duality comes Trinity or Three, which signifies the addition of a third element, resulting from the union of the male and female elements in the process of generation. From Three all things proceed. Such is the Taoist metaphysical conception of cosmic evolution.

The universe reflects the grand unity of Tao, and it is Tao that maintains its cosmic balance.

Everything in the universe is in perpetual motion. The pattern of life constantly changes, and one equilibrium succeeds another. But the cosmic balance remains forever. This is the equilibrium of balance.

Thus in the Taoist system of thought the idea of One World has no place. A world which is formed on the basis of opposing elements can never be transformed permanently into One World, either by force or by human designing. For the pattern of One World is contrary to that of the world of opposites. Against the cosmic principle of equilibrium One World could not long endure. "Anything that is not of Tao will soon perish."

The life of the Taoist consists in being identified with Tao, upon which he depends for his illumination and his guidance. As he beholds the great universal order, he sees Tao operating eternally and without effort—the heavenly bodies appearing and disappearing according to the law of their being, the seasons coming and going in unchanging succession, the things in Nature coming to their full growth at the proper time, and the animals propagating rhythmically, in accordance with the natural law of generation.

The Tao produces and sustains all things, it carries on its work imperceptibly, it assumes no ownership of that which it brings into being, and it seeks neither recognition nor reward. It is ever ready to aid him who becomes one with it, but there is no compulsion. Neither is there reward nor punishment: he who is united with Tao, gains; he who is disunited, loses. Tao exacts no obedience and requires no worship. The Taoist offers no prayers, he burns no candles or incense, he kneels before no altars and bows before no images, he implores the intercession of no saints, he surrenders his mind to no hierarchy. His mind is his temple and he can give to it complete expression. Yet he has no unfriendly feelings toward those who differ from him. "The Tao of Heaven is impartial, ever abiding in all good men." The Taoist lives ever in the Light of Tao, and his attitude toward it is one of deep veneration.

Thus all beings in the Universe revere  
Tao and honor Teh.

The esteem accorded to Tao and Teh  
is not brought about by any decree;  
It is a spontaneous outflowing  
from the heart.

A cardinal principle of Taoist thought is that of the equilibrium of human relations, individual, national and international. The inner equilibrium of the Taoist is established by his relationship to Tao. As human reason has its limitations, the Taoist turns to Tao—opening his intuitive mind to receive its illumination and guidance.

Accept and use this Divine Power  
And your strength shall be boundless.

In establishing his equilibrium with the outer world, the Taoist is passive, yet with a desire for harmony. He recognizes the merits of others, he seeks no triumphs over them and his aim is to aid the natural development of all things. Still, like Tao, he looks for no reward. He is moderate and natural in speech, he avoids excessive claims, self-approbation, the display of virtue, cleverness, excessive propriety, pompous benevolence and pretentious righteousness. He is reserved, respectful, calm and poised. Likewise, he is simple and sincere. He neither argues nor disputes.

The Taoist detests war, but he is no pacifist, feeling deeply that a man must defend human values.

He returns goodness with goodness, and goodness for evil. He abhors capital punishment, knowing that such punishment is properly the work of Heaven, not of man. He believes in the cosmic equality of man and woman in the world of opposites. He shuns harshness and rigidity "as attendants of death," and clings to softness and tenderness "as companions of life." The purpose of his life is to adapt himself to his surroundings and to live in perfect accord with the laws of harmony. "This awareness of harmonization with the Infinite is the Essence of the Eternal." Such is Lao Tze's portrait of a Taoist.

In national life, the equilibrium is established not only by the nation's relation to the particular area of the world in which it lives, but also by its habits, customs and beliefs, political, social, economic, educational and religious. Among the peoples of great age, where life is interrupted but little, the equilibrium changes but little. But among younger peoples, who are restless and venturesome, the equilibrium changes constantly. The only difference is that the older peoples adjust their physical life to their spiritual life, and the younger peoples adjust their spiritual life to their physical life. The Taoist is of the older peoples, who seek the spiritual in the things of life.

Thus the Truly Wise concern themselves  
only with the inner qualities of things  
rather than with sensuous pleasures.

They ignore the material aspect of things  
And seek their Spiritual counterparts.

In international life, the equilibrium is established through the world web-work of peoples. It is not in the spirit of Taoism to approve of one people's imposing itself upon another, exploiting its lands, interfering with the government and the economic system, urging new modes of education and endeavouring to change the religious beliefs. To the Taoist, the world's most serious difficulties have resulted from the invasion of other peoples' lands with consequent shattering of equilibriums long established and often with danger to the whole world. In the Taoist philosophy of life, a just world will come into being only when the Universal Spirit of Tao pervades the minds of men. Taoism is pure religion, not theology, and its universality makes it all-encompassing. It radiates the spirit of Unity—not a unity of identity, but a unity of many individual parts.

The Tao of Heaven benefits all  
and harms no one . . .

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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## Indonesian Orientation

Ruslan Abdulgani, Secretary-General of the Ministry of Information, Government of Indonesia, writes in the *United Nations Magazine*, February 1950, as reprinted in *Merdeka*, March, 1950 :

At the height of its past glory Indonesia was recognised as a sovereign state by such Asian countries as India and China with whom connections were maintained. This was in the fourteenth century when the Modjopahit Empire was prominent farther afield than the Indonesian archipelago. The relations with foreign countries were not confined to trade, but covered both diplomatic and cultural ties of considerable importance. Diplomatic missions were exchanged by China and Modjopahit, whose culture was strongly under the influence of the Hindu arts and philosophy from India. Hindu influence is still evident in Java today : the Indian Ramayana and Mahabharata cycles of epic-stories, myths and ethics, are still the basis of the Javanese Wayang shows; the Borobudur, Tjandi Mendut and other shrines and temples in Java show unmistakable Indian influences in sculpture, architecture and mystical faith.

However, the Islamic religion was introduced into the Indonesian archipelago in the 15th century, and coinciding with certain weaknesses in the Hindu-Javanese Modjopahit power, it brought about many changes, gradually leading to the complete downfall of the vast empire. Inscriptions on old tombstones which may still be seen in Sumatra bear witness to these great changes of the passing of a golden age for Indonesia.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century, Dutch ships reached Indonesia and began regular trading in various places in West Java. The buccaneering *Dutch* (Ed.) United East India Company saw that more commercial benefit would follow control of political power, and practising such measures as were then common amongst the 'adventurers' of Western Europe, founded the colonial domains of the Netherlands. Colonial power changed hands briefly to the British at the time of the Napoleonic wars, but was otherwise unbroken for almost three hundred and fifty years, until the Japanese invasion early in 1942. And so the once-powerful and independent Indonesian nation, known and respected far beyond its own territories, maintaining its own contacts with other powerful countries in Asia, became a mere colony to serve the needs of its ruler ; its wealth and natural riches were used to bolster up the position and prestige of a country far from its shores ; and as a result, most of its people lived under bad conditions.

Resentment at oppressive measures waxed strong whenever these became too great a burden upon the people, and more than a few armed rebellions broke out in different areas and at different times. In 1908, the first modern organization of nationalists came into being, quickly followed by the formation of political parties which were more firmly nationalist in their

objectives and on a more national basis as time went on.

The flight of the Dutch colonial rulers and the surrender of their forces to the Japanese sealed the fate of Dutch domination over Indonesia. Three years of Japanese occupation changed implicit belief into conviction that only national freedom could bring happiness and prosperity to the country and the people.

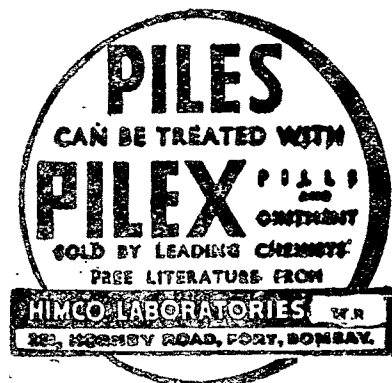
On 17th August 1945, Dr. Soekarno and Dr. Hatta, two leaders of the pre-war nationalist movement destined to become respectively President and Vice-President of the Republic, proclaimed the independence of Indonesia. The ceremony took place in Jakarta, and the Proclamation voiced the unanimous decision of the Indonesian people to assume their right of self-determination, so clearly enunciated in the Atlantic Charter.

A new nation was born, but that nation had still to find its place amongst the other nations of the world. Imputations were made that the new Republic had been made in Japan, but during the past four years of building and forming itself, the Republic of Indonesia has clearly disproved all such allegations.

Its real nature is laid bare in the five principles upon which the Republic is founded, the *Pantja Sila*. These great principles are : Belief in God ; Humanism ; Nationalism ; Sovereignty of the People ; Social Justice.

There is true religious freedom in the Republic of Indonesia ; religious groups include Moslems, Buddhists, Confucians, Taoists, and Christians of both Catholic and Protestant sects. All groups are held alike in high esteem and no person may be compelled to conform to any of these beliefs—or to none at all.

World War II brought in its wake many great changes all over the globe, and in Asia these have taken the form of an accelerated process of national awakening, so that the demand for complete independence is being heard on all sides from countries considered for hundreds of years by Europe as colonies or semi-colonies. India, Pakistan and the Philippines, with their newly-won independence, are now ahead



in Asia ; Indonesia now joins them and other Asian nations will surely follow.

Indonesia in the past was a centre for world trade because of its natural riches and its particular geographical condition. And it still is. When properly managed its resources can mean prosperity not only for its own population, but can also make a considerable contribution for the well-being of other peoples also. Petroleum, tin, rubber, quinine, tobacco, tea, coffee, cocoanut, palm and vegetable oils, sugar, pepper, nutmeg, clove and other species, prominent contributions to world trade in pre-war days, can only be effectively cultivated under peaceful conditions throughout the Indonesian archipelago. Consideration of these economic riches led Japan to seize these resources early in the Pacific War. A continuous war-time atmosphere and sporadic outbursts of bellicose destruction for almost a decade, have brought the sources of production to a stage where urgent improvement is needed. But again, improvement can only be effective under peaceful conditions, and the Indonesian-Dutch conflict brought about an unfavourable situation.

On the other hand, however, it was during this same period of continual struggle that Indonesia renewed its ties with fellow-nations throughout Asia. The period of struggle revived the feelings of solidarity among the Asian nations and a sense of common interest arose. It was from such countries that Indonesia received expressions of sympathy, and practical co-operation in form of recognition and exchange of representatives. Not only did the members of the Arab League, and the people and Government of India take a definite stand in the Indonesian question, but also

Australia, linked by geographical and other interests to the fringe of Asia, gave evidence of considerable sympathy both at governmental level and amongst the people. The strikes of Australian waterside workers who refused to load Dutch ships, especially at times when the Dutch were making a military attack upon the Republic, were particularly heartening evidence of support from the Australian people.

This sense of common relationship and interest was never so evident as after the second Dutch attack upon the Republic, when the Indian Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, invited 19 Asian countries to send their representatives to an Asian Conference on Indonesia. This conference was held in New Delhi (20th to 23rd January 1949) and during the conference several speakers called for the establishment of an Asian bloc. It was decided to render assistance to Asian countries where common interests were involved, out of the desire to strengthen the United Nations Organization as the preserver of world peace.

This conference made clear to the world the new situation in Asia, a solidarity, practical and purposeful, arising out of a recognition of similar conditions and identical aims. The Asian Conference on Indonesia was responsible for three resolutions. The first related to certain recommendations to be sent to the Security Council regarding the Indonesian question; the second comprised recommendations to the governments of the participating countries, and concerned execution of any measures devolving from the first resolution; and the third resolution proclaimed the intention of the participating countries to found a permanent machinery to discuss problems of common interest within the Asian sphere.



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### America Listens

Next to working and sleeping, the average American devotes more time to radio-listening than to any other activity.

This plain fact underlines the eminence which radio broadcasting and listening have attained since 1920, when KDKA, of Pittsburgh, made what was probably the first broadcast to a public audience. Only 2000 people heard it.

In a nation that straddles a continent between two oceans, it is not easy to marshal columns of figures about the ramifications of the radio industry, its effect on 150,000,000 people, its phenomenal growth within 30 brief years.

The extent to which radio penetrates American life may be judged from a few overall figures: since 1922, the number of home receivers in the United States has grown from 400,000 to 83,000,000; this includes 10,000,000 receivers in automobiles and 2,000,000 portable receivers. About 95 per cent of all American homes contain radios.

Contrary to gloomy predictions, radio has not stifled or impoverished the press; despite radio's substantial revenue from advertising, the magazine, newspaper and book publishing industries still flourish in the United States; in fact, press and radio have promoted each other's public patronage.

Radio waves effectively cover every state. Besides the 3000 conventional broadcasting stations, almost every community is served by one or more FM (frequency modulation) stations. Population centres like New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles are each served by about half a dozen television stations. While picture broadcasting makes rapid strides, the sound radio industry still holds dominant place. One radio official declared recently, "Television is the toast of the industry—but radio is the bread and butter."

In a large measure, the industry practises self-control. The Federal Communications Commission (FCC) a government agency, grants licenses and frequencies; its chief function is to prevent technical confusion resulting from interferences and overlapping; in a general way it determines whether a licensed station fulfils its inherent obligation to serve the "interest, convenience, and necessity" of the people.

Within the industry, the National Association of Broadcasters (NAB) establishes rules of conduct, programming policies, and public ethics for all member stations. However, the actual program content and balance are controlled by a station's management.

Noted entertainers, speakers, and musicians are so costly, it has been found expedient to transmit such programs through a network of co-operating and affiliated stations.

The American network system had modest beginnings about 27 years ago, when WNAC, of Boston, was linked by telephone wire to WEA, in New York. To-day four major net-works compete for the attention of listeners. By Federal regulation, a network may not own or operate more than six stations; however, a network may negotiate program service contracts with any number of stations, or affiliates.

Major networks are :

The American Broadcasting Company, with 273 affiliates

The Columbia Broadcasting System, with 169 affiliates

The Mutual Broadcasting System, with 519 affiliates

The National Broadcasting Company, with 165 affiliates

Besides the nationwide systems there are 13 regional networks which serve one or more adjoining states.

Private control and operation are distinguishing features of American broadcasting. While the Government licenses individual stations, nobody licenses the listeners, who are free to select any foreign or domestic program within the range of a receiver.

American listeners do not pay directly for the privilege of owning sets and receiving programs; indirectly, however, they pay all operating and programming costs when they purchase advertised merchandise. The advertisement of commercial products and services, on a time contract basis, provides the revenue for all but a very few broadcasters in America.

Through approved agencies, radio time is sold to advertisers for a fixed fee which permits a station or network to pay operating costs, plus a percentage of profit.

The ratio of time to price depends on such variable factors as the potential audience, station power, time of day or night, length of program, etc. Naturally, time on a network costs considerably more than time on a local station; however a network is said to provide an economical coverage for a nationally-sold product.

Besides buying time on the air, an advertiser pays for announcers, script writers, entertainers, musicians, producers, and the other personnel incident to a program. Thus the cost of a program varies within wide limits; some advertisers are content to broadcast recordings of classical music, while others spend substantial sums for prominent entertainers and orchestras.

Although most major programs carry brief advertising messages at their beginning and end, each station and network offers the public a representative number of non-commercial programs, including concerts, talks, news, etc.

When important events occur, such as elections or talks by the President, the broadcasters frequently cancel previously-scheduled commercial programs in order to let the listeners hear what is vital to their interests. In such cases, the broadcasting company refunds a proportionate amount of money to the advertiser.

The radio fare covers a wide variety of subjects, from lessons in foreign languages to descriptions of a solar eclipse. An averaging of daily programs from thousands of American stations shows that

- 41 per cent are music programs.
- 16 per cent are dramatic programs.
- 13 per cent are news commentaries.
- 8 per cent are miscellaneous programs.
- 7 per cent are comedy and variety.
- 6 per cent are religious and religious music.
- 5 per cent are talks and forums.
- 4 per cent are sports and sports commentators.

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Newscasting constitutes one of radio's most valuable public services. In addition to obtaining news from the large press associations, the networks and leading independent stations assign members of their own staff to cover important domestic events. Also, to satisfy America's deep interest in foreign affairs, the major networks have assigned trained news correspondents to key cities in many foreign countries. Every morning and evening American listeners get first-hand reports on developments in a dozen or more capitals around the globe. The National Broadcasting Company has correspondents in 17 foreign countries; the Columbia Broadcasting System has correspondents in 10 countries; the American Broadcasting Company in 31 countries; and the National Broadcasting Company in 21 countries.

The broadcasters carefully follow trends and tastes in radio listening. Besides analyzing the audience mail, they gauge the public's reactions by various convenient measuring techniques.—*The Voice of America.*

### Waste Ashes used as Substitute for Cement in U.S. Dam Construction

Waste ashes collected from the smoke stacks of industrial plants are being used to save cement in the construction of the fourth largest concrete dam in the United States. Called "fly-ash," it is expected to cut in half the amount of cement required for Hungry Horse Dam — a huge water-controlling structure that will span a canyon in America's West.

This is the first time that this industrial by-product has been used as a mixture with cement in U.S. dam construction. It is the result of a long research by the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation's concrete laboratory at Denver, in the State of Colorado. Bureau experts believe that its use will spread to many other types of concrete constructions, since it has advantages other than the saving of cement.

It is estimated that more than 261,000,000 pounds of fly-ash will be mixed with 342,000,000 pounds of cement to construct Hungry Horse Dam. This would be enough to build a walkway four feet wide half way around the earth. Without the use of fly-ash, it would take about twice the above amount of cement to finish the dam, which will be 564 feet high and 2,100 feet long.

The fly-ash mixture provides a stronger, harder, more-polished surface than does cement alone, according to construction engineers. It makes a stronger structure because less water is needed in the mixing formula. Since the cement content in the mixture is reduced, there also is less cracking in the hardening process. Concrete alone expands more with heat and contracts more as it cools than does the fly-ash mixture.

Tremendous heat is generated in pouring cement for such big dams as Hungry Horse. They are laced with an intricate system of pipes through which water is pumped to cool them during the hardening process. Since the fly-ash mixture generates less heat than does ordinary concrete mixtures, fewer pipes and less time will be needed to cool the Hungry Horse Dam. Nevertheless, some 1,000 miles of one-inch water pipe will be required in its construction. Engineers estimate that heat drawn off during the construction of the dam will equal that produced by burning 5,550 tons of coal.

Fly-ash, a ball-shaped crystal substance as fine as dust, is the residue of furnaces burning powdered coal. It is one of the several materials grouped under the geological classification of "pozzolan" — first used more than 2,000 years ago to build the ancient Greek aqueducts and the Roman Pantheon and Colosseum. Such pozzolanic materials as pumicite, volcanic and sedimentary rocks, and burnt clays have been used for some time in the United States for such huge concrete constructions as the Hoover Dam, Bonneville Dam, and the famous Golden Gate Bridge in the City of San Francisco.

Demand for pozzolanic materials has been so heavy that the supply has become relatively scarce. A constant search for new sources by the U.S. Bureau of Reclamation resulted in the development of fly-ash.

Work on Hungry Horse project in the State of Montana is scheduled for completion about 1953. Its four 71,250-kilowatt generators will help provide electric power for home and industrial use in the north-western area of the United States. Water released from its reservoir will irrigate some 80,000 acres of land. It also will help control floods along the 1,214-mile-long Columbia River.—USIS.

### Fire Detector

A new automatic fire alarm for homes is reported in the United States. The alarm, worked by electricity, sounds a warning within seconds after a fire starts anywhere in the house. Small detector units, located at strategic points about the house and connected to a main control box by wires in the house walls, are the "keys" to the new alarm system.

When a fire breaks out, a fusible metal link between the nearby detector unit and the wiring melts. This creates a closed electric circuit to the control box, thereby sounding the alarm. In the event of a fire within the house walls, the alarm goes off automatically, since melting of the wire also completes the circuit to the control box. International Morse Products of Cleveland, in the state of Ohio, produces the alarm.—USIS.

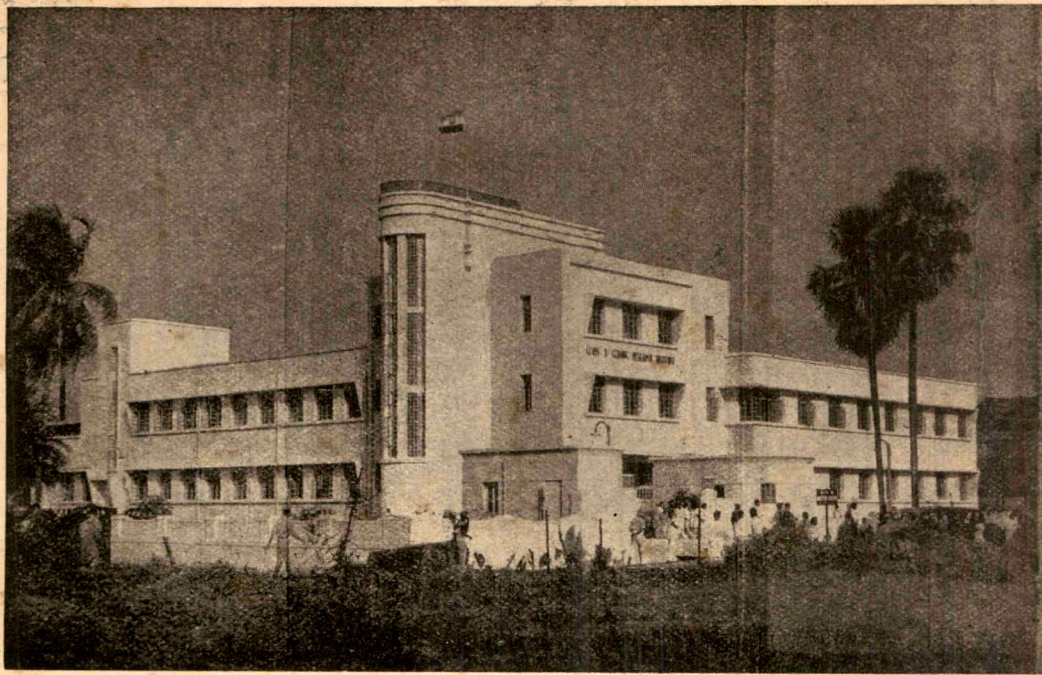
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Glass and Ceramic Research Institute, Jadavpur, West Bengal



A panoramic view of the Korean port-city of Pusan





MUSICIANS  
By Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

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## NOTES

### *War in Korea*

The Korean War has reached the critical stage, for the crisis will come when the U.N.O. forces cross the 38th parallel. Till then the U.N.O. will be fighting on invaded soil but after the 38th latitude is crossed the question of jurisdiction of the U.N.O. will become an involved point of international law and practice.

In Kashmir, Pandit Nehru sacrificed not only the initiative of the fighting forces of the Indian Union but also allowed the aggressor to recuperate, refit and to return to attack with impunity because he assumed that there was no justification for pursuing the aggressor across the frontier into his home territory.

If the U.N.O. forces cross the 38th parallel in pursuit of the aggressor's forces, it would be proved that the Indian army was halted under a wrong assumption, that has cost us grievously in blood, treasure and prestige.

There is not the slightest doubt that the Soviet Bloc will raise a storm of protests over the matter if and when the actual crossing of the invisible frontiers is encompassed. And the question that is facing an anxious and tense world is whether matters will stop at verbal protests.

If the U.N.O. forces succeed in pursuing and finally liquidating the forces of North Korea in North Korean territory then for the time being the U.S.S.R. will suffer a serious loss of face. But if that factor is viewed by her in a realistic mood then perhaps the world will gain a respite even though that may be temporary. The alternative is too grim to be contemplated, as it may involve the world in a conflagration that will mean the destruction of the civilized world.

A few days will suffice to determine the issues involved and to show to the world whether Arma-

geddon looms ahead or not and whether the Korean War is just a try-out on the part of the Soviets, as it was in Spain under the direction of the Axis war-lords, or if it is in reality the final show-down between the rival power-blocs that dominate the sphere of world politics of the day.

The war in Korea has demonstrated beyond doubt the supremacy of the U.S.A. Bloc in the air and its complete suzerainty over the seas. On land, despite the debacle faced by the North Koreans, the lesson is not so clear. Soviet armour, training and strategy has been shown to be equal to the best that its rivals can show, measured quality for quantity. And this war has again shown amply that the Asiatic soldier is as formidable a fighter as can be found anywhere.

As we write these lines we are just in the 4th month of the war in Korea. On the 25th of June, North Korea had started this war by attacking the Republic of South Korea by crossing the 38th latitude—the frontier-line accepted by the Soviet Union and the United States as guardians of the two States—North and South Korea.

Since the 16th of September, the American fighting forces have regained the initiative and have passed into the offensive. This has been made possible by the incursion of the U.N.O. Navy into the fight; the landing of Marines at the Inchon Port, almost west of Seoul the old South Korea capital, was the first step in this offensive. The latest news show that the North Koreans are in full flight and that the U.N.O. forces are racing beyond Seoul. The North Korean forces are trying to retreat in order to their home defences across the 38th parallel. North Koreans have no doubt been resisting heroically, but the issue is no longer in doubt. The combined air, land and sea offensive has effectively disrupted North Korea's forces and resources.



This transformation in the situation in Korea, North and South, has been wrought within a period of 14 days. On the 2nd September, the *Press of the World* had featured such headings: "North Korean's Biggest Offensive"; "Onslaught on 25-mile Front"; "Naktong and Nam Rivers Crossed in Strength"; "Americans Give Ground in One Sector." On the 24th, the papers blazed with the headings: "U. N. Troops Capture Seoul Airstrip" (this has since been officially contradicted from Tokyo); "Heavy Resistance by Reds in the City"; "Communists on the Run on the Southern Front."

These headings high-light the potential strength of the United States which has been activated since the 25th June attack, and brought to focus on the distant battle front. This has lessons for the peoples of all nations in the world whether in the Communist or Democratic camp. But even the disintegration of the North Korean offensive does not solve Korea's problem or the bigger one that has been created by the antagonism of the Soviet Union to the United States. India's Prime Minister has attempted to provide a *via media*; so far as we understand matters, the United States has been blocking the Nehru approach by a rigid legalism.

If Pandit Nehru is determined to cut the Gordian knot, he should instruct Shri Benegal Narasinha Rao, Indian representative on the Security Council, to take the whole matter out of legalistic argumentations. The Korean affair must be judged on its own merits. Even the addition of the Mao Tse-tung delegate may not move the deadlocks which one after another the Soviet Union has been throwing up since the end of 1945. If China and India can join their forces, uninfluenced by power-politics which has been changing ideological differences on socio-economic matters into instruments of offence and defence, there may emerge a more hopeful future for the U.N.O. as the organ of international concord. The new ambassador to India on behalf of President Mao Tse-tung's Government, General Yuan Chung-hsien, will have deserved well of the world if he can bring it about.

### *Pandit Nehru at Nasik*

Pandit Nehru has again demonstrated his ability to fight determinedly for his ideals. Contrary to the expectation of malcontents and disruptionists, he carried the Nasik Congress with him in all his resolutions and contentions. He has amply demonstrated his ability to rise to the occasion and to wage a vigorous campaign, even though the odds are apparently immensely arrayed against him. Nasik has indeed shown us that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is still very far from being down and out.

Very much like the clarity of his expression when he says :

"We cannot tolerate any colonial islands in India. We are against colonialism anywhere in Asia or Africa, much more so in our own country."

Likewise we are all for him when he stands firmly against communalism or when he exhorts the youth of the country thus :

"It was now for the younger generation to prepare themselves to take over the torch, keep it aloft burning and to march forward. They should at all times remember only one thing, that failure should not daunt them or dampen their enthusiasm."

But all the same we wish he would get rid of the habit of substituting the wishful thought for reality and of mistaking the sycophant for a friend or the critic for an enemy. Of all our noble leaders only Bapu had a personality completely armoured against flattery and an inherent liking for the ruthless but sincere critic. His days of silence helped in his true assessment of the values of critical comments. We only wish Jawaharlalji would take a leaf out of his revered leader's book.

As we see it today, despite all that has been said at Nasik, Congress prestige stands at a lower ebb, all over the country, than it ever has in all its history. We have hopes, it is true, but we are unable to close our ears to the persistent clamour of the real people and that clamour we cannot mistake for acclaim.

*Nasik was a demonstration of what they think within the closed ranks of the Congress. Let not Pandit Nehru mistake what transpired at Nasik as the sanction of the People.*

### *Congress President's Address*

In his presidential address, Sri Purushottamdas Tandon, President of the 56th Session of the Indian National Congress at Nasik, has traversed a wide ground and has given a clear indication of his ideas on the burning problems of the day. We are in agreement with most of his views but we may be excused for differing with some. Tandonji has rightly laid the greatest emphasis on the organisational problem of the Congress. The Congress organisation is fast losing the prestige it had held aloft during six decades of storm and stress. With the first touch of power-politics, it is now rapidly degenerating into rival party factions. Tandonji said, "If we can by our example fill the people all round with the enthusiasm to discipline their lives, then we will surely be able to raise the country. Our living should be simple and our thinking noble." But unfortunately this is the ideal from which the Congress is drifting away. Tandonji himself has explained the drift, "Profiting by the liberal provisions of the Congress constitution many persons have entered the Congress whose main desire is the gaining of power. This is natural in political organisation. But if there remains a good number of workers whose main aim is the protection



of the country and its service and for whom office has only a minor importance, then the popularity or usefulness of Congress will rise." The fact is that the Congress has been completely captured by seekers of power and pelf for whom office is the only attraction and it is this set of people that have shut out selfless workers from the organisation who in their despair have inflated the ranks of the Communists and other parties. How can people have respect for the Congress when they find notorious corrupt people on its Executives and in the Legislatures as its nominees? Tandonji thinks that the number of persons fulfilling the conditions of active and qualified membership will not exceed three digits in a district; we doubt whether this number can be found in an entire province. In his concluding speech he said, "Congressmen will have to give up the greed of elections and capturing power. If we can capture the imagination of the people by our service, victory in election will come of its own. Corruption and injustice must not be allowed to creep into the Congress." Any talk of corruption and injustice creeping into the Congress is too late, these two vices have pierced into the Congress organisation to its very foundation eating into its very vitals.

Giving his views on the Constitution, Tandonji frankly admitted that it was not sacrosanct, it was amenable to change as democratic traditions are built up and experience gives new ideas. He placed reason over authority as revealed in books when he said, "Conscious intellect alone, and not any book, can be the foundation rock of our country. Books and traditions will be helpful but they cannot take the place of reason. To accept reason as the basis of our action is itself the rejection of communalism."

Tandonji said, "Hindi has become the property of the whole country." We differ. Hindi still remains a machine for the usurpation of power in the Central administration by a section of the people who wish to foist their will over the rest. Changes in the vocabulary and grammar, and preparation of a new Lexicon are the conditions precedent to the acceptance of Hindi as Rashtrabhasa. These conditions have not yet been fulfilled, rather they are now being side-tracked. So long as these conditions are not fulfilled Hindi will never be accepted in the non-Hindi-speaking tracts of the country.

Regarding foreign policy, S. J. Tandon said, "The Congress policy in regard to foreign affairs has been not to join either of the two great power blocs of the world, one led by the U.S.A. and the other by the Soviet Union, but to maintain friendly relation with both the blocs and to consider every question which comes up inside the UN from the view-point of justice, propriety and establishment of world

peace. This policy has certain advantages and also disadvantages. The advantage is that we place before the nations of the world the ideal of justice and propriety and are in a position to induce others to follow this course. This policy helps in the realisation of the ideal of a world Government and for that reason, those who stand by that ideal respect us. At the same time there is this drawback in such a policy that none of the two mighty blocs of the world considers us as its full ally, and this reacts on the various questions at issue between ourselves and Pakistan. Not a few nations are swayed by selfish interests in looking upon Pakistan as a possible future ally and are thus biased in its favour. Pakistan invaded Kashmir which is a part of our country. Ample and conclusive evidence of this aggression was placed before the UN and yet the UN has not declared Pakistan as an aggressor."

He further clarified the issue thus, "It is not impossible that at some future date after taking into account all the circumstances, we may, for the protection of our country, have to consider the question of establishing closer relations with one of these two blocs. The nations of the world have not yet developed the habit of looking at problems only from the point of view of what is right and subordinating their group interests for the sake of the great ideal. One policy for Korea and another for Kashmir when the point at issue is the same, is a result of this blurred vision."

"Pakistan has gone even so far as to say that due to its entanglements at Kashmir she is unable to send her troops to Korea to help the UN. The implication of such a statement is obvious. We have to be alert in regard to such tactics of Pakistan."

About our responsibility in Asia, Tandonji said, "Our country enjoys a special position in the Asian continent. The responsibility of freeing this great continent from the exploiters of the West is very much ours. At the same time we have to shoulder the burden of maintaining peace in Asia." He fully supported Pandit Nehru's China policy.

He advocated a national levy for compensating the refugees. He said, "This much is evident that the policy of the Pakistan Government in East Bengal is not such as to remove the fears and apprehensions of the Hindus and to encourage them to stay in East Bengal in peace . . . Persons holding Islamic communal views find support there and persons belonging to other communities feel themselves insecure. Apart from the actual acts of cruelty, the exodus of Hindus from Pakistan is due to the psychological reason also. . . . Our Government has entered into several agreements with Pakistan, but they have not led to a solution of our difficulties.

It seems to me that we shall have to be more firm in our attitude towards Pakistan."

He said, "Apart from the question of proper treatment of minorities, the problem of Kashmir has been the cause of tension between the two countries. Traditionally as well as constitutionally, Kashmir is a limb of Bharat. But we have been observing that the UN Organisation has not been able to beget among its members the sense of impartial justice and owing to their local interests there are frequent conflicts among them, the Pakistan Army which Bharat could have driven away without any aid from the UN is still in occupation of certain parts of the country. Bharat tried to raise the prestige of the UN, but the UN with its policy has foisted a problem on India and has not acted impartially."

Tandonji cleared up the difference between culture and religion and asked the people not to confuse the two.

Dealing with the labour problem, he said, "The Central Government is also alive to the problem of field labourers. This problem as compared to that of factory labour is wider and more complex. It has been estimated that the total number of field labourers and their dependents is somewhere between 7 and 10 crores." The labour policy followed by all our parties, Congress, INTUC, Socialist and others have all been onesided inasmuch as they put all their energies in the amelioration of the conditions of 30 lakhs of organised labour and that at a tremendous cost to the field labourers and the consumers. Time has now come to direct the country's attention to this wrong labour policy.

About controls and corruption, Tandonji said, "Our Governments have borrowed the system (of controls) from the West, but there is no doubt that the small officials of our governments do not possess that sense of integrity on the strength of which these controls can be successfully worked." But we think that the real defect lies not only in the small but also in the big officials and sometimes even in the ministerial entourage. With a top, weak, inept and eager to compromise with corruption, the bottom cannot but be corrupt.

We wholeheartedly agree with Tandonji when he said, "I give primary importance to the growth of co-operation for the development of self-sufficiency and its sanitation, education and moral growth." We believe that with the continuous influx of refugees it will be impossible to build up any economic structure except on the basis of multi-purpose co-operation and collective farming. Tandonji has done very well in indicating the place of electricity in village economy.

"An all-out effort to achieve a society with moral grandeur should be the object of our administration. This was Gandhiji's conception of Ram Rajya. The existence of the Congress will be justified only if it advances towards this consummation."

### *Nasik Congress Resolutions*

The following resolutions have been passed by the Nasik Congress:

#### FOREIGN POLICY

The resolution stated: "The Jaipur Congress, in its resolution on foreign policy, reaffirmed the principles that had guided the Congress in previous years, and formulated a policy which should be pursued in the new circumstances that had arisen. Since then, India has become a Republic and has, as an independent sovereign nation, continued her association with the Commonwealth of Nations. She has also continued to participate fully in the activities of the United Nations.

"In furtherance of her aim she has developed diplomatic contacts and friendly and co-operative relations with a large number of independent nations. She has avoided any entanglement in military or other alliances which tend to divide up the world in rival groups and thus endanger world peace. She has maintained her freedom of action in foreign affairs and in the economic development of the country.

"Recent developments in the Far East, leading to war in Korea, have led to an intensification of the international crisis and have brought the prospect of a devastating world war nearer. India, in accordance with her basic policy, associated herself with the United Nations in resistance to aggression. At the same time, she has laboured for peace and for the prevention of the war in the East from spreading beyond Korea.

"The Congress approves the policy pursued by the Government of India and is of opinion that every avenue of peaceful settlement should be explored. While aggression, in any shape or form, has to be resisted, it must be remembered that the sum of the United Nations, to which India, in common with other nations, is committed, is the maintenance of peace and not the encouragement of any activity which leads to war.

"The United Nations Organization was the outcome of the passionate hope of mankind for peace and co-operation among nations and for the avoidance of war. It is the basic feature of this organization to bring together all countries, however they might differ from each other, on a common platform so that they might develop the habit of co-operation and of settlement of disputes by peaceful methods,

If important nations are excluded from this great world organization, it loses its distinctive feature and significance and its power for good is lessened.

"The Congress is, therefore, of opinion that their great neighbour, China, should be represented in this Assembly of the nations of the world, through her present Government so that she may be in a position to co-operate with other nations in the maintenance of peace.

"While aggression had to be resisted in Korea, the objective of the United Nations should be clearly stated. That objective must be the establishment of a free and independent and united Korea whose future is to be determined by her own people.

"This Congress earnestly hopes that the great nations of the world will not permit fear and passion to endanger the cause of peace for which they all stand, and will not encourage any activities which add to the bitterness and hatred which unhappily fill many people's minds today. The world crisis demands from every country forbearance and restraint, the banishment of fear and a ceaseless endeavour in search of peace."

### *Resolution on Delhi Pact*

The agreement, the resolution said, "represents a peaceful and effective approach to the solution of a very difficult problem and is in keeping with the traditions and policy of the Congress." The Working Committee also adopted a resolution on refugee rehabilitation.

The following is the resolution on the Indo-Pakistani agreement: "The Jaipur Congress drew the particular attention of the country to the menace of communalism and called upon the people to put an end to all communal and separatist tendencies which had already caused grievous injury and which imperilled the hard-won freedom of the country. Anti-national and socially reactionary forces have continued to function and come in the way of India's progress.

"The partition of India caused deep wounds in the political, economic and emotional life of the country. Passions were roused and many difficult problems arose, leading to continuing tension and ill-will between India and Pakistan.

"These problems can only be solved satisfactorily with patience and goodwill, tolerance and firmness, keeping always in view the honour and interests of India. These interests of India, as of Pakistan, require peaceful and co-operative relations between the two countries.

"This Congress, therefore, commends and approves of the proposal made by the Government of India to the Government of Pakistan for an agree-

ment between the two countries that all disputes should be solved by peaceful methods and without resort to armed conflict.

"For this reason, among others, the Congress records its approval of the Indo-Pakistani agreement of April 8, 1950, which represents a peaceful and effective approach to the solution of a very difficult problem and which is in keeping with the traditions and policy of the Congress. It is with this approach and in this spirit that such problems can be most effectively dealt with and can yield enduring results.

"Whatever disputes and conflicts may exist now or may arise in future between India and Pakistan, they should be considered as political problems between the two countries and should be treated as such.

"In no event should the spirit of communalism or the misuse of religion be allowed to mar and distort the consideration of our internal problems. We cannot forsake our own policy in a spirit of retaliation. We have not only to treat our minorities with full justice and fairness, but should make them feel that they are so treated.

"This Congress, therefore, declares that it is the basic policy of the nation, as reaffirmed in the Constitution, that India is a democratic State which, while honouring every faith, neither favours nor discriminates against any particular religion or its adherents, and which gives equal rights and freedom of opportunity to all communities and individuals who form the nation.

"It is the primary duty of every Congressman to carry this great message and to live up to it and to combat every form of communalism or separatism in India."

### *Resolution on Economic Policy*

"The economic progress of the country is the most urgent task before the nation in order to advance towards the attainment of the Congress objective. That objective is the establishment of a Welfare State wherein there is economic democracy, a national minimum standard in respect of the essentials of physical and social well-being, a rise in the standard of living of the people, full employment, elimination of exploitation, the progressive narrowing down of disparities in income and wealth, so that there may be equality of opportunity to all for self-development and the growth of personality.

"Every step towards this goal must be judged from the point of view of the good of the masses and vested interests should not be allowed to divert us from the larger good. Ordered progress will necessarily have to be planned and this implies a balanced and more or less controlled economy.

"The Congress has repeatedly emphasised the



necessity for planning and the Working Committee, in a resolution passed in January, 1950, recommended to the Government of India to set up a statutory Planning Commission. This Congress welcomes the establishment of the Planning Commission by the Government of India.

"The Second World War seriously impaired the economic structure and strength of the country, and the partition and the tragic events that followed independence disrupted the country's economic life still further; progress has thus been greatly hampered by limitations in respect of finance, capital equipment, trained personnel and raw materials. These limitations necessitate a careful husbanding of available resources and the laying down of strict priorities in regard to development schemes.

"It is of the utmost importance in existing conditions that measures should be devised to secure increased production and every factor militating against this aim should be discouraged. Capital formation will have to be increasingly shouldered by the common man and the small savings of large numbers of people will have to be an essential feature of the ways and means of the country's development programme.

"So long as there are conditions of scarcity, the need for the control on essential articles will continue. Such controls should be effective and must be so worked as to avoid undue inconvenience to the people and eliminate evasions. Anti-social elements seeking to exploit controls to their advantage should be drastically dealt with.

"Immediate action is necessary more especially in regard to the following matters:

(1) Basic and essential lines of development such as power and irrigation, and prior allocation of available resources for this purpose.

(2) Early realisation of self-sufficiency in food.

(3) An adequate supply of essential raw materials for industry.

(4) An orderly and progressive education in the general price-level.

(5) A full and efficient utilisation of installed capacity in industries, reducing costs of production to a reasonable level and, at the same time, providing conditions in which the workers can put forth their best efforts.

(6) Expansion of opportunities for gainful employment by planned development of village and small-scale industries on co-operative lines as far as possible, and on the basis of the highest attainable technical efficiency. Priority should be given in this respect to Khadi and the handloom industry.

"No system of planned economy can succeed and no large-scale advance is possible unless there

is full public co-operation. It is, therefore, necessary to evoke public enthusiasm and harness it for the promotion of nation-building activities to raise the low productivity in industry and agriculture. Efforts should, therefore, be made to utilise the experience, energy, free time and other resources of the people on a voluntary basis and a nation-wide scale. In any such scheme Congressmen should give their full and active support."

### *Other Resolutions*

#### REFUGEE PROBLEM

"This Congress recognizes that the Government of India and many of the State Governments have given first importance to the problem of the displaced persons from West and East Pakistan and have applied their energy and resources to its resolution. They have given relief to and rehabilitated a substantial proportion of them. Nevertheless, a large number still remains unprovided for and in great distress. It is the duty and responsibility of Government to rehabilitate and provide opportunities for productive and gainful occupation to all these displaced persons who have suffered so much because of circumstances beyond their control.

"Delay in solving the evacuee property problem has been a constant source of distress and frustration to vast numbers of persons, and it is urgently necessary that a solution of this should be found as speedily as possible. In the opinion of the Congress, if a solution of this problem is not arrived at between India and Pakistan in the near future, it should be referred for arbitration to a tribunal consisting of representatives of India and Pakistan of high judicial standing."

#### FOREIGN POSSESSIONS

"The Congress is strongly opposed to any foreign colonial Powers continuing to hold any part of India. It, therefore, reaffirms the Jaipur Congress resolution on foreign possessions in India and declares that it is essential that these territories should be incorporated in the Republic of India."

#### CONGRESS SET-UP

"The working of the new Congress constitution has revealed some serious defects and difficulties. It is necessary to amend the constitution so as to remedy these and other defects and ensure the smooth and efficient functioning of the machinery of the Congress. The Congress, therefore, under Article 28, authorizes the AICC to make necessary amendments in the constitution, and to this end the Working Committee will make proposals to the AICC and inter alia give its consideration to the following matters.

"The Working Committee shall circulate these proposals by the end of November, 1950: (1)

reintroduction of primary membership; (2) appointment of a central tribunal and central credentials committee; (3) vesting the Working Committee with adequate powers to deal with abnormal situations; (4) providing machinery for selecting candidates to legislatures and parliamentary activities."

### *Congress Session at Nasik*

The organizers of the Nasik Congress have shown that for once they can rise above party bickerings. The credit of this goes not a little to Shri Bhausaheb Hiray, Chairman of the Reception Committee. A member of the Central Legislature this Maharastrian public man owed his eminence to his constructive activities on Gandhian lines. An account of his life says that the bent of his mind has impelled him to these nation-building works. He started various organizations in the district, such as Adivasi Seva Mandal, Dang Seva Mandal and Primary and Adult Education Mandals, and with the active co-operation of a large number of co-workers expanded and intensified these activities throughout the district.

This session of the Congress has re-affirmed for the 30th time all the objectives set before the Congress by Gandhiji. Their implementation will depend on the loyalty of individuals who are really convinced of the necessity of the Gandhian approach to the solution of the problems created by centralized industrialism. The ideals of Sarvodaya, uplift of all, are there for all the world to see and admire. These really constitute a challenge to many of the practices that the Planning Commission under Pandit Nehru has determined to pursue. It is this confusion of ideals that illustrate the divided mind of Indian leadership.

### *Times' Comment on Nasik*

The Nasik Congress has evoked international interest. British and American newspapers have made important comments on this session which deserve attention in this country. We give below the comment of London *Times*, dated September 18, which deserves consideration even though the session is over. In an editorial entitled "Mr. Nehru at Nasik," *The Times* writes:

"The meeting of the All-India Congress Committee at Nasik will decide which of the two rival programmes will gain the support of the Congress Party, dominate the party platform for the next year's general election, and determine the future shape of Indian policy. The choice is clear-cut: Will India become a secular 'welfare state' as Mr. Nehru has defined it, or will she become an embodiment of Hindu orthodoxy, solidly based on the Hindu social structure?

"Both programmes can be traced far back into Congress history. Until lately they were kept in step

by the overriding aim of political independence. When Britain handed over power and it was necessary to decide how the power was to be used, the conflict between what may be called the reformist and the traditional views began to emerge and has now become crucial.

"Until this year it looked as if the reformers had finally won. If Mr. Gandhi had lived, his great personal prestige might have bridged the difference by holding the Congress Party together in fidelity to the ideals which he advocated. Mr. Nehru succeeded in embodying the reformist view in the new Indian constitution; and if a political opposition had appeared capable of disputing the Congress Party's control over India, even those who dislike the policy of the present Government might have accepted Mr. Nehru's ideas rather than jeopardise their own very considerable stake in the Party's fortunes.

"This has not happened. The ranks have not closed. Circumstances have weakened Mr. Nehru's position. The economic programme bequeathed by Mr. Gandhi, never accepted more than lukewarmly by the traditionalists, has come under heavy fire as failing to meet the needs of India at a time of acute inflation and severe food shortage. The Mahatma's gospel of treating the minorities generously in order to win their confidence now lacks popular appeal on account of the disastrous quarrel with Pakistan.

"Mr. Nehru is accused of 'appeasement' in his dealings with Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan over the refugee question on which Indian feeling is strong. Orthodox Hindu opinion, powerful in 'big business', in finance, and in the Press, is ranged against him. He has been attacked for his policy over Kashmir; he still seeks some kind of settlement, but there is growing impatience over the whole miserable affair. He has been criticised for his intervention in the Korean issue; and some of his recent appointments, particularly in the diplomatic field, have caused unfavourable comment.

"The campaign against his policy took a serious turn when the candidate he favoured fell to the bottom of the poll in the election of the new Congress President. Mr. Purushottamdas Tandon, a highly respected 'traditionalist' and a life-long exponent of characteristically Hindu ideals of culture and social organisation, was given an absolute majority over all the others.

"The remarkable personal statement issued by Mr. Nehru gives his own estimate of the situation and of the duty of the Congress Party. It is a forthright defence of Gandhism and a passionate plea for the support of the party in his effort to carry out the political programme for which the Mahatma gave his life.

"In another country an appeal of this nature

addressed by a Prime Minister who is a statesman of international reputation to a purely party organisation might be misunderstood; but the Indian people know that the few men who control the Congress machine are the true successors to the British Raj, that they stand behind and above Central and Local Governments, that they monopolise power and patronage. With the instinct for drama the Indians see the profound cleavage within the Congress in terms of a duel for mastery between Mr. Nehru and Sardar Patel. This view applies to two loyal servants of India whose qualities are complementary.

"Mr Nehru stands high in the estimation of Indian youth, many of whom are critical of Sardar Patel. Sardar Patel has great influence among the leaders of commerce and industry who dislike Mr. Nehru's socialist views. The two men differ greatly in outlook on some questions, particularly on communal affairs these differences are probably accentuated by Mr. Nehru's pre-occupation with international matters and Sardar Patel's concentration on affairs at home.

"Neither can really be spared, but unless the Nasik meeting gives Mr. Nehru the support which he seeks a notable partnership may dissolve, leaving the country and the Congress the poorer. Whatever the strength of the opposition to Mr. Nehru, the power of Mr. Gandhi's name is still great."

### *Dixon Report on Kashmir*

Sir Owen Dixon, the UN Kashmir Mediator, has submitted his Report to the Security Council on the failure of his Mission. He admitted that when the frontier of Jammu and Kashmir was crossed by hostile elements in October 1947 it was contrary to international law and that when units of regular Pakistani forces moved into the territory of the State of Kashmir, that too was inconsistent with international law. The following is a short summary of the 12,000-word report supplied by the *PTI*:

Sir Owen said that while the Pakistani Prime Minister "expressed strongly his dissent" from this position taken by the Kashmir Mediator, he expressed his readiness to accept, in compliance with Sir Owen's request, the proposition that "as the first step in demilitarization, the withdrawal of the regular forces of the Pakistani Army should begin on a specified day, and that a significant number of days should elapse before the commencement of any operation involving the forces on the Indian side of the cease-fire line."

Sir Owen's findings are contained in the last five pages of his report, the rest of the document being a resume of the various demilitarization proposals he had made to the two parties and their reactions to them.

Reviewing the Indian stand he said: "Upon a number of occasions in the course of the period beginning with the reference on January 1, 1948, of the Kashmir dispute to the Security Council, India advanced not only the contention that Pakistan was an aggressor but the further contention that this should be declared. The Prime Minister of India at an early stage of the meeting had made the same contention and referred to it repeatedly during the conference (the first conference on the demilitarization plan)."

Sir Owen added: "I took up the position, first, that the Security Council had not made such declaration; secondly, that I had neither been commissioned to make nor had made any judicial investigation of the issue, but, thirdly, that without going into the causes or reasons why it happened, which presumably formed part of the subcontinent's history, I was prepared to adopt the view that when the frontier of Jammu and Kashmir State was crossed. I believe, on October 20, 1947, by hostile elements it was contrary to international law and that when in May 1948, as I believe, units of the regular Pakistani forces moved into the territory of the State, that too was inconsistent with international law.

"I, therefore, proposed that the first step in demilitarization should consist in the withdrawal of the Pakistani regular forces commencing on a named day. After a significant number of days from the named day other operations on each side of the cease-fire line should take place, and as far as practicable concurrently. What number should be fixed as significant was a matter of detail.

"The Prime Minister of Pakistan expressed strongly his dissent from the third of the three positions I took up, that is to say, the positions as stated above. But he expressed his readiness to accept, in compliance with my request, the proposition that as the first step in demilitarization the withdrawal of the regular forces of the Pakistani Army should begin on a specified day and that a significant number of days elapse before the commencement of any operation involving forces on the Indian side of the cease-fire line."

Pakistan, Sir Owen added, complained of India's failure to agree on the practical measures to implement the Security Council resolution of August 1, 1948, and January 5, 1949, and maintained that this failure was the result of a "deliberate policy."

"But the fact remains that the agreement of India to the course to be pursued in these matters is a condition precedent to the carrying out of a plebiscite and there is no such agreement. The UN Commission failed in its efforts to secure an agreement upon them. I failed in mine."



Sir Owen, who was authorized by the Security Council to pursue "alternative methods," if the objective of a plebiscite was found unworkable, explained why he had "turned away" from the plan of a plebiscite for the whole State.

"Partition is an obvious alternative but the valley of Kashmir cannot be partitioned." Both India and Pakistan made claims to the valley and "some method of allocating it to one party or the other was essential to any plan of partition."

"At all events I have formed the opinion that if there is any chance of settling the dispute by agreement between India and Pakistan it now lies in partition and in some means of allocating the valley rather than in an overall plebiscite."

The State of Jammu and Kashmir was not "really a unit geographically, demographically and economically. It is an agglomeration of territories brought under the political power of the Maharaja. This is the unity it possesses."

"If, as the result of an overall plebiscite, the State as an entirety passed to India or to Pakistan there would be various refugee problems for either country, much more in the case of Pakistan."

"In the interest of the people as well as of the permanence of the settlement, and the imperative necessity of avoiding another refugee problem," he suggested the adoption of partition and abandoning the alternative of an overall plebiscite.

Sir Owen's third suggestion was that the Security Council should press the two Governments to reduce their military strength on the cease-fire line "to the normal protection of a peace-time frontier."

He disclosed that in his telegram from Karachi on August 15 last he also proposed a "Nimitz administration in Srinagar."

He explained his proposal as follows: "A temporary administration under Admiral Nimitz or his representative aided by other UN officers to be set up."

They would have authority in the "limited area" to exclude all troops of every description. Both India and Pakistan should provide troops "upon request" for any purpose. There would be "equality to India and Pakistan in any right granted to lay their views before the people and in other respects."

The Indian Prime Minister, Sir Owen said, expressed his surprise at the "novel" proposal and rejected it on the ground that participation of Pakistan in a plebiscite and calling in of Pakistani troops would "in effect constitute a surrender to aggression." India could not afford to take risks regarding the safety of Kashmir State and "on no account could India permit Pakistani troops to enter the plebiscite area."

In reply Sir Owen told Pandit Nehru that he

could not understand how in a settlement of the nature he had suggested "the doctrine that Pakistan is an aggressor having no legitimate interest could continue to apply."

As for Pakistan she first objected to the proposal of partition, but expressed her readiness to accept it "if the Kashmir valley would go to her automatically."

Pakistan was "afraid of compromising her unequivocal stand on the resolutions of August 1, 1948, January 5, 1949, and March 13, 1949," but was persuaded by Sir Owen's assurance that "neither I nor any other UN authority would consider Pakistan's participation in partition discussions as prejudicing her basic stand on plebiscite."

"In the end I became convinced that India's agreement would never be obtained to demilitarization in any such form as would permit of a plebiscite being conducted efficiently, guarding against intimidation and other forms of influence and abuse whereby the freedom and fairness of the plebiscite might be imperilled."

There are no plans at present to call a meeting of the Security Council to hear Sir Owen Dixon's Kashmir report, a high official of the Security Council said.

The Dixon Report admits that the tribal raiders and their abettor Pakistan are aggressors in Kashmir, but at the same time it suggests Partition as the solution. We do not understand what law it is to ask a victim to share his violated property with the robber. The stand the Security Council has taken in respect of Kashmir and Korea are so very different that peace-loving nations of Asia specially have been puzzled over it. If the Security Council feels that Pakistan and the tribal raiders are aggressors, they must name them and order them to quit Kashmir. The Dixon Report has the merit that it has crystallised the problem and has placed the Security Council in a position to commit themselves one way or the other. The problem brooks no further delay and the earlier it is solved the better it will be for a determination of the Indo-Pak relations.

### *Commonwealth Ministers' Decisions*

The Commonwealth Ministers' Conference has concluded in London. A communique has been issued saying that they were agreed on the need to persevere in measures to increase the sterling area's dollar earnings. They said that they were pleased to note a very considerable measure of agreement on the numerous subjects discussed. The communique said:

"The possibility of increasing Commonwealth supplies of newsprint was examined and remitted for further study.

"The importance of a continued supply from the United Kingdom to other Commonwealth countries of

capital equipment and other goods needed for economic development was recognized.

"It was noted that the U. K. defence programme is not expected to lead to any serious falling off of exports from the U. K. to the rest of the Commonwealth, but that, if there were any signs of appreciable change in particular products, the U. K. Government would give other Commonwealth Governments the fullest possible advance information.

"The Ministers considered the effects of present or prospective increase in the price of both raw materials and manufactured goods, and recognized the need for continuous close consultation between Commonwealth Governments on these matters.

"The Ministers also reviewed various questions concerning international agreements. Including the Havana Charter and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, and matters relating to Japanese trade.

"On the financial side, the Ministers reviewed the developments in the balance of payments of the sterling area since the meeting of the Commonwealth Finance Ministers in July, 1949, including the effect of the measures adopted as a result of that meeting.

"They noted with satisfaction the improvement in the dollar position, to which those measures had made a most important contribution, and agreed that restoration of the central gold and dollar reserves of the sterling area to an adequate level remained of great importance.

"They discussed future prospects, including the likely effect of the recent developments in the international situation, and agreed upon the need to persevere with measures designed to increase the dollar-earnings of the sterling area, whether by exports or by the provision of dollar-earning services.

"The Ministers of the sterling area countries concerned agreed upon the need to maintain strict economy in dollar expenditure.

"Discussion on these matters will continue through the ordinary methods of Commonwealth consultation."

The communique stated that the primary object of the meetings was to provide an opportunity for mutual explanations of policy and for exchange of views. There was a "very considerable measure" of agreement on the numerous subjects discussed.

"On the trade side, the Ministers reviewed the progress which has been made in Commonwealth co-operation in trade matters, and particularly in the production of goods that are essential to the economics of Commonwealth countries."

Eight men, Mr. George MacIlraith (Canada), Mr. John MacEwen (Australia), Mr. K. J. Holyoake (New Zealand), Mr. C. Deshmukh (India), Mr. Ghulam Muhammad (Pakistan), Mr. J. K. Jayawardene (Ceylon) and Mr. Harold Wilson (Britain),

called together from countries thousands of mile apart, met with their advisers in London on September 25, to take decisions that will determine how full the rice bowls shall be of the countless millions of South-east Asia.

They faced in London problems that are both crucial and urgent. Many of them attended the two earlier conferences at Colombo and Sydney. Already policies are taking shape that promise to throw a life line to South-east Asia.

The Commonwealth Foreign Ministers agreed at Colombo last January that the economic development of South-east Asia must be stimulated and the possibilities of mutual assistance made clear. To foster these aims the Commonwealth Consultative Committee was set up.

This Committee met at Sydney in May. It then laid what Mr. P. C. Spender, the Australian Minister for External Affairs, described as "the foundation stone of the edifice which in the end will help in bringing about the stability of the countries of South-east Asia."

This programme called for: (1) a six-year plan realistically and comprehensively prepared; (2) the immediate mobilisation of all resources by the countries concerned and other countries interested in the area; (3) the launching of a Commonwealth technical scheme empowered to spend £8,000,000 over a period of three years, with a Commonwealth bureau at Colombo to co-ordinate the work; and (4) the sending of invitations to the Governments of non Commonwealth countries in South and South-east Asia to take part in the work.

Economists of the Commonwealth countries in the area who were asked to draft a six-year plan have now reported to their Governments. It will be the duty of the eight Ministers to dovetail these draft proposals into a single working programme for the whole of South-east Asia. The time for decision drawing is very near.

### Kashmir

Since the United Nations Organization's mediator the Australian-born jurist Sir Owen Dixon, reported the failure of his mission during the end of August last, we have had a spate of Pakistan propaganda released over the world, specially in the Muslim-majority countries and in the Anglo-Saxon world. In the former, the argument of *jihad* comes in handy; in the latter the titillation of Anglo-Saxon fears of international communism is used.

The London *Times* says in its chagrin that Pandit Nehru has a "blind-spot" with regard to Kashmir comparable to a woman's infatuation for a certain man or thing. The same feeling appears to be prevalent in the United States, Canada and Australia. These countries refuse to believe that India's partition was not forced by the

"two-nation" theory; they simply laugh at the mention of "territorial division" of India which Pandit Nehru now and then emphasizes. And as Kashmir has a majority of Muslims, they cannot think of any reason which India could with reason put forward against its inclusion within Pakistan.

This is how a section of the world view this problem. And Sir Owen Dixon's findings that Pakistan broke the peace by aggression on Jammu-Kashmir during the last week of October, 1947 do not appear to have had any influence on them calling for a revision of their attitude. This appears to have affected the morale of even Shree Jaiprakash Narain, who is reported to have declared at Patna that the Kashmir question must be solved at "any cost." Are we to accept this exasperation as the way to appeasing the aggressor? Does it reflect the opinion of the Socialist Party?

We are, for the present, not concerned with what the U.N.O. chooses to do or not do. But we have to think of our home-front. Shree Jaiprakash Narain is a portent. The Pakistanis have no scruples about the meaning and significance of the Delhi Pact known as the Nehru-Liaquat Ali Pact. Their Prime Minister can seek "territorial guarantee" of their new State from Britain and the United States within a week or two of signing the Delhi Pact. He made no secret of the potential enemy; he pointed straight at India. Six months later, we find their Foreign Minister, Janab Zafarullah Khan, saying at New York in reply to a question about Pakistan's military help in the Korean campaign that

"We have not any to send; and after all we could not unilaterally put ourselves in a position that would be a temptation to some of our neighbours." When asked if he means Russia he replied, "No, our immediate neighbours."

Their High Commissioner in Australia, Janab Haroon Yusuf, propagandized the thought that Pakistan would have sent her contingents to the Korean war-front if there had not been the Kashmir problem. These two statements expose Pakistan's game, the "method" in her "madness." The height of mischief was reached by Governor Abdur Rab Nishtar of West Punjab at the Jinnah memorial meeting on September 11 last:

"A militarily strong Pakistan is not only essential for the existence of Pakistan as a State but is also necessary for the safety of millions of Muslims in India."

We are not sorry that this foolishness should have been perpetrated. It reminds us of the old-time robber-chiefs sending previous information to householders that their houses and property would be attacked and looted on a particular day. We are thankful to Governor for this warning.

### *India, Pakistan and Dollar Trade*

The first issue of the official publication *Direction of International Trade*, which is a joint compilation of the Statistical Office of the UN, the International Monetary Fund, and the International Bank for Re-

construction and Development, provides an explanation of the fluctuating dollar trade of India and Pakistan.

It is generally accepted that in the first year of devaluation substantial progress has been made in closing the gap between the dollar and the non-dollar trading areas of the world. Progress to this goal has been somewhat uneven and, as might be expected, some countries have done better than others. The new statistical service publishes data for the calendar years 1948 and 1949 and for the January-March quarter of 1950, thus making it possible to maintain running contact with collated figures that are not otherwise easily obtainable.

For instance, in 1948, U.S. exports to India are shown at \$298.2m and imports from this country at \$265.2m, leaving a deficit for India on trading account of \$33m. In 1949, the figures were U.S. exports \$253.1m and imports \$238.7m with a resultant deficit for India of \$14.4m. In the first quarter of the present calendar year the U.S.A. exported \$66.6m to India and imported \$60.5m from India. In the case of Canada, which is the other large sector of the dollar area, the Dominion exports to and imports from India were just about in balance in 1948. In 1949, Canada's exports to India were \$71.2m and imports from India were \$25.6m leaving a sizeable deficit of \$45.6m. In the first quarter of the current year, however, that deficit has been turned into a surplus in India's favour of \$5.5m; Canada having purchased \$8.6m of goods from India against 3.1m sold to this country.

When we come to examine the figures given for the balance of trade between the USA and Pakistan, it has to be said that the new official statistics do not support the optimistic deductions that have recently been made in Pakistan itself on the trends of the country's foreign trade. In 1948, the balance of trade between Pakistan and the U.S.A. was strongly in favour of the former whose exports to the U.S.A. were \$26.1m against imports of \$16.9m. In 1949, however, the position was sharply reversed, American exports to Pakistan being \$45.5m against imports of \$27.7m leaving Pakistan with an adverse balance of \$17.8m. In the first quarter of 1950 the U.S.A. exported \$7.2m to Pakistan against imports of \$6.4m—net adverse balance \$0.8m.

The Pakistan-Canadian figures follow much the same pattern. In 1948, Pakistan had a favourable balance with Canada of \$6.4m. In 1949, this favourable balance had become an adverse balance of \$16.4m and in the first quarter of 1950 imports from Canada at \$3m were \$2.6m greater than exports to the Dominion. It is obvious that there is a material discrepancy between these figures and those which have recently been adduced in Ministerial reviews of Pakistan's overall trade policy. The explanation is probably that



the Ministerial statistics relate only to trade on private account, whilst those now published include Pakistani Government purchases which would perceptibly swell the total on the imports side of the ledger.

### *Israel Recognized*

We are glad that the Government of India has decided at long last to accord recognition to the State of Israël. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, India's Prime Minister and Foreign Minister, has never taken care to let his public know why he has been delaying this step; neither do the Delhi announcement or the Congress Working Committee's resolution on the subject, issued during 18th and 19th September, clear the subject.

Knowing that relations between States are ultimately governed by self-interest, enlightened self-interest if you must have it so, this recognition accords well with Pandit Jawaharlal's policy of accepting a reality, "a vital reality" which Israël has been, these two years and China for about a year. Our people have ever sympathized with the Jewish struggle for "a home land;" and they have admired the "sense of mission" that have been moving them for thousands of years. And Jerusalem has ever stood as its symbol:

"Jerusalem that 'had sprang first to the mind of the poet lamenting its destruction'; so did it spring first to the mind of the prophet rejoicing over the return from the first exile: 'Break forth into joy, sing together ye waste places of Jerusalem: for the Lord hath comforted his people. He hath redeemed Jerusalem,' says Isaiah. It was concern for the welfare of Jerusalem, almost equally with concern for the Jewish community in Judea, that moved Nehemiah—founding father of the Second Commonwealth—to leave the comfort and prestige of his post in the Persian Court of the 5th century before the common era. 'Why should not my countenance be sad,' said Nehemiah in epic words to the King of Persia, 'when the city, the place of my fathers' sepulchres, lieth waste, and the gates thereof are consumed with fire.'"

These words are quoted from an article in *Palestine*, an organ of the American Zionist Council. The intense longing given expression to creates destiny in human history.

### *U.S.A. in Asian Affairs*

Mr. Dean Acheson, U.S.A. Secretary of State for foreign affairs, has made an attempt to justify his country's attitude towards affairs in Asia. This he did in course of a television interview cabled from Washington on September 10 last. He appeared to have been worried over "the mistaken belief that Americans were all-powerful, and that if anything went wrong it must be some American mistake."

We think that the world is not wholly to blame for it. For, Mr. Acheson has more than once asserted that his country was there to afford "moral leadership" to the world—a more "affirmative leadership." And it is one of the privileges and prices of leadership that it should be prepared to accept with an unperturbed spirit praises and abuses equally. Ordinary human nature is not equal

to this task. We were under the impression that the Americans were out of the ordinary.

It is quite time that an attempt should be made to analyse the various factors that have been working towards creating this unpopularity for Americans. The chiefest of these appears to be the predominance of America's finance-capital and her organized military power. We have seen an estimate which said that 6 per cent of the world's population that live in U.S.A. today has emerged from the 2nd World War of the 20th century with more than 50 per cent of the world's wealth of industrial power, of naval and military might. The contemplation of such concentrated power creates fear and prejudice in popular minds; the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. are the two centres which evoke these feelings now.

The second factor that has been disturbing the world's equanimity is the prospect made fearsome by the judgment of Lord Acton that power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. Both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. have fallen victims to this malady. None of them has been able to use their power with moderation; the ruling classes of the U.S.A. flaunt their atom bomb; in reaction their opposite numbers in the U.S.S.R. use their propaganda machine which has proved itself to be more disruptive than the atom bomb; they exploit the world's discontents and material sufferings in the pursuit of their policy of disruption of the cherished values of human society.

The third factor was indicated by a Dutch newspaper, its comments were reproduced on July 28 last. The paper, organ of the Liberal (Conservative) Party, gives a friendly but frank analysis of U.S. policy:

"The Far Eastern regimes supported by the U.S. are weaker than those supported by the Soviet Union. One of the reasons is that the Russians lean upon forces that have been able to carry out in the feudal East the necessary social and economic reforms. The U.S., on the other hand, has often, despite its anti-imperialistic ideology, estranged these groups. Washington has apparently underestimated the power of social movements, and thought it sufficient to back the nationalist movements."

They also flaunt their food sufficiency in the face of a world suffering from malnutrition. In nothing has the U.S.A. created more prejudice against herself than in the use made of her food surplus; almost every U.S.A. Information Service Bulletin tells us of her bumper crops; the story is that they are often forced to destroy rather than sell or loan out these to a starving world. India's Prime Minister during his American tour (September-October, 1949) proposed the loan of 10 million tons of food grains from the U.S.A. in exchange for essential raw materials from India which America needs and takes — jute, products, manganese, mica, etc. The way in which American trading interests haggled over this offer has repelled all Indians.

Resentment at this policy of negation found expression in the most unexpected quarter. A Dublin news-item sent out on September 9 last is a proof thereof.

"Members of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, including American Senators, listened in silence here today to an impassioned denunciation of reports alleging that surplus food had been destroyed in the United States to preserve price levels.

"The annual conference of the Union, representing 34 countries, unanimously passed a resolution, moved by the Ceylon Delegation urging that countries having a surplus of food should refrain from measures tending to restrict the export of surpluses to needy areas.

"Mr. A. R. Perera of Ceylon said that with all deference to the United States he could not accept the position that the food destroyed to preserve price levels was very small.

"We agree that producers are entitled to fair prices, but we shall point an accusing finger at any nation that destroys food to preserve profits.....

"What we ask is no charity, I say that no nation, however powerful, is entitled to make the question of food a condition of political influence. There is not one country in Asia that will stand hat in hand on the doorstep of the White House in Washington."

An American delegate, Senator Poage, could in face of this charge be apologetic only. Intervening in the debate and supporting the resolution he is reported to have uttered the usual plea that the producers were entitled to "an adequate return for their labour," that "there might have been some isolated cases of destruction of food in the United States, but under the United States law all surplus food was available for needy people anywhere if they would go and get it. Surplus food would be delivered at American ports. All that the needy countries had to do was to go and take it." We are sorry to say that Mr. Poage's pleadings do not move us.

There may be exaggeration and even unfairness in this interpretation. And to enable our readers to have a proper perspective we refer to President Truman's "fire-side" radio-talk delivered on September 2. He was holding forth on the purposes of America's intervention in South Korea's defence. The relevant portion is printed below: "As we move forward to arm ourselves more quickly in the days ahead, and as we strive with the United Nations for victory in Korea, we must keep clearly in mind what we believe in and what we are trying to do. We also want the rest of the world to understand clearly our aims and our hopes.

First : We believe in the United Nations. When we ratified its Charter, we pledged ourselves to seek peace and security through this world organization. We kept our word when we went to the support of the United Nations in Korea two months ago. We shall never go back on that pledge.

Second : We believe the Koreans have a right to be free, independent, and united as they want to be. Under the direction and guidance of the United Nations we, with others, will do our part to help them enjoy that right. The United States has no other aim in Korea.

Third : We do not want the fighting in Korea to expand in to a general war. It will not spread unless

Communist imperialism draws other armies and Governments into the fight of the aggressors against the United Nations.

Fourth : We hope in particular that the people of China will not be misled or forced into fighting against the United Nations and against the American people, who have always been and still are their friends. Only the Communist imperialism, which has already started to dismember China, could gain from China's involvement in war.

Fifth : We do not want Formosa or any part of Asia for ourselves. We believe that the future of Formosa, like that of any other territory in dispute, should be settled peacefully. We believe that it should be settled by international action and not by the decision of the United States or of any other state alone. The mission of the Seventh Fleet is to keep Formosa out of the conflict. Our purpose is peace, not conquest.

Sixth : We believe in freedom for all the nations of the Far East. That is one of the reasons why we are fighting under the United Nations for the freedom of Korea. We helped the Philippines become independent and we have supported the national aspirations to independence of other Asian countries. Russia has never voluntarily given up any territory it has acquired in Far East, it has never given independence to any people who have fallen under its control. We not only want freedom for the peoples of Asia, but we also want to help them secure for themselves better health, more food, better clothes and homes, and the chance to live their own lives in peace. The things we want for the people of Asia are the same things we want for the people of the rest of the world.

Seventh : We do not believe in aggressive or preventive war. Such war is the weapon of dictators, not of free democratic countries like the United States. We are arming only for defense against aggression. Even though Communist imperialism does not believe in peace, it can be discouraged from new aggression if we and other free peoples are strong, determined, and united.

Eight : We want peace and we shall achieve it. Our men are fighting for peace today in Korea. We are working for peace constantly in the United Nations and in all the capitals of the world. Our workers, our fathers, our businessmen, all our vast resources, are helping now to create the strength which will make peace secure.

We want peace not only for its own sake but because we want all the peoples of the world, including ourselves, to be free to devote their full energies to making their lives richer and happier. We shall give what help we can to make this universal human wish come true."

### *India's Food Scarcity*

India's new Food Minister, Shri Kanhayalal Munshi, has the mind of an artist. He has been trying to dramatize the food problem that has defied solution at the hands of his two predecessors—Babu Rajendra Prasad and Shri Jairamdas Daulatram. His tree-

planting propaganda has been followed by a "Miss a cereal meal a day." We wish him success in all experiments. But we own to a feeling that the food problem is being discussed without settling the controversy whether or not there is real food deficit in India. Shri R. Sidhwa, a member of the Central Legislature, has long been a protagonist of the idea that there is no deficit; what appears to be so is the creation of the Food Departments, Central and Provincial. The latest supporter of his thesis is Chowdhury Mukhtar Singh, another member of that august body.

In a recent *Indian News Chronicle* (Delhi) "forum" he gave out his opinion with relevant statistics. He is a practical large-scale agriculturist of western Uttar Pradesh.

"Everybody in the country feels that controls, specially on food, are not desirable. But we see no possibility of food being decontrolled specially when the experiment was made in 1948 and was given up after a short period. Even if the position is proved to be satisfactory no Minister wants to take courage to decontrol this essential commodity. I maintain that there is more food than the country can consume, and if need be, we can easily produce about 50 per cent from the already cultivated area.

It is a tragedy that the Government figures are admitted to be unreliable. How can then anybody prove that there is no necessity of control or how much food we should import from outside? In spite of the fact that in the last eight years, we have been trying to grow more food, we have never cared to create the yard-stick by which the increase is to be judged.

There is another important factor. Since the Central Government were insisting upon procurement from different States, the latter seem to have tried to report as little production as possible.

Then there are no reliable figures for consumption. The only method which may perhaps be resorted to by a common man will be to take the average of the last five years and to arrive at a figure which should be considered as the consumption of the country. The final figures prove that the total average consumption in India including wastage and seed-requirements, cannot be more than 45.18 million tons.

Year	Gross production	Imports	Total available
	(In Million Tons)		
1946	41.9	2.6	44.5
1947	42.5	2.7	45.2
1948	43.7	2.8	46.5
1949	40.5	3.7	44.2
1950	44.0	1.5	45.5
Average	42.52	2.6	45.18

Thus our total requirements are 45.18 million tons. If we calculate on the basis of 76 per cent adult and take the population to be 350 million, our requirements will be much less.

In all the calculations that the Government make they take only rationed crops into account and exclude those cereals which are unrationed but are produced in large quantities. All these cereals are good food and in certain cases just as good as rice and are eaten by the people of the State in which these are produced. These cereals have to be produced because of the rotation of crops and climatic conditions. There seems to be absolutely no reason as to why this production should be excluded in calculation.

Taking only the U. P., the area under crops other than rationed crops, excluding gram, is 75,05,584 acres, while the area under wheat is 79,75,062 acres and that of rice 69,14,485 acres. Similar will be the case in other States.

A question may be asked as to why the food prices do not depress if there is surplus in the country and imports are added to that quantity. My answer is that a year before last in the U. P. wheat prices at the harvesting time were over Rs. 20 a maund while the Government procured it at much cheaper rates and there was much discontentment amongst the people. Last year, wheat was procured at Rs. 16 a maund and that was the price in the open market of wheat and the people did not feel the pinch of procurement. This year Government decided to make purchases on a voluntary basis and at control price and they have been able to procure much more than the target figure. Is it not, therefore, clear that the surplus grain is affecting the market prices?

It must be remembered, however, that in Government procurement a very large quantity is wasted, pilfered and destroyed by careless storage.

According to Government figures, about 7 per cent is lost that way. If we add to it 6 per cent specially to wheat in storage, the total loss cannot be less than 10 per cent. The greatest defect in the system of control is that the States do not co-operate with the Centre and have always tried to make money out of the Central revenues. To give only a few instances, Bombay was allowed a subsidy of Rs. 21.5 crores in 1948-49 with the object of keeping the grain prices in the State at a reasonable figure; but the Government, instead of utilising that money for that purpose, lowered down the price of imported wheat in the towns of Bombay, Ahmedabad, Poona and Sholapur from Rs. 19-6 a maund to Rs. 13-12 a maund. The Government of Madras, another deficit State, levy Sales Tax on the imported grain and thus make money.

The other defect is that out of about 40 types of grain only eight are rationed and people are forced to



take finer grains. The manual labourers consume much of these grains and get less nutrition than they would have got from the coarser grains. In Bombay, for instance, though the area in *ragi* is no less than four or five lakh acres, it is one of the most deficit provinces. *Ragi* is not utilised for ration. The indirect effect of this is that the consumer also does not co-operate with the Government as he is not asked to keep economic habits. If masses do not feel that there is a shortage of food in the country, no Government, however, resourceful and powerful, can solve the problem of food."

We should like to know what the Food Departments have to say to this challenge to their basic theory. And leaving them to their own resources we find in the report of the Central Rice Research Institute, Cuttack, of the year 1948-49, summarized by New Delhi, signs of a better future for India's food front:

"The discovery of two early maturing and high yielding varieties of paddy of Chinese origin, suitable for Orissa conditions, is an important result obtained from research work on rice-breeding carried out at the Central Rice Research Institute, Cuttack, according to the Annual Report for 1948-49 of the Institute.

During the year under report, 82 varieties of paddy were studied in the Institute in 12 yield trials. One outstanding result from these studies is the finding of two early maturing and high yielding varieties of paddy of Chinese origin which are suitable for Orissa conditions. These varieties have also satisfactory grain characters and are generally more resistant to diseases.

To study the maximum production possible under optimum conditions, a block of 4.8 acres of land was cultivated, green manured and 100 lbs. per acre of ammonium sulphate applied as top dressing. The average acre yield obtained from the block was 2550 lbs. of grain and 4340 lbs. of straw. The cost of cultivation worked out at Rs. 135 per acre and gross income at Rs. 283. This gives a net profit of Rs. 150 per acre.

The possibilities of growing two crops of rice in the canal areas of Orissa were also investigated. It was found that long duration varieties followed by short duration ones constituted a profitable sequence. The first crop yielded about 1,500 to 1,800 lbs. per acre and the second crop from 1,200 to 1,500 lbs. per acre. The above result was obtained without application of fertilisers. With the use of fertilisers, the report says, the yield from the two crops can easily be raised to 4,000 lbs. per acre.

The comparative efficacy of the various types of fertilisers in paddy cultivation was also studied and it was found that application of nitrogen on the basis of 40 lbs. per acre increased the yield between 600 to

500 lbs. It was also noticed that the response of both groundnut cake and ammonium sulphate was practically the same. The manurial trials conducted during the year showed that under Cuttack conditions 20 lbs. of nitrogen applied per acre to the soil either in the shape of fertiliser or as organic manure was the most profitable. Application up to 40 lbs. nitrogen gave some increase in yield but doses beyond 40 lbs. had no additional response."

### *Sikh Politics*

We are sorry that Master Tara Singh, the guiding spirit of the Akali Dal, should have given a twist to Sikh politics which is in the border-line of the mentality that has created Pakistan. We have given general support to the Sikh demand for a Punjabee-speaking province or State in India, we sympathize with their suffering, being special fellow-victims of Pakistani disruption. And we are sure that the vast mass of our fellow-citizens appreciate the intensity of our frustrations.

But Master Tara Singh and his immediate followers have been pursuing a policy with which there can be no compromise. They appear to have learnt nothing from their recent experiences. Freedom from British control has been reached; as always and in all history it required a sacrifice. It has been Punjab's and Bengal's privilege to be chosen for this sacrifice. The realization of this fact should have created in the minds of the people of these two provinces an exultation that would uphold them in the new crisis that faces them. Instead, we notice whining and an inclination to blame others, to avoid introspection, a looking into our own inadequacies and weaknesses. This is not the spirit that has been enabling Germans and Japs to get over the consequences of their "high audacity," of their defeat. There is yet time to retrace, to regain balance. Otherwise, Hindus from West Punjab and East Bengal, and Sikhs can only make a nuisance of themselves to all India. This dire prospect awaits them.

Master Tara Singh, however, has been playing a more dangerous game. In his exasperation he has taken the help of anti-Indian elements, British and Pakistani, that will recoil upon himself and his followers and fellow-believers. The *Indian News Chronicle* of Delhi in its issue of September 2 has published a letter from its Karachi correspondent that throws a sinister light on his doings. It appears that Master Tara Singh had recently had an interview with a correspondent of the *London Observer*, a Sunday weekly which the Karachi *Dawn* has featured for its own purposes. Masterji is reported to have told him: "There will be trouble soon in East Punjab." The correspondent took the hint and asked, "But do you

want trouble after the tragedy of 1947?" We will now allow the *News Chronicle* report to tell this story:

"It was a tragedy," he replied, 'but we taught the Muslims a lesson. We do not want much trouble. Just a little would do to teach the Hindus a lesson.'

"One of his followers interrupted hastily to explain the Akali Dal plans for winning more seats at the forthcoming general election.

"Personally," said Master Tara Singh, leaning back in the chair with that same smile on his lips, 'I put my trust in chaos'.

"This confirms the *Dawn* correspondent's earlier talk with Master Tara Singh in which the Master had said that an Indo-Pakistan war would afford the Sikhs the best opportunity for the Khalsa to create chaos and 'reign supreme.'

"In this atmosphere of gloom and despair, the Sikhs have been faced with another challenge, the challenge of communal chauvinism. The Hindus of East Punjab have disowned their mother-tongue, the Punjabi. This has opened the eyes of the Sikhs. They see it very clearly that communal war-mongering would act as a fatal boomerang.

"It will bring communalists to the top who after the 'purification' of India will definitely try to enforce 'uniformity' and 'oneness' in the country. The Sikhs have seriously begun to feel apprehensive of their socio-cultural entity, because they know it for certain that they will not be able to maintain their separate entity before the onslaught of Hindu reaction working for the establishment of a Hindu raj with Hindi as the State language.

"They have also realized that in case of conflict (with Pakistan) the Sikhs will be surely reduced to a community of destitutes, if not altogether annihilated. For the people of East Punjab, a border Province, cannot escape that dreadful fate."

An Indian citizen may have his grievances against his State. But he who runs to alien publicists to ventilate these cannot blame his fellow-citizens if they regard his conduct as treason and if his State puts him behind prison-bars as Masterji has been done during the first week of September last. The limit to mischief-making appears to have been reached. And we hope that Masterji will be able to review his activities away from the excitement of sabre-rattling, and that his followers will be able to induce in him a spirit of accommodation to the needs of the Sikh situation. We are led to entertain this hope by what Sardar Aukum Singh, President of the Shiromani Akali Dal, is reported to have said in course of a speech delivered at Delhi on the occasion of a reception given him on September 7. The summary, as published in the Press, is printed below:

"The demand for a Punjabi-speaking province was democratic, and there was 'nothing separatist or disruptionist' about it. The Punjabis had a distinctive taste, culture and way of living, and it was unfortunate that all of them had not joined in this demand.

"The demand should not be understood to mean a desire for a separate State or even a majority area. The Sikhs only asked for readjustment of boundaries 'on purely linguistic and cultural basis.'

"As a minority the Sikhs wanted protection, and they could get this protection by the creation of a Province where they would have a more effective voice."

We have said that we support this demand for re-adjustment of State frontiers on a linguistic basis. But our support is qualified with an outright denunciation of Master Tara Singh's doings as reported in the *London Observer* and the *Karachi Dawn*.

### A Valuable Suggestion

Shri Gobindalal Banerjee, Chief Whip of the East Bengal Congress Assembly Party, in a statement has suggested that the Prime Ministers of India and Pakistan should meet the representatives of minorities in a conference and try to find out a formula for the speedy solution of the minority problem. He added that the resolution passed at the East Bengal Minorities' Conference at Mymensingh in June this year should be the subject for discussion at the proposed conference. He stated, "It is very often said that if anything happens in one of two Bengals, it will have its repercussions in the other. It makes the life of the minorities in both the Bengals precarious and subject them to victimisation for no fault of theirs." He therefore suggested that there must be some sort of administrative alliance between the two for the good of both the provinces.

Any serious attempt for the implementations of the Delhi Pact should now take definite steps to ascertain the opinion of the representatives of the minorities who have chosen to stay in their homes. The present procedure to adopt decisions affecting the life, property and honour only at Ministerial and Secretariat levels have not proved very successful. It would be much better if the representatives of minorities were associated with those discussions, because it is they who are in a real position to supply real inside information of what is happening in actual field. It is only in this way that a proper diagnosis of the ailment can be diagnosed and effective remedy suggested.

### Bihar Gives the Lead

This is the caption to a news-item published in a daily, sent from Patna on September 1 last. Ravaged by flood and food scarcity as Bihar has been, there is a chance of this achievement of State management in the Province being ignored.

"The first venture of the Bihar Government in

mining industry has brought them a profit of rupees one lakh and thirty-nine thousand in 1949-50.

Since the merger of the States of Seraikella and Kharsawan in 1948 with Bihar, the State Government has been working in the district of Singhbhum two kyanite mines, one asbestos and one steatite mine.

Kyanite deposits of Seraikella and Kharaswan are supposed to be the best in the world. This mineral—which is found in abundance in Seraikella and Kharsawan—has come into prominence because of its value in ceramic industry. Almost the entire annual output of kyanite—in 1949-50 it was 455 tons—was exported abroad where it is in demand for the manufacture of refractory bricks.

Both spinning and non-spinning varieties of asbestos are found in Seraikella and Dhalbhum.

All the four mines are controlled by Mr. Nagheshwar Prasad, Mining Officer, Bihar."

As we know these deposits, we must express anxiety as to whether the extraction is being done efficiently, as there is a chance of enormous waste in open quarrying.

### *River Control Projects in Madras*

Next to pre-partition Punjab, Madras has had, we think, the best record in irrigation and river control projects. The Mettur Dam and the Pycara Electric Scheme given shape to by Shree C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer as a member of the Madras Executive Council during Lord Willingdon's Governorship against heavy opposition, is an instance of far-sighted statesmanship. The rise of Coimbatore as a cotton mill centre in South India was made possible by this multi-purpose project. So we hope that the other projects under construction and consideration in the Madras Presidency will have the same re-constructive results. At a meeting of the Madras Assembly, Shri M. Bhakthavatsalam, Public Works Minister, told us on the 7th September last that the 17-crore Tungabhadra project was expected to be completed by 1952-53. It would bring three lakh acres of land under cultivation; various works connected with the project were progressing according to programme and all steps were being taken to complete it within the scheduled time.

A proposal relating to hydroelectric schemes estimated to cost Rs. 733 lakhs initially and rising up to Rs. 794 lakhs in ten years was awaiting orders. The scheme was expected to commence operation in 1954 as programmed at present.

The Krishna-Pennar project was still under preliminary investigation. The project would be taken up by stages if it was found feasible. The recent floods in the Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Orissa and

West Bengal have shown the danger of uncontrolled rivers.

### *Development Projects in Uttar Pradesh*

We have the feeling that Shree Govinda Ballav Pant's Government have built a fine record in giving concrete and working shape to development projects that hope to re-make life in the Nainital, Tehri and Garhwal areas. A recent report tells this story.

"A party of the officials of the U. S. Agriculture Extension Service paid a visit to the Pilot Project and Naini Tal Tarai areas a few months ago and saw for themselves how the work was being carried on at places which were considered to be uninhabitable. A letter received from the U.S.A. Agriculture Extension Service Department by the U.P. Food Production Commissioner says: "The extension or advisory work being conducted experimentally was being conducted on a fundamentally sound basis and was producing most worth-while results. The use of local young men with as much technical training as possible—with that training supplemented by the job-training in extension methods—is most commendable. Also maximum use of practical demonstration of improved practices and methods is bound to produce most worth while results."

The letter adds: "We are greatly impressed with the effective job being done in the Naini Tal Tarai region. This effort should not only make a significant contribution to your pressing food problem but also is an excellent example of what can be done with mechanized farming where circumstances are such that this type of farming can be successfully employed."

To improve the lot of the inhabitants of the districts of Garhwal and Tehri, which are deficit areas, small intensive cultivation schemes are being planned by the Garhwal Survey Division of the Irrigation Branch of P.W.D. So far detailed estimates for constructing 15 units comprising 55 miles of channels to irrigate 10,000 acres of land annually have been worked out and constructions will be started as soon as weather conditions permit and an effort will be made to complete them during the current financial year.

In the Almora district, the construction of five channels with a total mileage of 16 has already been completed, extending thereby irrigation facilities to about 1,000 acres of cultivated land. Work is in progress on other nine channels with a total mileage of 30 which is expected to be completed shortly, when it will be possible to bring an additional area, about 3,500 acres, under irrigation.

In the district of Naini Tal investigations have been carried out in respect of 15 schemes, while the construction of three channels with a total mileage



of 9 has already been taken up. On the completion of these three channels irrigation facilities will be available to about 4,000 acres of land, hitherto unirrigated."

This Province appears to have entered into the spirit of the new challenge to their capacity for work. In the "Grow More Food" campaign, individual cultivators in it are known to have increased their per acre production of wheat from the usual 18 maunds to 58 maunds, of potatoes from 250 maunds to 687 maunds. In West Bengal also individuals have raised 76 maunds of rice per acre in place of 18 maunds. The Central Food Minister proposes, we understand, to institute competitive cultivation over approximately an area of two crore acres. A Delhi daily recently featured the photo of a potato-producer in Uttar Pradesh who had got a prize of Rs. 5,000 for his skill. The West Bengal Government have, we see, distributed a few money prizes to producers of rice who have shown themselves awakened to their duties to society. The good example will spread.

### "Communist-Infected" Telangana

The Pakistan Radio has propagandized that in the Telangana area of the Andhra Desa and Hyderabad, the Communists have set up a rival government. This activity on the Radio's part has curiously almost coincided with the news flashed in the Indian Press that the "Azad Kashmir Government" is disrupted into two rival groups, the original President Sardar Ibrahim having lost the confidence of the Pakistan Government. This is a by-play of Indo-Pakistan relations, and we do not complain.

What is of more importance to us is to get light thrown on Telangana affairs. We know that the back of the Communist mischief in this area is broken. But this is the least part of the business—the suppression and control of anarchic conditions created by Communists taking advantage of ages-long discontents. This light comes to us from the account of a "queer atmosphere" that we find in Swami Ramananda Tirtha's tour impressions of the area. It has been published in the September 4 issue of his weekly, *The Vision*.

"I wished to touch the mind of the peasant direct. The emaciated skeleton of the Telengana peasant spoke to me through thousands of eyes of men, women and children who had gathered in a mood of uncertain expectancy. His sufferings are not yet at an end. He had been made the victim, an object of prey by the past regimes. The feudal autocracy had almost reduced him to a sub-human existence. In his anxiety to terminate his sufferings, he allowed himself to pass into the hands of the Communist, who, for some time, offered a measure of relief and gave him a sense of

hope which could not be fulfilled. The experience during the past few years, the atrocities committed on the kith and kin, by the Communist himself, the sufferings due to military operations which have their own oddities, the dislocation of the social and economic life—all these have turned him almost into a cynic, who takes things that happen around with indifference and views life as something which is shaping strangely where he feels his fate oscillating this way and that without any power or strength on his part to direct it in his own interest.

"Where is the relief for him? A bold, decisive and better alternative which would remove his immediate sufferings and give him a free and honoured social and economic life by squarely solving land problem is the only way to wean him away from the Communist. Mere palliatives will fall flat."

### Konarak Temple in Orissa

That "experts" develop a certain indifference to their own special subjects has been once more illustrated in the case of the Konarak Temple in Orissa dedicated to the Sun-god. Non-Indian artists and archaeologists had gone into raptures over it; Fergusson has often been quoted as saying that it was "the most richly ornamented building externally at least in the whole world."

Abul Fazl, author of *Ain-i-Akbari*, estimated that the entire revenue of Orissa for 12 years were lavished on building this temple. Now, it stands in solitary glory on the sea-shore, encroached on and eaten into by salt waters. Even in ruins it has retained a character of its own appealing to successive generations of lovers of beauty in architecture. India's Prime Minister on his visit to Orissa during last spring had been struck with the inroads of man and Nature on this temple; his interest appears to have hustled the Archaeological Department into activity. An Experts Committee has been appointed with Shri Biswanath Das, ex-Premier of Orissa as Chairman; its membership consists of noted chemists, archaeologists, geologists, engineers, architects and others.

They are charged with the duty of suggesting remedies to this progressive decay, the nature of which are indicated in the following quotations from a description published in the Calcutta *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, English language daily. The temple was last repaired in 1903; but it has proved to be a stop-gap.

"But even a greater problem than that is to find out some means by which it may be possible to neutralise the destructive effect of the sea-salt on sculptures in general. Some beautiful specimens have entirely disappeared; not a few are disintegrating and several others are crumbling away because of the effect of sea salt. It appears that the mediaeval builder of

this famous temple knew some washes to prevent sea-salt destroying the stone sculptures. This is apparent from some of the relics which have wonderfully stood it without any effect. . . ."

### *The Huk Revolt in the Philippines*

The defeat of Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek and the control over the State in China established by the Communists over China under President Mao Tse-tung has overshadowed events that have been happening in the Philippine Republic. Of these the Huk revolt is the most significant. We in India hear little of it, and know less of it. A New Delhi contemporary has described this portent thus :

"Who are the Huks or Hukbalahaps who are giving President Quirino of the Philippines a major headache ?

In origin they are not unlike Aung San's A.F.P.F.L. (Anti-Fascist People's Freedom League) in Burma or the Anti-Japanese Army which formed itself under Chinese auspices in Malaya during the war. Aung San was able to purge the A.F.P.F.L. of Communist elements and keep it a nationalist organization. The Malayan Anti-Japanese Army changed into the Three-Star Movement shortly after the war and remained Red. It forms the backbone of the present rebellion in Malaya.

The Hukbalahaps were similarly an anti-Japanese People's Army formed in the Philippines during the war. They are composed mainly of poor, share-cropping peasants organized on Communist lines, and are confined to the rice and sugar producing areas of Central Luzon. In August, 1946 they claimed an army of 80,000 and a total membership of 150,000.

Their leader is Luis Taruc and in the Presidential elections of April 1946 they supported ex-President Osmena against Roxas. More recently the Hukbalahaps have changed their name to Hukbong Mapagpalaya Sa Bayan or National Liberation Forces."

### *New Ministerial Party in Indonesia*

With the inauguration of the unitary State in Indonesia on August 17 last, the anniversary of the setting up of the Republic Movement in 1945, the old Ministry headed by Dr. Mahommed Hatta resigned, and Mr. Mohammad Natsir, leader of the Masjoemi Party, the Muslim Party, was called on by President Soekarno to form a Ministry. It has taken the latter more than three weeks to carry out the commission given him, and he succeeded in his attempt on September 6 last.

We cannot say that we understood the party affiliations that have required this change-over. The setting-up of a Ministry with a distinctly communal name is a portent which we should watch.

We are told that Mr. Natsir's Ministry is "a multi-party Government," that the Muslim Party has only four representatives in it with the Prime Minister without any specific portfolio. A Djakarta news-item of September 7 describes the process of this Ministry-making, of the distribution of portfolios, of the new Premier's declaration of policy:

"It was Mohammad Natsir's second attempt to form a Government, and it was successful only after President Soekarno had changed his mandate to enable him to cut down party bargaining.

"The Sultan of Jogjakarta becomes Deputy Premier and is expected to be charged with the co-ordination of security. Mohammed Roem, at present Indonesian High Commissioner at the Hague, becomes Foreign Minister.

"Other appointments include that of the former Premier of the defunct Jogjakarta Government, Dr. Abdul Halim, Defence Minister, and former acting-President, Dr. Assaf as Minister for Home Affairs.

"There might be more Ministers without portfolio appointed possibly including one to handle New Guinea affairs.

"Five ministers are non-party men headed by Indonesian 'strong man' the Sultan of Jogjakarta. The Nationalist Party, left out of the Government, has forty-two seats in the Indonesian Parliament which consists of 243 members."

In Dr. Hatta's Cabinet there was a Hindu member, a Bali prince. He was Minister of the Interior, a most important post. Whether or not he has been included in the Natsir Cabinet, we do not know. Neither do we know why the Nationalist Party decided to go unrepresented in it. The news-item referred to above does not tell us more of the new Prime Minister than the following: "Mahommed Natsir, 42 years old, austere in appearance, has been a fighting Republican from the beginning of the Indonesian struggle for independence. He was twice Information Minister in previous Governments."

### *Australia's Place in the Pacific*

With the weakening of Britain's imperial position, Australia appears to think herself entitled to inherit the former's position in the Pacific region. We are sorry to notice that she has not begun well in her new adventure. She has started it with her support to Dutch claims to a West New Guinea renewed after her departure from Indonesia herself. As forming part of the Dutch empire in the 2,000 islands which form Indonesia, the Republic of Indonesia inherits by law the territories lately held by Holland. In the matter of West New Guinea, Indonesia contests this claim, and it is a matter of negotiation between the two States. Why Australia must butt in is incomprehensible.

Her External Affairs Minister, Mr. Percy Spender, told a Press Conference in London on September 4 last that Indonesian claims were "untenable." Because, "there were only 5,000 Indonesians in Dutch New Guinea. Racially the people were the same as those of Australian New Guinea, eastern half of the island, and not related to Indonesia."

"Nor was Dutch New Guinea geographically part of Indonesia but actually part of the continental group of which Australia was the base." One is tempted to ask how many Australians are there in East New Guinea, held under a mandate since the League of Nations' days?

In a recent issue of *The Modern Review*, we referred to an incipient rivalry developing in Australia to India in the vacuum created in South-East Asia. We have discounted the idea on behalf of India, basing our argument on the fact that we have our hands full with our own problems, and foreign adventures are not to our interests now.

They are anxious for a Pacific Pact also. India has expressed unwillingness to join it. But Mr. Spender believes that "the Commonwealth could and should form the basis of the pact. He hoped India would join, but even if she did not, he believed the Pact should be made and he hoped that India would see that it was in her interest to participate."

The initial step to this Pact was the Peace Treaty with Japan. On this point Mr. Spender was positive and his stand will have a wide support in Asia. "The sooner a Japanese treaty is brought about and the Japanese people know the nature of the obligations placed upon them, the better it will be for the stability of that area and the smaller will be the field of propaganda presented to Russia and those associated with her." But where is the difficulty? Is it in the Soviet Union's non-co-operative spirit or in the fears and doubts of the United States? Who will help remove these? Can Australia play the part of an honest broker?

### *Field-Marshal Jan Smuts*

The death of this elder statesman of the British Empire on his 80th year removes a historic figure from the world stage. He was a Boer general who fought against the British during the Boer War 50 years back. He fought, and after about 3 years accepted defeat. The British Government under Campbell-Bannerman as head of the Liberal Party made conditions easy for the defeated; self-government was almost immediately conceded; and this policy turned inveterate foes into friends. Smuts lived to symbolize this friendship. He personally attained an international status though his country is a small one.

But to non-whites—brown, yellow and black—the

majority population of the world, he represented a retrograde policy—the racist policy that Dr. Daniel Malan, the present Premier of South Africa, works with such brutal purpose. We have read that Smuts had a philosophy which was known as "holiness." But this did not stop him from saying to the late Srinivasa Sastri that "in Church and State there cannot be any equality between the white and the non-white," almost quoting words from the charter of the established Church of Transvaal.

### *An Ignoramus as Editor*

We do not have the *National Standard* of Bombay in Calcutta's newspaper-stalls; its editor, Mr. Frank Moracs, is unknown to us; neither can we claim acquaintance with his ideological inclinations and political affiliations. Therefore, when a friend sent us the following "cutting" from Bombay, we put it by. But this vulgarian installed into an editorial chair has perpetrated such a stupidity that his lucubration in the third anniversary number of *The Onlooker* could not be dismissed as the consequence of a bad liver. He is congenetically defective somewhere. He says:

"I thought of what the vain-glorious Dr. Tagore once said to a group of Indian students many years ago in Oxford, 'If Europe takes notice of you, it is because Europe respects me.' Pandit Nehru is incapable of these egotistic flights, but if South-East Asia respects us today, it is very largely because of our Prime Minister."

We shall like to know what Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru thinks of this officious compliment offered him.

### *Nari Siksha Samiti*

The 1949-50 report of this women's education association, started in 1919, is to hand. This association (294-3, Upper Circular Road, Calcutta) has been one of the pioneers of education among rural women in Bengal, the fruits of whose labour in the primary stage are being enjoyed today by the Government in West Bengal who have decided to take this branch under its direct charge. In the field of adult women's education in Bengal, the Nari Siksha Samiti can claim to be the pioneer since 1937; apart from literacy, the Samiti's teachers have been carrying on what has come to be known as "social education" in reference to women's special needs.

### NOTICE

On account of the Durga Puja Holidays, The Modern Review office and the Prabasi Press will remain closed from 16th to 28th October, both days included. All business accumulating during the period will be transacted after the holidays.

KEDAR NATH CHATTERJI,  
Editor



## WAS THE CONGRESS A CHILD OF RUSSO-PHOBIA?

By DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.,  
*University of Lucknow*

It is indeed curious that there is yet no satisfactory answer to the question as to why actually the Indian National Congress was founded in 1885. It would be wrong to assume that the Congress appeared as a sudden efflorescence. It would be equally misleading to assume, as many are inclined to assume, that the Congress was ushered in as a freedom movement. It is true that the Congress constituted a visible embodiment of the national awakening that came over India as a result of the impact of Western civilisation on Indian thought. It was thus in a way a fulfilment of the forces which British rule itself had set in motion. But, when one examines the various theories which have been advanced to explain the actual inception of the Congress, one finds that not one of them furnishes a convincing explanation. This creates the suspicion that the real object behind the foundation of the Congress could not be publicly acknowledged by its British promoter, Mr. A. O. Hume.

In the history of British rule in India, there occurs no greater paradox than the fact that the Congress which has successfully fought for India's independence for more than six decades owed its origin and initial progress to the enterprise of a British ex-Secretary to the Government of India in the Home and Revenue Departments, Mr. Hume. The considerations which impelled Mr. Hume and his co-adjutors are not clear. We have it on the authority of an ex-President of the Congress, Mr. W. C. Bonnerji, that Mr. Hume at first had intended to bring together leading Indian politicians once a year to discuss questions of social interest only. In other words, the Congress was intended to have been just a social conference. It is a pity that our historians have so far paid little attention to the considerations which forced Mr. Hume to transform the Congress into a political body. To average Englishmen in the last century, the idea of an all-Indian national organisation might well have sounded fantastic, if not positively dangerous. Yet, it is a fact that to a small group of farsighted Britishers the idea seemed desirable that Indian leaders should be organised for the benefit of England as much as of India.

There is no doubt about the fact that Mr. Hume was a liberal statesman and that he had little faith in the doctrine of "the whiteman's burden"—the gospel of the white bureaucracy to which he had

himself belonged. He was one of those rare "White Babus" who thought it essential in the interest of the British Empire itself to direct the Indian political aspirations into constitutional channels. But, it was certainly not India's freedom or home-rule to which Mr. Hume could have looked forward to. He and his collaborators sought in fact to strengthen rather than undermine the foundations of the British Empire. If they pleaded for reforms, they desired no snapping of the existing ties between England and India, but only asked for the loosening of those ties so as to make the connection both durable and popular.

An inquiry into the available evidence leads one to suppose that Mr. Hume's real originality lay not so much in the propounding of the idea of an Indian National Congress, for the Indian Association of Calcutta, founded in 1876, had already arranged for the Indian National Conference in 1883 at the instance of Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, but that his achievement was the by-passing of the aforesaid Indian National Conference and the formation of an admittedly loyalist organisation apart from, and independent of the existing body. It seemed, as if Mr. Hume was out to sabotage the Indian National Conference sponsored by "a dismissed Government servant," Mr. Surendranath Banerjea, and controlled by "Babus from Bengal." The student of Indian history is entitled to ask why a parallel body with an identical programme had to be brought into existence, even though the National Conference was going to hold an all-India session at Calcutta in the Christmas week of 1885—the same fateful week which saw the birth of the Congress at Bombay.

It is regrettable that not much contemporary evidence is available which might elucidate the inside story of the inception of the Congress. But, the scrappy details which may be gleaned from authoritative records give us some clues to the real motives of Mr. Hume, the father of the Congress and its first General Secretary. A study of this evidence serves to show that the Congress was founded in fact as a precautionary move against an apprehended Russian invasion of India. Mr. Hume and his friends were afraid that at a time when discontent was growing among the educated Indians through the activities of the Indian Association the rapid progress of the Russians in Central Asia might give rise to obvious complica-

tions. The steady advance of the Russians inspired the European mind all over India with open alarm so much so that in the eighties of the last century a Russian attack on India was supposed to be imminent. These fears were aggravated by the fact that much of Russia's conduct seemed unfriendly from the time of Lord Northbrooke onwards. In February, 1875, even the Secretary of State for India, Lord Salisbury, warned the Governor-General, Northbrooke :

"I agree with you in thinking that an immediate Russian advance upon India is a chimæra. But I am by no means sure that an attempt on their part to throw the Afghans upon us is so improbable."

It is well-known that it was the Russian intrigues in Kabul which upset the Governor-General, Lord Lytton, and finally led to the Second Afghan War. Lytton later admitted this in so many words :

"I affirm that the real and the only cause of the Afghan War was an intrigue of long duration between Sher Ali and the Russian authorities in Central Asia, an intrigue leading to an alliance between them for objects which, if successfully carried out, would have broken to pieces the Empire of British India."

The notorious Vernacular Press Act of Lord Lytton was an avowed attempt to gag the Indian press at a time when the safety of the Indian Empire was seriously threatened by the events in Central Asia. The Viceroy himself declared that the vernacular papers of Bengal had begun "to inculcate combination on the part of the native subjects for the purpose of putting an end to the British Raj." "Not content with misrepresenting the Government and maligning the character of the ruling race in every possible way and on every possible occasion," he alleged, "these mischievous scribblers have of late been preaching open sedition." The Afghan War itself evoked no enthusiasm among the educated Indians, and, on the contrary, occasioned strong criticisms in the Indian press on the score of financial strain the War imposed upon India, for it was well-known that the War cost the Indian tax-payer £21,000,000. The Indians' dislike to an anti-Russian policy was thus becoming a matter of deep concern to the watchful Britishers who realised the need for building up a strong home front in India through some loyalist organisation. If, therefore, Mr. Hume decided to sponsor the Congress movement, the object is intelligible indeed.

That mere repressive measures such as those that had been introduced by Lord Lytton could not create a loyal public opinion in India was emphasised by that liberal Viceroy, Lord Ripon, through his radical reformist policy. Ripon referred to the grave implications of Indian discontent in these significant words :

"A movement has begun which will advance with greater rapidity and force every year. Such a condition of affairs is one in which the task of government and specially despotic government, is beset with difficulties of no light kind; to move too fast is dangerous, but to lag behind is more dangerous still; and the problem is how to deal with this new-born spirit of progress so as to direct it into a right course and prevent it from becoming a source of serious political danger."

Ripon was more explicit when he warned the Secretary of State in these words :

". . . as the Russians approach our frontiers more nearly, they may try to stir up discontent and trouble by intrigues carried on within our dominions, and the real question, therefore, is how can such intrigue be best met and defeated."

Ripon's words indicate that the official mind in India was on the look-out for some means whereby Indian agitation could be directed "into a right course" and Russians might be prevented from fomenting intrigues in India. Bearing this in mind, one can readily infer why the Congress owed its birth to the initiative of Mr. Hume, and, what is still more interesting, to the secret encouragement of the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin. The Viceroy, it appears, had stipulated that his name in connection with the scheme of the Congress must not be made public. That is why the Viceroy's personal share in the scheme was not known for a long time. The matter received publicity for the first time in 1898 when the first President of the Congress, Mr. Bonnerji, pointedly referred to it in one of his published writings. There is a further corroboration of this matter in a published statement of Sir William Wedderburn, another ex-President. Thus, two Congress Presidents have borne testimony to the surprising fact that the Congress came into being at the instance of a British Viceroy. Evidently, the Congress was meant to be the long-awaited counterpoise to possible Russian intrigue in India. The growing indications of political discontent culminating in the country-wide propaganda started by Mr. Surendranath Banerjea and his Indian Association, and also the Ilbert Bill episode which stirred up bitter racial feelings in India convinced Mr. Hume and the Viceroys like Ripon and Dufferin that unless the Indian agitation was diverted to constitutional channels, there was the obvious danger that this might serve as a direct inducement to Russia in her ambitious designs. The potential conspirators and disloyalists could be prevented from becoming a tool of Russia, only if a pro-British Indian organisation was created with the support of the Indian public opinion.

It is worthy of note that Sir William Wedderburn later explicitly corroborated the fact that the foundation of the Congress was a move to safeguard India against the menace of Russian invasion. According

to him, the Russian authorities in Central Asia depended for success in all their schemes for the invasion of India "on a hoped-for rising of the native population." In the course of his presidential address at the fifth session of the Congress held at Bombay in 1889, Sir William Wedderburn made a statement which has so far escaped the attention of historians. This statement reveals that in 1885 when the Congress was founded in all haste, the Russians were planning or at least pretending to plan an attack in the hope that the Indians might rebel against the British Government. Wedderburn suggested that the birth of the Congress discouraged the Russian designs. It may be pointed out that he mentioned this to emphasise the utility of the Congress.

"In 1885," he said, "they (Russians) appear to have put this idea to the test by a pretended advance. Had this move been followed by any signs of sympathy, or even by an ominous silence of expectancy throughout India, Russia would have rejoiced, and we should have felt our position weakened. But India does not treat England's difficulty as her opportunity. On the contrary, there went up on all sides a patriotic cry calling on all to join with men and money, and make a common cause against the common foe."

As was expected by the sponsors, the Congress became in its early years a platform for anti-Russian and pro-British propaganda. A few instances of such propaganda may be cited here. The first President, Mr. Bonnerji, asserted in 1885 that there were "no more thoroughly loyal" well-wishers of the British Government than the Congress leaders. The second President, Mr. Naoroji warmly eulogised the character of British rule, and said in the course of his speech in 1886, "Let us speak out like men and proclaim that we are loyal to the backbone" (Cheers). The third President, Mr. Tyabji, went one step further and openly decried Russian designs on India. He warned the Congress session of 1887 that if India came under Russia, the people would have "nothing but a haughty and despotic government, whose chief glory would consist in vast military organisation, aggression upon our neighbours, and great military exploits." This remark was greeted with loud applause. The fourth President, Mr. Yule, likewise emphasised in 1888 the beneficent character of British rule and hoped for an enduring connection between "the two extreme branches of the Aryan race." The fifth President, Wedderburn, as has already been mentioned, went out of his way

to preach pro-British and anti-Russian sentiments. He cautioned his audience in 1889 not to exchange "the rule of England, the freest and the most enlightened country in the world, for that of Russia which is one of the most barbarous and retrograde." The sixth President Mr. Mehta, declared in 1890 :

"I have unbounded faith in the living and fertilising principles of English culture and English civilisation."

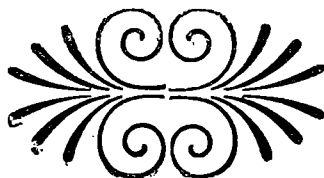
Another President, Mr. Surendranath Banerjee, declared with his usual oratorical flourish :

"I have heard of this Russian invasion since the days of my childhood. The Russians have not come. If they do come, they will find the multitudinous races and peoples of India united as one man ready to die for the Sovereign."

Mr. Sankaran Nair, the President for 1897, dilated on the blessings of British rule, and warned his listeners that if British rule ever declined, there would be "anarchy, war and rapine." He added significantly, "And we have Russia and France waiting for their opportunities."

These Presidential pronouncements would go to establish the fact that the Congress was originally intended to be a bulwark of British rule in India. The early leaders fulfilled this cherished expectation by making an ostentatious exhibition of their unswerving loyalty to the British Government. They avowed their faith in the British sense of justice in unequivocal terms, and even boasted that they were not secessionists. They repeatedly proclaimed year after year that they aimed at making the bonds between England and India "a blessing to themselves and the whole world." Such flamboyant expression of loyalty must have at times proved embarrassing to those for whom it was meant. It was clear, however, to all concerned that the Congress was ushered into existence to mobilise the public opinion in favour of the British connection, sing the praises of *Pax Britannica* and counteract the possibility of Russian intrigue in India.

Strange as it might seem, the old loyalist Congress worked up later to its own transformation, and, like the legendary Phoenix burnt itself into ashes in Mahatma Gandhi's non-co-operation movement whence to be re-born as the spearhead of India's freedom movement. The story of this transformation forms one of the most stirring chapters in Modern Indian History.





## SOME BEST REMEMBERED BOOKS

### A Haphazard Sketch

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"You only, O Books, are liberal and independent; you give to all who ask."

—RICHARD DE BURY.

THE first book that gripped my fancy was John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. I was then in my fourth form and our Bible teacher never failed to impress upon us the manifold beauties of that unforgettable allegory. There was no help for me, therefore, but to borrow a copy of it from the school-library and to set to work upon it in my spare hours. It instantly struck a chord in me and I followed the hero's nerve-racking adventures with breathless interest. I used to heave a profound sigh of relief whenever he came out unscathed from his hair-raising encounters with his adversaries; and it was positive delight to me when, at long last, his terrible "burden" dropped from his shoulders and the pearly gates of heaven swung wide open on their hinges to receive him. I have had many literary heroes, since then, but none so ennobling, I dare to say, as Bunyan's Christian. I read the book twice in quick succession; and though it would be idle for me to pretend that I remember much of it now I feel immensely proud of having grappled with one of the world's acknowledged masterpieces so early in my life.

#### SHAW ON BUNYAN

Then, rummaging in the library, I was beside myself with joy when I discovered another book by the same author, *The Resplendent City*, I think. I devoured that also with the same eagerness as the first. To this day I feel a warm interest in Bunyan; and it is a source of the most unalloyed gratification to me to reflect that in this I am in excellent company, indeed, as no less a person than the great G.B.S. himself shares my enthusiasm. Mr. Shaw adores Bunyan "this side idolatry"; and so do I. Bunyan's prose is markedly Biblical; but that held no terror for me, because I was familiar with the Holy Bible and its lovely cadences. His book firmly set me on the literary path that I was to tread thereafter; and though there have been many Sloughs of Despond and Valleys of the Shadow of Death in my career, just as in that of the valiant Christian himself, I have never felt the slightest remorse for continuing on the trail that Bunyan blazed before me.

#### THE GOOD SIR WALTER

At about that period I had a school-chum who was in the habit of boasting that he had read this novel of Sir Walter Scott and that; and, not being content with that boast, would actually produce before our envious eyes brand-new volumes in the Nelson's Classics Series. Our interest in Scott, let me interpolate, had been kindled by the fact that we had, at the time, as our English text, an abridged edition of *Ivanhoe*. My friend used to look down upon us because, according to his own testimony, he had finished the unabridged edition, and, appetite obviously growing by what it fed on, was fully determined, wind and weather permitting, to exhaust the whole unwieldy lot. This, of course, was too much for mere flesh and blood; and we vowed within ourselves that we would not lag behind him in that effort. Well, speaking for myself, I was as good as my word, reading, as I did, almost all the *Waverley* novels, including even *Peveril of the Peak*, which Robert Louis Stevenson confessed to having baffled him continuously, and which, in the end, he gave up as a bad job.

#### SCOTT'S REMARKABLE ELOQUENCE

I am not, let me submit, among those who take pride in scoffing at Scott's work. It is not everyone that has his matchless eloquence, what the ancients, I believe, used to call the *copia fandi*, the giving out of the full man because he was full. Nor can there be any two opinions about his extraordinary creative ability. Nevertheless, I must enter a respectful caveat against his over-indulgence in a certain kind of detail which is not only apt to weary us but has the additional disadvantage of impeding the movement of his narrative. His style of writing, to be quite candid, is definitely not *my* cup of coffee. I like a chaste, elegant diction, and Scott is verbose to a degree. Even his grammar is not always completely above reproach. *The secret of all good prose is the art of omission*, and Scott and Ruskin and Carlyle and De Quincey seem never to have even heard about it. The consequence is that they revel in sentences that, in the late Mr. G. K. Chesterton's memorable words, "lengthen

out like nightmare corridors, or rise higher and higher like impossible eastern Pagodas." The lesson that the inimitable R.L.S. inculcated to Edmund Gosse (himself, be it remembered, a stylist "to the manner born") is as true today as it ever was:

"Beware of purple passages . . . And in a style which (like yours) aims more and more successfully at the academic, one purple word is already too much; three—a whole page—is inadmissible. Wed yourself to a clean austerity: that is your forte. Wear a linen ephod, splendidly candid. Assemble its folds, but do not fasten it with any brooch. I swear to you, in your talking robes there should be no patch of adornment; and where the subject forces, let it force you no further than it must." (My italics.)

#### SCOTT AT HIS BEST

Scott, in my opinion, is at his best in his purely Scotch novels; and in *The Antiquary* and *The Heart of Midlothian* and *The Bride of Lammermoor* are to be found his peculiar virtues. *The Abbott* and *The Monastery*, however, are mere pot-boilers. My heart, unfortunately, does not warm towards historical fiction, nor am I (worse luck!) excessively partial to that kind of story-telling which, when all is said and done, is nothing but a record—a fascinating record, if you will, but just a record—of the adventures (breath-taking or otherwise) of the hero and the heroine. Naturally, therefore, *Ivanhoe* and *Quentin Durward*, to take but two examples, fell flat upon me.

#### CHARLES DICKENS

After that I began to tackle Dickens. Dickens was, by any standard, much more interesting than Scott, and, besides, he had the saving grace of wit and humour. I was extremely fortunate in that, by a curious combination of circumstances, the very first book of his that came my way was his universally acknowledged masterpiece, *David Copperfield*. In his Preface to it he himself confesses his preference for it over the rest of his novels and reveals also, with a twinge of remorse, how he took leave of the characters in it:

"It would concern the readers little, perhaps, to know how sorrowfully the pen is laid down at the end of a two-years' imaginative task: or how an author feels as if he were dismissing some portions of himself into the shadowy world, when a crowd of all the creatures of his brain are going from him for ever. Yet I had nothing else to tell, unless indeed I were to confess (which might be of less moment still) that no one can ever believe this narrative in the reading more than I believed it in the writing."

#### THE QUALITY OF EXUBERANCE

*David Copperfield*, as everyone is aware, is a chunk (and not an insignificant chunk at that) of his own autobiography. "Master Davy" is none other than

himself, and Wilkie Micawber is but a thinly-veiled caricature of his own ludicrous father. Micawber is a masterly creation and Dickens could have been sure of his niche in the temple of fame if he had contented himself with writing only that book and resting on his laurels. But he marched—or, rather, "leap-frogged"—from strength to strength and was responsible for many more lovely creations. If ever there was a "prolific" author it was himself: he was of the race of giants of Colossi who lord over lean earth. There was nothing that he touched that he did not adorn. One unmistakable quality of genius is that which is known as exuberance; and this Dickens had in plenty. We instinctively hug to our bosoms authors who have the superb fertility of Shakespeare and Victor Hugo, authors possessed of an infinity of riches, of wealth beyond the dreams of avarice, flinging their treasures abroad with the recklessness, if I may say so, of Omar's rose:

"Look to the blowing Rose about us—Lo,  
Laughing, she says, 'into the world I blow,  
At once the silken tassel of my Purse  
Tear, and its Treasure on the Garden throw'."

#### THOSE MYSTERY NOVELS

From *David Copperfield* I passed on, by another lucky chance, to the *Pickwick Papers* and it was as though a new planet had swum into my ken. And then there was no restraining me. The man who created Wilkie Micawber and Samuel Weller was, obviously, "a gem of purest ray serene," in his own chosen field, and, thereafter, whatever book of Dickens happened to fall into my hands I devoured eagerly. This is not, of course, to suggest that I liked them all equally. *The Tale of Two Cities* was definitely not to my taste, nor can I lay my hand upon my heart and say that I succeeded in unravelling the mystery that is at the core of *Little Dorrit*. I suffered from the same handicap as regards *Oliver Twist*. Either Dickens was not good at mystery stories, or I do not possess the knack of following them intelligently. But I had never any difficulty with the *Sherlock Holmes* volumes, so I suppose I must regretfully assign the blame to Dickens himself. The gods are notoriously jealous and they do not confer all the gifts on the same individual. I verily believe that, having seen to it that Dickens was a superb creator and humourist, they decided within themselves to call it a day so far as he was concerned.

#### DICKENS'S MAGNOPERATIVE POWER

I am, in my own way, a connoisseur of style, but I do not agree with those literary "exquisites" who deny, with more than a hint of superciliousness, that Dickens was an artist in words. But Dickens had not, in my judgment, just one style of writing; he was given to varying his mode with the occasion and, in

the process, mastered many different kinds of style. That is a point which many critics are in danger of overlooking. Without pretending that, as a stylist, Dickens is in the same class as William Hazlitt or Charlotte Brontë I yet maintain that his prose is definitely not to be sneezed at. I think it is at its best in his best book, *David Copperfield*. It is where it is at its simplest, with the fewest of frills and furbelows. Before closing this part of my article I may revert to Dickens's magnoperative power. In this he can claim kinship with Shakespeare himself. People are either born with this creative ability—on such a magnificent scale—or not; and though, as we have been assured, by taking thought we may contrive to add several cubits to our stature, we cannot, unfortunately, become creative artists by merely willing to become such. One has, or one has not, the "divine afflatus": that is the Law, and most of the Prophets, too.

#### G. K. C. ON DICKENS

G. K. C., as usual expresses the truth of this for all time in his inspired monograph on Dickens, with reference to that fool in a million, young Mr. Guppy of *Bleak House* fame:

"A man looking at a hippopotamus may sometimes be tempted to regard the hippopotamus as an enormous mistake: but he is also bound to confess that a fortunate inferiority prevents him personally from making such a mistake."

Well, one cannot, surely, improve on this! Continuing, Mr. Chesterton says:

"Not one of us could have invented Mr. Guppy. But even if we could have stolen Mr. Guppy from Dickens we have all to confront the fact that Dickens would have been able to invent another quite inconceivable character to take his place."

#### WILLIAM MAKEPEACE THACKERY

I have to confess, regretfully, that my Thackeray infatuation did not last long. Having read *Vanity Fair* and *Esmond* and *The Newcomes* and half of *Pendennis*—in that order—I had to bid good-bye to him. I much preferred his style to that of Dickens, but fate intervened before I could thoroughly master his novels, as someone snatched away my copy of *Pendennis* before I had finished it. The same misfortune befell me when I was halfway through Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina*. After that I had not the heart to begin over again. The only other Russian novelist that I tackled was the incomparable Dostoevsky. Arnold Bennett was firm in his conviction that Dostoevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov* is decidedly the greatest work of fiction in any language. Not having a tithe of his erudition I am not, naturally, in a position to lay down the law in this fashion. But having read that novel diligently from the first word to the last I am inclined to agree with the author of *The Old Wives' Tale*,

Dostoevsky's masterpiece is terrific. Walt Whitman, said of some book: "It is not a book: those who come to it come to a man." (I am repeating this from memory.) The same comment can be made about *The Brothers Karamazov*.

#### DOSTOEVSKY

The writer of it was a genius, if ever there was one. I know that that word has lost much of its original force: it has become a sort of rubbed coin. At present there is a general abuse of words. They do not stand singly for an idea, as the late Mr. Edmund Candler has noted somewhere, but have become clotted in the mosaic of a formula which may mean anything, but which generally does not mean anything at all. Genius is a very rare phenomenon: almost as rare as the flowering of the aloe, or the laying of the phoenix's egg. Dostoevsky was among the elect: he was terribly at ease in Zion. No novelist, I believe, ever analysed human motives as meticulously as he did: he was the cartographer of the emotions of man. His character-study of Ivan Karamazov is excelled only by that of Raskolnikov in his second greatest book, *Crime and Punishment*. Raskolnikov finds himself callously murdering an old woman for her bag of money; and the epic may be said to start from that point. There is a remorseless man-hunt for that crime, and until the last moment Raskolnikov manages to elude his hunters; but, ultimately, his own conscience gives him up. If ever a *denouement* was masterly it was this. Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* comes nearest to *Crime and Punishment*; but I am certain that Dostoevsky's two novels are much bigger than Hugo's *Les Misérables*, even with its penetrating studies of Jean Valjean and the Bishop.

#### ARNOLD BENNETT

I have mentioned Arnold Bennett's name in connection with Dostoevsky. I was once idly glancing at a railway-station bookshop when my eyes caught the name, *The Card*, on the dust-cover of a book. I bought it instantly and read it in the train at one stretch. That was my introduction to Arnold Bennett. I liked his sly humour and his staccato style and proceeded to his most celebrated novel, *The Old Wives' Tale*. Most of Bennett's books are nothing much, are mere pot-boilers; but three or four of them, including this, belong to quite a different category; and it is by them that his fame lives. I always preferred him to those eminent contemporaries of his, Wells and Galsworthy. But that other eminent contemporary of his, Joseph Conrad, was in a class by himself: he was head and shoulders above Bennett. Conrad's *Nostromo* took me to a wholly different world from that of Bennett's *Five Towns*; and *Nostromo*, the Pole's masterpiece, was breath-takingly wonderful. That exotic atmosphere was very much to



my taste. Then I switched over to his novels in a Malayan setting, like *Almayer's Folly* and *An Outcast of the Islands* and the most glorious of the series, *Lord Jim*.

JOSEPH CONRAD

Whenever Conrad takes me to the Straits of Malacca and the innumerable lagoons round about it I am all attention. No less important than Conrad's novels and short stories are his prefaces. As for his English I can say only that it is superb. We are told that he began to learn English after he was twenty-five. Before that he had been writing in French. His mastery over the English language was simply marvellous, Wells, Bennett, Galsworthy, and Conrad belonged to the same generation. I have no hesitation in saying that Conrad takes the top place among these. Curiously enough, it was to Galsworthy that Conrad owes his greatest debt, as it was he who detected his genius after a perusal of *Almayer's Folly* and encouraged him to proceed with his work. Next in the list amongst those who constantly cheered him on was Edward Garnett, whose assistance, at every stage, was invaluable.

G. B. S.

I came to Bernard Shaw later than many other people, but, once having come to him, I vowed allegiance to him till the last breath of my body. I have read all his plays and most of his prefaces; and, needless to say, I like the prefaces more. More vigorous prose one does not often come across now-a-days. But I am not a whole-hearted admirer of it, as I agree with the late C. E. Montague's criticism when he wrote:

"Mr. Shaw's writing, while it has no stupidities, has no beauties; the fairies seem to have made a very strict arrangement, before his birth, that the ones with force, lucidity, and mordancy to give away to new-born infants should all be there, and that all the ones with sensuous loveliness of any kind in their gift should stay away."

WILLIAM HAZLITT AND CHARLOTTE BRONTE

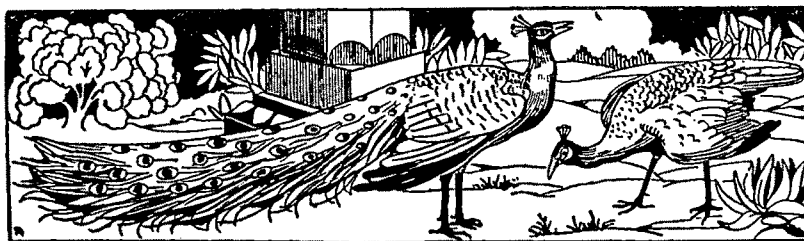
In conclusion I must confess that, in English poetry, I like Shakespeare and Wordsworth most and

that, in English prose, my partiality is for William Hazlitt and Charlotte Bronte. I agree with Stevenson when he says: "We are all mighty fine fellows, but we cannot write like William Hazlitt." If any young man comes to me and tells me that he admires Hazlitt very much I am certain that there is a glorious future for him. In Hazlitt one finds English prose at its very best: in his own chosen field there is no one to compete with him. Next to him comes Charlotte Bronte. What can ever be said about Charlotte Bronte that shall do the completest justice to her? I am also, like Rudyard Kipling, a "Janeite," and am ready to take up the cudgels in Jane Austen's behalf as against anyone else—*always excepting Charlotte*. Jane Austen's whole stock-in-trade was an almost unlimited capacity for specializing in what I am designate as storms in tea-cups. There never, perhaps, was a writer that revelled more in the delineation of the *minutiae* of life: give her, in social matters, an inch and she would take an ell.

A TERRIFIC HURRICANE

Not so with "Curren Bell." Her genius was less circumscribed. It required, for its satisfactory operation, *real* storms, storms the size of life itself. Her own spirit was a terrific hurricane, and as such could be at home only in a similarly bizarre emotional atmosphere. She might have justified herself in the celebrated phrase of Charles Lamb's: "I am made up of queer points and I want so many answering needles". Where Jane Austen was supremely content with the mere surface Charlotte knew no peace until she could delve beneath that surface to whatever lay below. Read her *Villette* and *Jane Eyre* and tell me whether this is not so. I am prepared to say of *Villette* that it is the grandest novel in the English language. As the late Mr. Maurice Baring has said in another connection: "It is the Pillars of Hercules of mortal achievement."

This is only, as I have indicated in my title, a rough and haphazard sketch; and it is my duty to remind my readers that though, according to the poet, heard melodies are sweet, those *unheard* may well be sweeter.



## FASTING IN SATYAGRAHA

By NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

FASTING has been looked upon as a form of coercion by various people. When Gandhiji fasted at the Aga Khan Palace, the Secretary of the Home Department described it as a form of political black-mail. On the other hand, Gandhiji insisted upon describing it as an integral part of Satyagraha, as a form of action which sprang from the depth of anguished love. Of course, there can be difference between fasting and fasting. The question is, what are the distinguishing features of a fast which is to be considered as a part of Satyagraha? Pandit Ramrakha, Jatin Das or Terence Macswiney went on hunger strike and they became martyrs in the end. Gandhiji went on a fast unto death in 1932 unless the wrong done by Hindus to the so-called untouchable castes was righted, and a suitable amendment consequently made in the Communal Award. This time, when Calcutta once more lapsed into madness on the 1st of September, he went on an indefinite fast which was to be broken only when he felt that Calcutta had returned to sanity. We have to find out what is the distinction between these two types of fasts.

I believe the difference lies in the intention. The aim of Pandit Ramrakha, Jatin Das or Terence Macswiney was not to convert their opponents. They were at war; they found themselves in prison under conditions in which life became unbearable for them. They did not wish to live in disgrace, but with honour even if they were in prison. And this fine sense of honour led them to lay down their lives when honour was at stake. The fast unto death of these brave men, whom their respective nations rightly honoured as martyrs, was a form of suicide with honour. It was the same thing as the *harakiri* of the Japanese nobles.

Gandhiji's three fasts, to which reference has been made were, however, of an entirely different order. The aim of the Satyagrahi is always to convert an opponent, not to coerce him. Last time, when Gandhiji went on fast in Calcutta, friends argued long with him that his fast, even if it were to lead to his death, would leave no impression on the anti-social elements who had been responsible for the latest flare-up. Gandhiji agreed that in Satyagraha a fast cannot be undertaken against one who considers the Satyagrahi as an enemy. Gandhiji said several times that he could not fast against the Muslims in Noakhali for redress of the wrongs which were being perpetrated upon the Hindus in that district. He could plead with them, plead with the Hindus also that safety only lay in the courage to die calmly; but fasting against the Muslims was out of question so long as he had not been able to prove to the Muslims that he was their friend, not their enemy. It was in order to gain that position in Noakhali that Gandhiji went to serve the Muslims in Bihar when they were oppressed in that Province. It

was for the same purpose that he befriended the Muslims in Calcutta, when after going through one year's misrule and anarchy, the Hindus turned aggressor and made a determined effort to oust the Muslims from the pockets in which they were still confined. This service, according to Gandhiji, gave him the right to fast, if necessary, against the Muslims if and when they went on a mad career. It is thus that Gandhiji's many activities in life become interlaced with one another.

During the last Calcutta Fast in September 1947 when Gandhiji clearly admitted that his fast might have little or no effect upon the turbulent elements in society, someone asked him, what then was the object of his fast? He explained that it was directed against his friends, whether Hindu or Muslim, in order to rouse them to sufficient activity. The good element in society was lying dormant. By its inaction, it was practically co-operating with the forces which were evil and which were playing havoc with the lives of the people. The good had to assert itself and clearly demonstrate that it was non-co-operating with evil. If this non-co-operation was sincere and active, the evil elements would find themselves isolated; and the purpose of the fast would be achieved.

The question however remained, if the forces of good asserted themselves only now and then, *e.g.*, when a precious life like Gandhiji's was in danger, would it be worthwhile sacrificing his life for such a temporary gain? Gandhiji promptly replied that if such spasmodic goodness was all that could be evoked in the world round him by means of the fast, then he would prefer not to live but to die. Perhaps after his death, those who had come in intimate contact with him would now become active, vigilant and continuously so. Its purpose would be served because the good in society would have then shed its present sluggishness and been roused to sufficient activity. The object of the Satyagrahi which was to convert would have been fulfilled in one way. But so far as the evil elements were concerned, they would be isolated and would die through lack of co-operation of the rest of society. Some of the evil-doers might be converted, others might not; but all would certainly change their front even if there was no change of heart. All this would be brought about, not by infliction of suffering on the evil-doer, but by suffering limited to the Satyagrahi himself.

It is this intention of converting or stimulating a friend to redoubled activity which creates the distinction between the fast of a Satyagrahi and the *harakiri* which have made the names of Pandit Ramrakha, Jatin Das or Macswiney immortal. One belongs to the world of Satyagraha while the other belongs to another world, though intensely brave and romantic.

# THE ROLE OF COTTAGE INDUSTRIES IN INDIAN ECONOMY

BY PROF. S. L. DOSHI, M.A.

THE cold wind of economic reality is blowing in India. Our sterling balances are being exhausted day by day. The coming in of foreign capital is a big question mark. What are the overall objectives of the Government's economic policy? These are the questions that are in the minds of thinking people to-day. Leading as we do to-day a hand to mouth existence which just enables us to scrape through, the question itself may appear somewhat irrelevant, but, though there is very little that we can do about at the moment, our day-to-day actions will lack motive force unless we have at least some sort of an idea of the state of society we want to set up. Now that a National Planning Commission has been set up, this becomes all the more necessary as the allotment of priorities must depend a great deal on the objectives to be realised. Taking all our material and man-power resources as they are to-day and the extent of unemployment and under-employment existing in the country, a solution can come only by way of the decentralised industrial system functioning through cottage and small-scale industries. Gandhiji with his practical insight into the economic problems of the masses of our people, was convinced that economic uplift could come to them only by way of small-scale rural industries and not through centralised large-scale production.

The phrase 'Cottage Industry' has been defined by various writers and committees differently. The cottage industries were first defined by the Industrial Commission,

"as industries carried on in the home of workers, where the scale of operation is small, and there is but little organisation, so that they are, as a rule, capable of supplying only local needs."

It appears that the Industrial Commission described the conditions as they existed rather than defined the term itself. The U.P. Industrial Organisation Committee, while discussing the scope of cottage industries did not agree with the above definition. They explained cottage industries as those 'in which work is done, generally speaking in the homes of artisans, and occasionally in small factories run by small industrialists of the entrepreneur type, power-driven machinery being rarely used.'

The question again came before the Committee constituted in Bombay presided over by the well-known industrialist Sir Purshottamdas Thakurdas. The report defined Cottage Industries as follows :

"Cottage Industries are industries where no power is used and the manufacture is carried on, generally speaking, in the home of the artisan himself and occasionally in small *karkhanas* where not more than 9 workers are employed."

All these definitions suffer from ambiguity. There are certain controversial points in each.

For example, the definition propounded by the Indus-

trial Commission is not comprehensive enough as it assumes that the organisation is insufficient and marked, as a rule, local. There are cottage industries, the markets for the products of which extend far beyond the locality in which they are established. Another controversial point is whether power should be used or not. A correct definition of Cottage Industries should only be based on the realisation of our economic life. In the beginning the conception was that cottage industries must be carried on in the place where the workers lived or in their cottages without any outside help. As a matter of fact, this was the first conception of all industries in the beginning. This was one of the first stages in the industrial development. We are living in an age when things have changed considerably. It is not at all necessary now that workers must work in their cottages only. There are some industries which can not be easily carried on in cottages where the workers live. Tanning of leather is an example.

The use of power is another important controversial point. Everybody agrees that the use of better tools is a necessity to improve production and if that is so, new tools or complicated machinery will have to be utilised by the cottage worker and in most of the cases they may not be worked by manual labour at all. Electricity is a boon to humanity and when India reaches a stage in which electricity would be easily available at cheap rates in the villages, it should certainly be utilised by the cottage workers as well. In almost all Western countries power is used very freely in all cottage industries.

The National Planning Committee agreed on a definition which runs as follows :

"A small-scale or cottage industry is an enterprise or series of operations carried on by a workman skilled in the craft on his own responsibility, the finished product of which he markets himself. He works his own house with his own tools and material and provides his own labour or at most labour of such members of his family as are liable to assist. The workers work mostly by hand labour and personal skill, with little or no aid from modern power-driven machinery and in accordance with traditional technique—such supplementary energy as is provided by animal power may add to the economy and efficiency of the industry. He works finally for a market in the immediate neighbourhood that is to say in response to known demand with reference to quality as well as quantity."

But as already mentioned, it is not necessary that a cottage industry should possess all these attributes, as it is not necessary that labourers other than the members of the family should not help. But the necessity is that there should be no element of wage-slavery in the additional labour employed. Secondly, a large output is no barrier to a small-scale industry; so long as there is an actual demand



of unknown customers, the industry will continue to be a cottage industry. Thirdly, the machinery used should not render that industry a mass-producing one of standardised goods.

#### COTTAGE INDUSTRIES IN THE PAST

There is ample evidence to prove that Babylon traded with India in 3000 B.C. and the arts and crafts were in a high state of proficiency two thousand years ago. According to the Indian Industrial Commission :

"At a time when the West of Europe, the birth-place of modern civilisation, was inhabited by uncivilised tribes, India was famous for the wealth of her rulers and the high artistic skill of her craftsmen. And even at a later period when the merchant adventurers from the West made their first appearance in India, the Industrial development in this country was at any rate not inferior to that of more advanced European nations."

The fact that Egyptian mummies of two or three thousand years are found embalmed in Indian silk proves the high skill of the craftsman in the past. In this connection we may quote an eminent writer. In manufacture India attained the marvellous perfection at a very early period and the courts of Imperial Rome glittered with the gold and silver brocades of Delhi. The muslins of Dacca were famous ages ago, throughout the civilised world. Textile fabrics of inimitable fineness, tapestries glittering with gold and gems, rich embroideries and brocades, carpets wonderful for the most exquisite harmony of colours, enamel of most brilliant hues, furniture most elaborately carved, swords of curious forms and excellent temper are among the objects that prove the perfection of art in India. In the words of Sir William Hunter :

"The industrial genius of her inhabitants, even more than her natural wealth and her extensive seaboard, distinguished her from other Asiatic lands."

So also M. Martin in his *Indian Empire* says :

"The gossamer muslins of Dacca, the beautiful shawls of Kashmir and the brocaded silks of Delhi adorned the proudest beauty at the court of Caesars when the barbarians of Britain were painted as savages. Embossed and filigree metals, elaborate carvings in ivory, ebony and sandalwood, brilliant dyed chintzes, diamonds, uniquely set pearls and precious stones, embroidered velvets and carpets, excellent porcelain and perfect naval architecture, were for ages the admiration of the civilised mankind, and before London was known in history, India was the richest trading mart on earth."

Megasthenes writes :

"They love finery and ornament. Their robes are worked in gold and ornamented with precious stones and they wear also flowered garments made of the finest muslin."

The products of cottage industries were so famous that it is said that the Roman trade in Indian luxuries reached its zenith in the reign of Nero causing an enormous drain upon Roman finance. Pliny (79 A.D.) complains :

"In no one year does India drain our empire of less than 550 million sesterces (80 lakhs of rupees) giving back her own wares in exchange which are sold among us at freely one hundred times their cost price."

By far the most important factor working for our industrial decay was the advent of machine-made goods following the Industrial Revolution in England. The introduction of steam as a new force in human economy, with its inevitable reaction on transport, on the metal industries, on the textiles and on the chemical industries, entirely transformed the industrial output. In the face of the competition of machine-made goods which came on them with the suddenness of a catastrophe (for the Industrial Revolution had been a fortuitous accident) the Indian artisans lacking the means as well as opportunities to adjust themselves to the new order were entirely swept off their feet.

Moreover, the direct consequence of the railway was the destruction of indigenous industries facilitating the carriage of imported goods into the remotest corners. The onslaught of British industries was so great that most of the industries could not compete with the factories and had to give way to the British machine-made goods. Unfortunately, the Government was also indifferent and adopted an attitude of direct apathy towards them.

The patronage and the honour given to these artisans by royal courts were no more existent. This resulted in a complete cessation of the main demand for the products of the indigenous handicrafts.

Lastly, the unpreparedness and absence of any initiative among the artisans to adapt to the changing circumstances and to combine against the corroding influence of the Western industrialisation, led to the extinction of the cottage industries. The result was that by the middle of the last century India found herself reduced to the position of an almost exclusively agricultural country.

It is a well-known fact that the Indian cultivator is unoccupied anywhere from four to six months in a year excepting in places where he has undertaken the cultivation of wet crops or where he grows more than one crop from the same soil in a year, and the cultivator's women-folk are unoccupied for even a longer part of the year. This period of agricultural unemployment or under-employment varies from one part of the country to the other. Thus according to P. J. Thomas and Mr. K. C. Ram Krishnan :

"As a general rule single crop cultivators have little or no work on land for three months in the year at a stretch."

"On the average," says the Report of the Land Revenue Commission of Bengal, "the Madras cultivator sits idle for six months in the year. The position is the same in Bengal and is even worse in districts where practically no crops are grown except aman paddy."

According to Dr. R. K. Mukerjee, the peasant in North India, outside the more intensively cultivated

areas, is occupied for not more than 200 days. Dr. Slater has computed that taking South India as a whole the cultivator is occupied only for 5/12 of his possible working time. Again according to Keatings, there are only 180 to 190 working days in Bombay, Deccan, whereas according to Calvert the working days of an average cultivator in the Punjab do not constitute more than about 150 days full labour. The U.P. Banking Enquiry Committee estimated that the cultivator is engaged for not more than 200 days. Most of his spare time is spent in idle gossip, litigation and marriage and songs.

This state of chronic under-employment, one of the main causes of the low standard of life in India, can be remedied by the development of subsidiary rural industries which will enable the peasant to earn something in his spare time. The peasant cannot keep out of debt unless he is exceptionally industrious and frugal or has a "second string to his bow."

"The English small-holder," says Mr. Cutler, "without any by-industry has hitherto only been able to keep his head above water by a life which may be called one of incessant toil and frequent privations."

In Japan, where 90 per cent of the cultivators live in less than 8 acres, more than one-third of the farming population keep themselves afloat by the rearing of silkworms. In Italy and France sericulture plays a similar part as also does the making of toys in Germany and Russia.

A vast mass of people, especially those resident in the rural areas, are unable to procure a sufficiency of food, clothing, housing and other bare requirements of a healthy, efficient and decent living; and a large portion of them are in a state of constant want, semi-starvation, enforced idleness and economic insecurity. The following means of improving the economic conditions of the rural masses, such as improvement of agriculture, extension of irrigation and other means of extensive cultivation, provision of public utilities and social services in rural areas such as medical and educational facilities, transport service, water supply, and State programme of providing roads, irrigation facilities and other forms of capital equipment, will, if vigorously pursued, lead to a considerable amelioration in rural conditions. These measures will take time to materialise. The revival and expansion of old and the introduction of new cottage and rural industries will be an important and indispensable means of rehabilitating the villages and providing adequate and suitable employment to the people in the villages and ensuring to them a satisfactory level of income and resources.

The importance of cottage and rural industries arises from the various advantages which they possess, viz.:

1. Employment in the natural setting of the workers' own place of habitation combined with numerous physical, moral, material and other benefits that go with such employment.

2. Finding means of livelihood for a larger number of persons.

3. Offering opportunities for profitable employment and the development of inherent talent and aptitude in occupation which should be congenial to them.

4. The comparatively lower cost of living for a similar standard in rural areas than in urban areas.

5. The increased employment in the rural areas leading to the increase of purchasing power which is confined to urban areas at present.

#### THE COTTAGE INDUSTRIES IN SOME COUNTRIES OF THE WEST AND IN INDIA

Though there is a difference of opinion as regards the success and the future prospect of the small-scale industries in India, yet a review of the present position of the small-scale industries in various parts of the world leads one to think that they form an organic and inseparable part of the economic structure of every country and they are flourishing side by side with large industries in most industrially developed countries of the world. In this the experience of Great Britain, Germany and Japan would be a valuable guide. When Japan entered into the markets of the world she brought about a new orientation of manufacture on a different scale. The Japanese divided the entire scope of industries into two clear-cut divisions: one consisted of those industries which could not be done on a small scale and for which big plants, buildings and organised labour were needed, the second consisted of those organisations which could be worked on a small scale. They studied the engineering principles adopted in the manufacture of complicated machinery and tried to make small but effective working models so that the unit of manufacture may become simple. In this way the work of big factories working in different parts of the world, was split up into numerous small machine workshops in cottages. Development of cottage and small-scale industries on scientific lines placed Japan in the forefront of industrial nations. When Europe and America were mechanising industries, depending more on machinery than human hands, Japan realised the potentiality of the machine and reorganised the social and economic structure of her villages. She made her village "the nerve-centre of industrialisation." Before the last war began Japan had become a menace to every country in the sale of cheaper goods. Big factories everywhere were not only challenged but successfully vanquished through mass production on these lines in Japan.

Speaking of the industries of Switzerland Mr. Tressler says: "There fully one-third of the industrial population is engaged in cottage industries." Besides, statistics show that in England in the majority of trades, the number of persons employed per establishment commonly falls below twenty. In America 61 per cent of all establishments employ fewer than six

operatives. In Germany 90 per cent of the industrial establishment are small-scaled. In Belgium 90 per cent of the establishment employ less than five employees.

#### NEED FOR DECENTRALISATION

Strategic reasons apart, the structure of Indian economy is most conducive to a scattering of small industries. This is more so in the context of a rapidly growing grid system and vast development of hydro-electric projects all over the country.

Speaking of Lancashire, Green in his *Rural Industries in England* says :

"It would be a great boon if in bad weather and winter the agriculturists had something to do in their homes of a remunerative character as in the days past."

In Italy it is said that peasant women of every district where mulberry trees can be grown are fully occupied with spinning. In India the need for subsidiary industries for the peasant is even greater than in other parts of the world.

#### WHICH INDUSTRIES SHOULD BE DEVELOPED ?

The problem in India is to find out such rural and cottage industries as can be undertaken by the ryot profitably without any encroachment upon his husbandry and can be performed by his own unskilled manual labour and that of his family with the help of meagre capital that he possesses, and thus to restore the balance in his otherwise precarious and weak economic position. Their revival will mean an extra income to the cultivator, increase in Government revenue, maintenance and improvement in the standard of old manual craftsmanship, improvement in the quality of the rural artisanship and establishment of contact between rural and urban areas and in general will lead to social contentment on which alone the economic and political structure of the State can be securely based. There are innumerable industries which can be developed as subsidiary occupations for the agriculturists.\*

The National Planning Committee have recommended the revival and development of the following industries :

#### AGRICULTURAL INDUSTRIES

(1) Husking of paddy and pulses; (2) Grinding of wheat and other cereals; (3) Oil pressing or crushing of oil seeds; (4) Gur and sugar making; (5) Confectionery and sweet making; (6) Preservation of fruits, vegetables and preparation of pickles, Chutnies, Jam, Achar, etc.; (7) Tobacco curing; (8) Manufacture of Hookah, Tobacco and Snuff, Zarda, Sukha and Bidi and Cigar making; (9) a. Dairy farming; b. Rearing of Livestock; c. Poultry farming; d. Bee keeping and honey collection.

#### TEXTILES INDUSTRIES

(1) Cotton ginning; (2) Cotton spinning; (3) Hand-weaving of cloth, Newar and Durries out of milk

yarn; (4) Sericulture; (a) Eri rearing and spinning; (b) Tassar rearing; (5) Wool shearing, spinning and blanket and rug weaving; (6) Rope-making; (7) Mats and matings; (8) Weaving of palm leaf or bamboo mats and fans; (9) Calico printing and dyeing of cotton and silk cloth; (10) Tailoring, needle work and knitting; (11) Hat, cap, turban and shoe-lace making.

#### WOOD WORKING INDUSTRIES

(1) Sawing, (2) Village carpentry, (3) Furniture and cabinet making, (4) Moonda and cane chair making, (5) Making of cart and cart wheels, (6) Making of combs, toys, clogs and hooks, Taklis, flutes and other miscellaneous articles.

#### METAL INDUSTRIES

(1) Extraction of metals from ores, (2) Village smithy, (3) Cutlery, (4) Electroplating, (5) Manufacture of trunks, boxes, safes locks and steel furniture, (6) Brass and bellmetal work, (7) Wire drawing and manufacture of Salma and gold and silver leaves, (8) Making of cheap ornaments and utensils of alloys.

#### LEATHER AND ALLIED INDUSTRIES

(1) Tanning, (2) Manufacture of foot wear, (3) Manufacture of fat and manure from dead animals, (4) Bone crushing horn work, (5) Glue and gutts making.

#### CERAMIC INDUSTRIES

(1) Village pottery, (2) Brick and tile manufacture, (3) Manufacture of glass bangles, (4) Manufacture of stone ware and porcelain articles, (5) Washing of china clay, soft and hard stone and slate industries, (6) Manufacture of lime.

#### CHEMICAL INDUSTRIES

(1) Lac manufacture, (2) Making of lac bangles, (3) Manufacture of dyes, inks, paints and varnishes, (4) Manufacturing and refining of saltpetre, (4) Soap making, (6) Manufacture of toilet requisites, (7) Manufacture of indigenous drugs and medicines.

#### MISCELLANEOUS INDUSTRIES

(1) Printing and book binding, (2) Making of Taklis and tinsel articles, (3) Making of musical instruments, (4) silvering of glass, (5) Button making, (6) Paper making, (7) Manufacture of charcoal.

#### FISHING AND PISCICULTURE

(1) Fish oil extracting, (2) Fish manure making, (3) Isingglass and gelatine making.

#### THE PRESENT CONDITIONS OF COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

The cottage and rural industries are at present labouring under serious handicaps, the chief of which are those relating to finance, marketing and organisation. The Bombay Industrial and Economic Committee Report divides under six heads the handicaps under which cottage and small-scale industries suffer, viz., (1) raw materials, (2) technique of manufacture, (3) finance, (4) marketing, (5) taxation, (6) other difficulties.

The problem of the supply of raw materials is not so very difficult in so far as these industries are worked as supplementary occupations for the agriculturists in off-

\* National Planning Committee Report : *Rural and Cottage Industries*, pp. 167-68.



season, but it becomes complicated wherever a large-scale industry competes for the same raw material which the cottage industry uses. The former is in a position to offer and take large quantities at a time. The supply available for the small-scale producer is thus of the leftovers necessarily poor both in quality and quantity. For example, hand spinning and weaving is a very important industry of ours. Because the weavers cannot combine, the yarn supplied to them is usually less in weight, less in length and inferior in quality. Instances from different industries can be multiplied to show that the small man has not only to pay higher rates for his raw materials but does not get it in unadulterated form.

Another difficulty is of equipment and technique of production. The tools, implements and equipment as well as the technique of production are obstacles, and the production is uneconomic in comparison with factory work. Science has so far played very little part in improving the implements of the cottage workers. Whenever a new method of manufacture is evolved the cottage worker is hit hard. Nature does not want to keep alive those who do not move forward. Some of our old workers and industries have already disappeared and others are disappearing. Dyers have almost disappeared, the oil man is living in a precarious condition. It is only in textile trade that a good many old workers still survive.

The most important problem for a cottage worker is that of finance. Banks do not give him credit. Philanthropists do not help him. He is therefore always driven to take advances from such dealers who besides charging a very high rate of interest supply the raw material at high prices and force him to sell his goods to them at a considerably lower rate than the current market rate. Thus at every step he is cheated. For this purpose co-operative banks should be established which should give loans more liberally and should look after the purchase of raw materials, the sale of finished products and the supply of implements, tools and improved machinery. The Central Government should also lend a helping hand by allocating a substantial sum through the Provincial Government for financing small and cottage industries as regards supply and purchase system, and also furnish patterns, ideas and designs to village artisans.

Cottage industries also have great difficulties in marketing their finished products. Lack of suitable marketing organisation and mutual co-operation, lack of longer staying power due to extreme poverty and isolation lead easily to the exploitation by the middleman. It is necessary that all the Provincial Governments should assist these industries by propaganda, research, demonstrations and technical assistance through organised exhibitions and fairs. Dr. R. K. Mukerjee has recommended the formation of a central buying and trading organisation which could be utilised for working out a constructive policy of commercial and technical information and guidance without which industries will remain unrelated to the exact nature of demand or the cost of production abroad. The Arts and Crafts Emporiums at

Lucknow and Lahore, the Swadeshi Stores at Bombay, the Commercial Museum run by the Calcutta Corporation and the Industrial Museum run by the Department of Industries, Bengal, held to advertise the indigenous industries. Yet more emporiums and sales depots should be opened. Further, a central intelligence agency should be established with a view to advise on the improvement and reconstruction of processes of village industries, to introduce and apply modern mechanical implements and tools, to experiment and introduce improved designs and to collect and diffuse information on commercial subjects like market intelligence, foreign competition and methods of organisation and propaganda. The Central and Provincial Banking Committees have recommended the establishment of licenced warehouses and co-operative wholesale depots for the storing and selling of products of cottage industries. Co-operative purchase and sale societies should also be instituted in larger numbers for supplying raw materials and tools and for disposal of finished products. Co-operative sale societies in India seem to belie this expectation. In the first place, considering the poverty and small resource of the workers co-operation in marketing and financing of industrial products has not progressed to any extent. Secondly, the societies that were organised have not worked satisfactorily enough to warrant the conclusion that co-operation among cottage workers has struck root. Nevertheless efforts must be made in this respect.

As regards cottage industries the Bombay Industrial and Economic Inquiry Commission recommends the organisation of workers into associations to secure them the benefits of large-scale organisation. But this kind of organisation, we are convinced, cannot be expected to spring spontaneously out of the endeavours of the artisan classes due to their ignorance, illiteracy, conservative outlook and the grip of the middlemen over them. According to the Report, State help and initiatives of substantial type over long period are absolutely necessary and the Commission also feels that State management is also necessary. It also recommends the formation of a provincial cottage industries research institute, the formulation and execution of a stores purchase policy with a cottage bias, the holding of periodical exhibitions and creation of permanent museums for these industries.

The cottage workers have no idea of the recent improvements in the art of technique of production for they are ill-equipped with necessary information about them. It is therefore necessary that the Provincial Government should organise technical training and education by starting technical schools in all industrial and artistic centres, by giving an industrial bias to the primary and secondary education. Besides the opening up of technical institutions, it is necessary that the State-aided demonstration and handloom factories should be set up to train intelligent artisans. Introduction of new patterns and designs, invention and introduction of efficient tools and implements and research should be carried on by experi-

mental factories and industrial institutes set up by Governments.

Co-operation can play a very important part here. The entire sector of cottage industry can well be permeated by co-operative ideals and practice. This is the only way for the attainment of a higher and ascending level of rural prosperity. On a basis of co-operative and regional control of industry, we shall work through the upliftment of the village population to a solution of the problem of modern industrialism.

Co-operation can help the cottage industry in three ways : (a) by providing cheap capital, (b) by helping them in the purchase of raw materials, (c) by finding means for the sale of finished goods. As regards capital in Europe :

"In spite of the relatively inferior position of the small artisans in the modern industrial world of the West, the aid which co-operative societies are still rendering to independent artisans in different countries is remarkable."

As for the purchase of raw materials and the sale of finished goods, Prof. Gide remarks :

"Co-operative association societies for the purchase of raw materials or for the sale of finished goods, or societies of mutual credit sided by mechani-

cal inventions, will permit a new form of industrial enterprise capable of resisting successfully the encroachment of large industries."

#### CONCLUSION

A small or cottage industry owned, managed and worked by the craftsman himself with his own tools, technique and labour in his own home, has thus a definite place in our national economy, if only a proper scientific plan for a number of years is prepared and put into execution.

The industrial development of our country must be co-ordinated with rural cottage industries so that the purchasing power of the vast mass of the rural population should be increased who are unemployed or under-employed. It is paramount that gainful employment must be provided to idle manpower in the rural sector. Large-scale industries can never provide adequate employment for them all. The solution lies in the reorganisation of rural economy by a vigorous development of small-scale cottage industries with and without power. The industrialisation of rural India by the process of dispersal of industries is an urgent necessity, for the economic salvation of our teeming millions depends on the development of rural and cottage industries.

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## SRI AUROBINDO A Study in His Philosophy

By DR. S. C. CHATTERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.,  
*Calcutta University*

SRI AUROBINDO is one of those great Indian saints who have maintained the continuity of Indian culture through the ages. The foundation of this culture was laid in the Vedas and the Upanishads. Since then, there is an unbroken succession of different teachers and religious leaders at different times and places in this ancient land of ours. They have infused new life into the body of Indian culture and saved it from the attacks of rival cultures by expanding and enlarging it, so that it might assimilate the best in them or absorb them altogether. There were certain periods of Indian history which presented a crisis in Indian culture and threatened it with disruption and disintegration. But Providence has so ordained it that at every such juncture, one or more of India's great teachers and reformers have sprung up and met the challenge effectively. The result is that although there have been ebb and tide, rise and fall in the stream of India's cultural life, it has maintained an unbroken continuity from the hoary past to the living present. Sri Aurobindo's present life and philosophy constitute

a golden link in the chain that connects the past with the present in our cultural life.

The culture of a country is mainly constituted by its philosophy. In truth, the philosophy of a country is the cream of its culture and civilisation. It springs from ideas that prevail in its atmosphere and bears its unconscious stamp. In the different systems of Indian philosophy we can thus discern the common stamp of an Indian culture. We may describe this fundamental unity of the Indian systems of philosophy as the unity of moral and spiritual outlook. These systems are inspired by the faith in "an eternal moral order," barring, of course, the solitary exception of the materialistic philosophy of the Charvakas. This faith in a moral order of the world—a law that makes for regularity and righteousness—pervades the poetic imagination of the Vedic seers as well as the philosophic thought of the post-Vedic thinkers.

Another common character of the Indian systems is the presence of a practical motive. In India, philosophy was never divorced from life. It is culti-

vated not so much for the satisfaction of intellectual curiosity as for the guidance of life in order that one may lead an enlightened life in the world and attain one's highest goal.

According to almost all the Indian systems, the highest goal of man's life is liberation from bondage to the flesh. Man in his real nature is the immaculate spirit, free from greed and lust, passions and impulses, sins and sufferings. If in his worldly life he seems to have lost his pristine glory and become mean and miserable, it is both his birth-right and divine destiny to regain his soul and realise the freedom that is his and, as spirit, he really is.

The root cause of man's bondage and consequent sufferings is according to the ancient Indian thinkers, his ignorance of reality. Liberation from these must, therefore, come from knowledge of reality, *i.e.*, of the self within and the world outside. But while knowledge was regarded as essential, the Indian thinkers never believed that a mere intellectual understanding of the truth was sufficient for liberation. On the other hand, they insisted upon the practice of continued meditation with perfect self-control, *i.e.*, *yoga*, for the realisation of philosophic truths. It is the realisation of truth through calm contemplation and deep concentration that leads to liberation. Hence the necessity of the practice of *yoga* for the attainment of philosophical wisdom.

Sri Aurobindo's philosophy reaffirms the spirit of Indian culture and reorients it in the light of modern thought. It is the philosophy of the original Vedanta that he teaches to the world by following the method of *yaugic* intuition, but with the additional support of modern science and philosophy.

Sri Aurobindo starts with the conception of an omnipresent Reality of which neither the Non-Being at the one end nor the universe at the other are negations that annul; they are rather different states of the Reality. This omnipresent reality is the truth of all life and existence whether absolute or relative, whether corporeal or incorporeal, whether animate or inanimate, whether intelligent or unintelligent. The Reality is one in all its infinitely varying and even conflicting self-expressions. From that all variations begin, in that all variations consist, to that all variations return. This omnipresent Reality is the Brahman, not an omnipresent cause of persistent illusions. Brahman is the Alpha and the Omega of all existence. Brahman is the One besides whom there is nothing else existent. In it all affirmations are denied only to lead to a wider affirmation, and all antinomies confront each other in order to recognise one Truth in their opposed aspects and embrace by the way of conflict their mutual Unity. This, Sri Aurobindo thinks, is 'the real Monism, the true Advaita which admits all things as the one Brahman and does not

seek to bisect Its existence into two incompatible entities, an eternal Truth and an eternal Falsehood, Brahman and not-Brahman, self and not-self, a real Self and an unreal, yet perpetual Maya.' The highest experience of the omnipresent Reality in the universe shows it to be not only a conscious Existence, but a supreme Intelligence and Force and a self-existent Bliss; and beyond the universe it is still some other unknowable existence, some utter and ineffable Bliss.

When we look at the world around us in a calm and dispassionate spirit, what we observe is a boundless energy of infinite existence and infinite movement pouring itself out in infinite Space and unlimited Time. Modern science and some modern Western thinkers like Samuel Alexander assure us that the universe is a play of this infinite energy and movement. But what is this All, this infinite and omnipotent energy. The Vedanta declares that this movement is an aspect of a great timeless, spaceless, motionless Existence which is immutable, unexhaustible, actionless, though containing all this action. This is pure existence—existence without quantity, without quality, without name and form, and so ineffable and indescribable. This is the *nirguna* Brahman of the original Vedanta, *i.e.*, the Upanishads.

We have then two fundamental facts or realities, the fact of pure existence and the reality of energy or movement. We have to accept the double fact, admit both Siva and Kali, the motionless and the moving, and try to understand their relation. Is this universal energy an unintelligent power, an unconscious mechanical force, or is it a conscious energy, an intelligent power? Sri Aurobindo's answer is: 'It is really the power of *chit*, conscious force, in its nature of creative self-consciousness.' Behind the cosmic energy which we observe all around us, there is thus a cosmic consciousness of which cosmic energy is an outflow and manifestation. Modern western scientists and philosophers admit the doctrine of evolution as a progressive process in which from pure motion arises matter; from matter, life; from life, mind with consciousness. But evolution is a word which merely states the phenomenon without explaining it. There is no reason why the cosmic energy should progressively manifest matter, life and mind, at different stages of evolution, unless we accept the Vedantic view that life is already involved in matter and mind in life, because in essence matter is a form of veiled life, life a form of veiled consciousness. The idea of a cosmic consciousness has now the support of modern Psychology as well as of some Scientist-philosophers like James Jeans, A. S. Eddington and others.

The ultimate existence of Vedantins is not bare existence; it is a conscious existence or conscious energy, the very nature of which is bliss. An absolute existence which is infinite energy of consciousness is



bliss itself. Absoluteness of conscious existence is illimitable bliss of conscious existence; the two are only different descriptions of the same thing. Brahman is thus infinite bliss or the infinite delight of the creative play of Force. The self-delight of Brahman is not limited. Just as its energy of consciousness is capable of throwing itself into infinite forms, so also its self-delight is capable of movement and variation, of revelling in the infinite flux of innumerable universes. The one Existence-consciousness that is Brahman manifests Itself in numberless universes to enjoy the infinite movement and variation of its self-delight.

So far we have found that the omnipresent Reality is *Sat-chit-ananda* and that all things are *sachchidananda*. But how from Reality the phenomenal world arises requires explanation. That there is a process and a law guiding it, is recognised by us when we study the history of the world. This law cannot be, as some thinkers suppose it to be, a blind mechanical law of the equilibrium of forces working by the accident of development and the influence of the past. Since Force is a self-expression of conscious Existence, the line of development which force has taken must correspond to a perception of some self-truth and the determination of the line must result from a power of self-directive knowledge inherent in consciousness which enables it to guide its own force along the chosen line. That is, evolution must proceed from God's self-determining power to think or perceive (*ikshana*) a certain Truth in Himself and to guide His force of creation along the line of that Truth. God as infinite consciousness can produce only infinite results. To settle upon a fixed Truth, or order of truths and build a world in conformity with that which is selected out of infinite possibilities requires a selective power of knowledge commissioned to shape finite appearance out of the infinite Reality.

This power was called *Maya* by the Vedic seers. *Maya* meant for them the power of infinite consciousness to form Name and Shape out of the vast illimitable Truth of infinite existence. It is by *Maya* that the Infinite finitises itself, the Static being becomes dynamic becoming, and out of the Absolute the world of phenomena emerges, for the play of one existent with another, of one self with others. The mental play or the *illusion* of *Maya* conceals the truth from man and misleads him into the belief that he is one against others and not inseparably one with the rest of existence. But he has to emerge from this error into the supramental play or the *truth* of *Maya* where the "each" and the "all" co-exist in the unity of the one truth and manifold symbol or appearance. We have first to embrace the lower or mental *Maya* and then transcend it; for it is God's play with division and limitation, strife and suffering. The other or

higher *Maya* has to be overpassed, then embraced; for it is God's play of the infinities of existence, of the lights of knowledge and the ecstasies of love, that for which God's Energy went out of Him at the first and in which she finds her fulfilment at the last.

There is, therefore, no ground for pessimism and illusionism in the Vedanta. Those who declare the world as full of misery and suffering, or disparage it as void of reality, miss the link between the lower and the higher *Maya*. To them the mental *Maya* is the creatrix of the world, and a world constructed by the mental *Maya* is an inexplicable paradox, and a fixed yet floating apparition which can be called neither real nor unreal. But on Sri Aurobindo's interpretation of the Vedanta there is a relation between Reality and appearance, the Truth behind and the conceptive phenomenon in front, a relation which is not merely that of opposition. For him 'the creative Idea is the Real-Idea, that is to say, a power of conscious Force expressive of real being, born out of real being and partaking of its nature.' 'The world is, therefore, not a figment of conception in the universal Mind, but a conscious birth of that which is beyond Mind into forms of itself. A Truth of conscious being supports these forms and expresses itself in them, and the knowledge corresponding to the truth thus expressed reigns as a supramental Truth-consciousness.' 'The world expresses a foreseen Truth, obeys a predetermining Will, realises an original self-vision,—it is the growing image of a divine creation.' But all this remains unintelligible to us so long as we try to grasp them through our thought and reason. It is only when we cease to reason and go deep into ourselves that in a state of ecstatic intuition, the Truth becomes really manifest to us.

One thing, however, becomes quite clear to us at this point. The Vedanta does not countenance, as it is generally supposed, pacifism and inactivity even on the part of one who has realised Brahman. Far from that, the Vedanta philosophy of life teaches that man becomes perfect only when he has found within himself that absolute calm and tranquillity of the Brahman and supports by it, with the same divine tolerance and the same divine bliss, a free and inexhaustible activity. Mukti or liberation for man lies, not in apathy or indifference to the world's affairs nor in withdrawal from life's activities, but in absolute peace and freedom of the self within and ceaseless activity without for the good of suffering humanity. This explains Sri Aurobindo's intense life of *sadhana* after his spiritual realisations, and that for the liberation of mankind as a whole. May his *sadhana* bring peace to the war-weary world, happiness to unhappy mankind, and salvation to all souls!

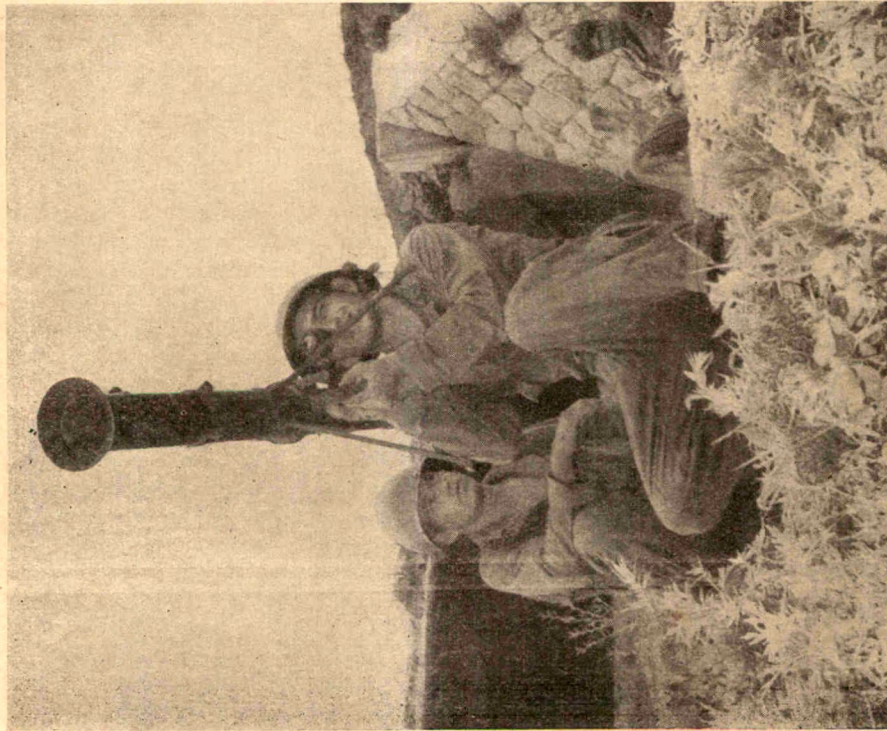


Layers of sands and small sand-dunes formed in a paddy field in Saikhoa Ghat area, Upper Assam, following the 15th August earthquake

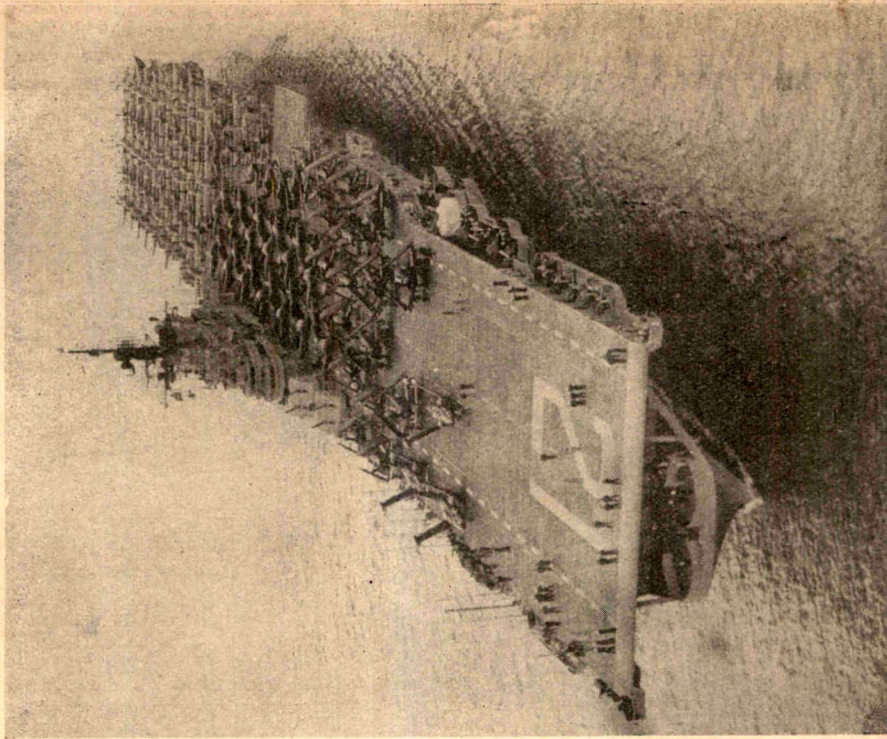


Fissures in Sukreting Road in Upper Assam after the earthquake of August 15





A U. S. Army infantryman is shown with the new 3.5-inch bazooka in an anti-tank position



One of the largest aircraft-carriers of the U. S. Navy on its way to help the Republic of Korea



## FISCAL POLICY AND DEVELOPMENT OF BACKWARD AREAS

By SASHIKANT V. SHAH, M.A.

ARTICLE V of the Atlantic Charter declares as a policy of the United Nations "the fullest collaboration in the economic field" with the object of securing for all improved labour standards, economic advancement and social security. Article VI looks forward to a world where "all the men in all the lands may live out their lives in freedom from fear and want." President Truman's speech last year, on the objectives of the American foreign policy declared, among other points, the facilitating of the economic development of the under-developed countries. And it was this objective that caught the imagination of the people everywhere. The world has reached the stage where the development of backward areas is not a question of economics alone but also of politics. For, poverty breeds not only misery but also communism. Hence the development of backward areas is no longer an academic problem but a vital necessity.

Economic development is not an isolated phenomenon but a combined operation. This combined operation involves the introduction of better techniques, better capital equipment, expansion of commerce, etc.

In this combined operation Fiscal Policy is one of the prime tools with which the problem of under-developed areas can be tackled.

The essential characteristics of a backward area (in the majority of cases) are dense population and pressure on land. The increased population, for lack of industrial development, is driven into rural occupations and thus we have the vicious circle of population pressure and poverty.

These surplus workers must be withdrawn from agriculture to be absorbed into other industries. In that event agricultural output will not suffer while the whole new output would be a net addition to the total national income.

The problem of backward areas has to be attacked by stimulation of investment and effective demand. But both of these are so interlinked that we cannot separate them in our analysis.

Development of industries is the first step in the development of backward areas. This means that there should be an increase in the investment activity. As a consequence of this there will be an increase in effective demand.

But the risk of starting a vast enterprise is prohibitive unless the programme of expansion is consciously planned and co-ordinated. The infant

industry argument will cover the whole economic system of under-developed countries. In many cases protection might equalise the difference and thus resolve the contradiction between private unprofitability and public desirability. It would seem, however, more efficient to direct investment activity by the grant of subsidy. Because, firstly, the budgetary charge which becomes necessary renders the burden visible. Secondly, subsidies are more specific in their application and better amenable to control than tariffs. Thirdly, while the burden of tariffs falls upon the consumers who are generally poor, the burden of bounties is shifted to the general tax-payer. And lastly, bounties are administratively more convenient and can be managed more cheaply.

Protection by itself would not lead to industrialisation. (The taxation policy of the state would have to be evolved in such a way that it would not deter the would-be investors.)

To promote investment activities Simons recommends the suppression of corporate income-tax. Neisser is opposed to excessively high corporation taxes on high incomes but in order to discourage corporations from keeping liquid funds idle, he advocates an imposition of a special tax on corporate profits which are neither distributed nor actually invested.

Lerner, on the other hand, suggests promoting of risk capital by having the Treasury refund immediately a part of the losses that enterprises incur in a given year. He thus goes a step further than the actual system of carrying forward or carrying back of one year's losses to be applied against the income of the next two or the preceeding two years. His recommendation thus contains a more open acknowledgement of state's partnership in private enterprise.

Kalecki on the other hand has suggested a plan by which gross investments (including replacement) actually undertaken during the year to be deducted from gross income for income-tax purposes instead of the traditional depreciation allowances.)

Coming to personal taxes Neisser stresses the point that income-taxes in the highest brackets contribute relatively little to public revenue. This means that emphasis on the problem on greater progressiveness in income groups below the very highest, the high middle and upper income groups, should be given. Greater progressiveness in these brackets might permit a shift of the tax burden from low income receivers towards the high income groups even if the cost to

the Treasury of the investment incentives is considered. This would encourage total consumption. Then if investment is taken care by Lerner's device, high progressiveness might be beneficial to industrialisation.)

In the above discussion it was assumed that private enterprise was relied upon exclusively for investment purposes. But private enterprise by itself, cannot be relied upon fully, however modified by public intervention and assistance.

State initiative is called for to the extent that private enterprise fails to comply with the task. State initiative may be envisaged in the form of public investment—mostly by deficit financing.) It is not necessary to go into the technique of deficit financing. What is material to our discussion are the effects and its shortcomings.

The effects of public investment depend to a large extent on the method by which they are financed. It is fortunate that we have got rid of the classical assumption that the rate of investment depends upon the voluntary savings of the people. It is possible to render economic progress independent of the voluntary decisions of individuals by financing investments out of communal or enforced savings. Investment financing institutions can be established by using revenue obtained from progressive direct taxation and/or private savings, enforced by a strict control of consumption and could be canalised for purposes of domestic investments.)

But this method of financing investments from taxation is fraught with danger. (The collection of business or personal income-taxes tends to restrict consumer spending, because in themselves such taxes reduce disposable incomes.) Moreover, high taxes on business profits or personal incomes may discourage private investors. We must not forget the sufferings of the U.S.S.R. which followed this way to finance its investments. (It was with this in view that the Australian White Paper on Employment envisages to finance its public investment programmes from loans as is reasonable in a relatively young country. Taxation is made the main source of revenue, and will be at such levels that the yield from incomes when the economy is fully employed will cover all expenditures on current items including maintenance of assets. The taxes will be designed to have the least possible

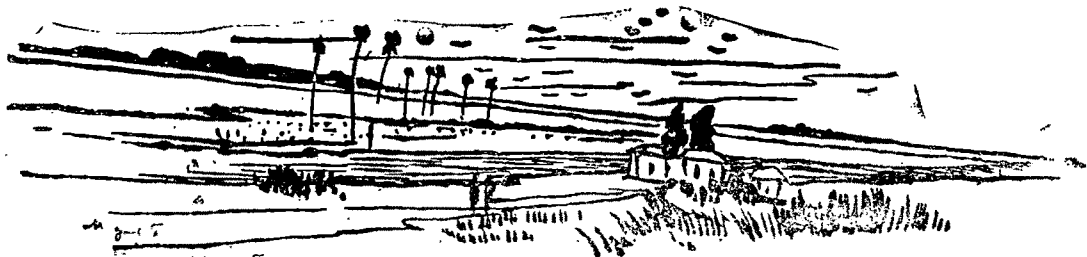
restrictive effect on incentive and efficiency. On the other hand, borrowing from public being voluntary will avoid the disadvantages of taxation.)

It is true that a tax-financed investment can have positive secondary effects on income and employment, if a redistribution of incomes from savers to spenders is accomplished. But a simple redistribution of income might have little effect in mitigating poverty, though its indirect effect on maintaining effective demand is considerable. (Total demand can be increased by a redistribution of incomes from the rich to the poor. Increased taxes on the rich, offset by decreased taxes on the poor, will increase total demand without unbalancing the budget.)

It is possible that deficit financed public investment will have a discouraging influence on private investment. But it should be possible to avoid such an influence by public education to dispel unfounded fears concerning National Debt structures, maintaining adequate flow of credit to private enterprise at low rates of interest and by other methods to improve profit expectations.

There seem to be two main dangers to be guarded against in deficit financing. First, (the closer the approach to full employment and the larger the volume of liquid assets in the hands of the public the greater the possibility of inflation.) Secondly, (the servicing of the National Debt may lead to increased maldistribution of incomes unless the tax structure is geared to the debt structure so as to make the debt service neutral in this respect.) However, a deficit financed public investment will in most cases lead to a less mal-distribution of income than the private investment it replaces since the ownership of private capital is even more heavily concentrated in the upper income groups than the ownership of government debts and the rate of return on Government obligations are lower than on private capital.

In the development of backward areas private investment and state initiative should not be conflicting elements but rather complementary to each other. The engine of industrialisation of backward areas should be powered not on one motor but on two motors, not only on state enterprise but private initiative as well.





# THE VETASA PLANT

By JOGES CHANDRA RAY, VIDYANIDHI

## INTRODUCTION

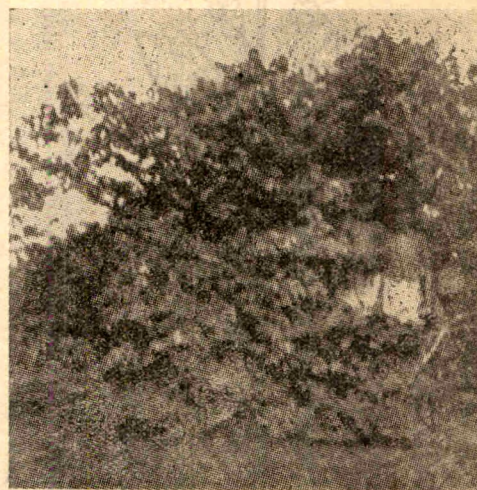
VETASA<sup>1</sup> is the name of a plant well-known in Sanskrit literature. It had many other synonyms of which *vanjula*<sup>2</sup>, *vanira*<sup>3</sup> and *nichula*<sup>4</sup> were as commonly used as *vetasa*. Kalidasa, Bhababhuti and Jayadeva have made the name familiar to the readers of Sanskrit classics. The plant forms *kunja*<sup>5</sup>, a natural arbour described as *griha*<sup>6</sup>, a 'hut' with roof and sides covered with foliage. It forms a shady secluded retreat for lovers. The name was not confined to the classics only. The Mahabharata, some Puranas and Varahamihira in his *Vrihat Samhita* have mentioned it. *Vetasa* happens to be a medicinal plant and Charaka, Susruta, Bhavaprakasa and other medical writers have noticed its medicinal uses. It was known to some of the Vedic Aryans. Indeed they were familiar with it.

Yet it is strange to say, the plant has not been identified. On the contrary, it has been supposed to be *vetra*<sup>7</sup>, the ratan cane. Bhanuji Dikshita in his commentary on the Amarakosha (Maharashtra, 17th century) has given *vetra*<sup>8</sup> as the vernacular name of *Vetasa*. Apte in his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* explains *Vetasa* as the ratan, reed, cane. In his *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, Monier Williams writes: "The ratan (*calamus rotang*) or similar kind of cane, a reed; *vetasa-griha*<sup>9</sup>, an arbour formed of reeds." The modern commentators and English translators of Kalidasa understood *Vetasa* as *vet* or *bet*.<sup>10</sup> The Sanskrit scholars of the West have understood *Vetasa* as the ratan cane or some reed of like nature, and almost all Pandits of the present day, east and west, north and south of India, regard it as *vet* or *bet* or its equivalents in the Dravid languages.

A little reflection would have, however, shown that *Vetasa* could neither be the ratan, nor a reed. The ratan is *calamus rotang* or some species of *calamus*. It is armed with spines and grows in impenetrable thickets which no one would dare handle. It may climb up a tree but never forms an arbour. It is cut either from the outside or by means of a pole with a knife fixed at its end. A reed has stiff, straight stems which can never bend and form the roof of the arbour.

*Vetasa* is a *lata*<sup>11</sup> and can never be a reed. The word *lata* in Sanskrit usually denotes a weak plant which cannot stand. It may creep along ground or up a wall when it becomes a creeper, or it may climb upon a support either by twining round it or holding it by tendrils when it becomes a climber. *Vetasa* cannot be a creeper, it was a climbing plant and could therefore form an arbour. A *kunja* is not a grove. It is defined in the Amarakosha as a cavity covered with *lata*, 'climbing plants' or plants of like nature.<sup>12</sup> In *Meghaduta*, Kalidasa speaks of *jambukunja*.<sup>13</sup> Here

*jambu* is not the tree of the well-known edible fruit. It was perhaps *bhumijambu*<sup>14</sup> (*Ardisia humilis* of Botanists) a large shrub or a small tree growing in clusters in damp situations; the drooping branches with leaves form a shade resembling an arbour. Fortunately there is a passage (VII. 42) in the *Vrihat Dharma Purana* in which *vetasa* and *vetra* are mentioned together.<sup>15</sup> The *Purana* was composed in West Bengal, probably in north-east Burdwan somewhere near the Ganges early in the fourteenth century. *Rajanighantu*, a medical dictionary (15th century A.D.), has treated *vetasa* and *vetra* separately and given their different medical uses.



Betasa shrub

## VETASA

I have accidentally found a climbing shrub in this district of Bankura, West Bengal, which agrees with *Vetasa* as shown below. It is abundant on the shores of the river Silai as well as in jungles. Villagers use it as fuel and Santals and Doms make light baskets with slender stems and strips of older stems which readily split. The plant grows very rapidly and forms a bush about ten feet high with a circumference of fifteen feet in the course of a year. In old specimens the spreading branches intertwine and spread outwards and bend down looking like a flat-topped umbrella. The pendent branches constantly swing even in the absence of appreciable wind. Sometimes they reach the ground and trail along it to considerable distances. A cavity is formed inside which is cool even in hot summer. In still older specimens the bush forms an arbour where half a dozen persons can easily stand or sleep. In winter, the plant bears profusion of grey-white small flowers. In those places where this plant



is found and *vetra* (calamus) is unknown, it is called *bet*<sup>16</sup> specially by Brahmans and makers of baskets. It is also called *atanri*.<sup>17</sup> In those places where true *bet* (calamus) is also found it is called *atang*<sup>18</sup> or *atanri*.<sup>19</sup> In the north-east of the district of Burdwan, the plant



Vetasa in flower

has been completely exterminated but the name *bayasa*<sup>20</sup> is still there, and the people generally point to some other twining plant as *bayasa*.<sup>21</sup> Bharata Mallika (17th century A.D.), a Bengali commentator of *Amarakosha* gives *bayasa*<sup>22</sup> as the vernacular name of *Vetasa*. The name has been quoted in the *Sabda-kalpa-druma*. A little over a century ago Colebrooke in his edition of *Amarakosha* gives *bayas*<sup>23</sup> or *bent*<sup>24</sup> as the vernacular name of *Vetasa*. The word is an easy corruption of the Prakrit *beasa*<sup>25</sup> of the Sanskrit name *Vetasa*. The plant has been identified as *combretum decandrum*, Roxb.

#### COMBRETUM DECANDRUM, ROXB

A large, ever-green, woody, climbing shrub; young parts covered with thin, brown bark which peels off

easily in long, thin, strong strips; internodes long, 9 in. filled with spongy flesh-coloured pith; branches numerous, pendent. Leaves opposite, short-petioled, waved, oblong, 4-5 by 1.5-2.5 in. abruptly acuminate. Floral leaves 1.5-2 in. long, cream-white, conspicuous. Flowers ashy-white, small, less than  $\frac{1}{4}$  in., scented, numerous, in racemes, arranged in large terminal panicles. Calyx lobes 5, valvate, petals 5, stamens 10 in two series. Ovary one-celled, inferior. Fruit 1 in. long, oblong or elliptic, with four or five papery wings. Flowering time from February to April according to climate.

#### DISTRIBUTION AND VERNACULAR NAMES

Abundant in Bengal [Bengal, Bihar, Orissa and Assam], very common in North Deccan plateau, less common South. North-east provinces [United Provinces], nearly to the Punjab.—Hooker's *Flora of British India*, II, 452.

Abundant in western parts of West Bengal (Bankura): Bengali—*atanri*, *atang*,<sup>26</sup> *bet*<sup>27</sup>; Santali—*aten*.

North-east Burdwan: Old Bengali name *bayasa*.<sup>28</sup>

North Bengal: Nepalese—*kali lahara*.

Assam: Common throughout the province; growing usually on hill slopes; common round about Gauhati. Assamese—*latachali*, *sali* with various adjectives.

Bihar: Abundant specially in the district of Gaya. Kol—*phalandu*, Santali—*aten*.

Western Dun (Dehra-Dun): Common chiefly on hill sides. Flowers—February, March. Hindi—*ruel* or *roel*.

Central Province: Found in jungles, also on the shores of the Narmada near Jubbulpore. Hindi—*dhobela*, Marathi—*piwar vel*.

Orissa: Found in the hill-states of Orissa and Khurda including Ganjam down to the Godavari. Oriya—*atundi*.

Not found in Western India.—Nairne's *Flowering Plant of Western India*.

Not reported from Central India.—*Forest Botanist*, Dehra-Dun.

It will be thus seen that the plant has well-defined distribution from Assam to the United Provinces, from western part of West Bengal to Central Province and Orissa to Berar.

Of the vernacular names the Assamese name *latachali* is significant. *Chali*<sup>29</sup> or *sali*<sup>30</sup> is a hut; and *latachali* is a hut made of climbing plants. The Bengali name *atanri*<sup>31</sup> and *atang*<sup>32</sup> and the Oriya name *atundi* are practically the same and are probably derived from Santali *aten* or *atena*.

#### DESCRIPTION OF VETASA IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE

We shall now examine the characters of *Vetasa*. These are mostly found in its names, which fortunately for our enquiry are many. The name of a plant or an



animal expresses some, noticeable character. In course of time, the origin is forgotten and the name becomes a mere symbol. But all Sanskrit names are based on roots which preserve to some extent the original idea which gave the name. Some of the names of Vetasa are easy to understand. Some require the aid of etymology. In a few others the etymological meaning is vague and doubtful. In a few such cases the same name is common to other plants which happen to be known to us. These point to some character which is common to them. In these three ways it has been possible to explain the meanings of the names of Vetasa.

The *Amarakosha*, the standard Sanskrit lexicon gives seven names of Vetasa and four names of *ambuvetasa*.<sup>43</sup> The first group thus comprises the names of *sthalavetasa*,<sup>44</sup> 'land-vetasa', and the second group those of *ambuvetasa*,<sup>45</sup> 'water-vetasa' only.

The names of 'land-vetasa' are :

1. *Vetasa*<sup>46</sup>: There is no difference between the Vetasa of these two groups, except in the situation in which it grows. Thus the name Vetasa may mean 'land-vetasa' as well as 'water-vetasa.' In *Meghaduta*, Kalidasa mentions *vanira*<sup>47</sup> growing on the shores of the Gambhira, and also in *Raghuvamsa*, on the bank of the Godavari. Kshirasvami (C.P., 11th century), the earliest commentator of the *Amarakosha* so far known, derives the name Vetasa from root *vi*, to go, to spread and supposes that the plant seeks water. But Sarvananda, a Bengali commentator (12th century) and a follower of Svami, as well as Dikshita derive the name from root *ve*, 'to weave, braid, intertwine.' The young stems intertwining with one another and forming the roof of the harbour.

2. *Ratha*<sup>48</sup>: It resembles the convex roof of our old chariots with fillets hanging all round as seen in modern *tonga*.

3. *Abhrapushpa*<sup>49</sup>: It has flowers of the colour of *abhra* (the highest cloud) which is grey-white.

4. *Vidula*<sup>50</sup>: The drooping branches constantly swing.

5. *Sita*<sup>51</sup>: The inside of the harbour is very cool even in hot summer and that is one of the reasons why Kalidasa placed Sakuntala and Dushmanta in a Vetasa harbour.

6. *Vanira*<sup>52</sup>: It is a difficult word. The word is derived from *van* 'to aid, to be occupied,' referring to its habit of forming a cover for men and animals.

7. *Vanjula*<sup>53</sup>: It is another difficult word. It is from *vanch* 'to wonder about.' It is also the name of *asoka*, a middle-sized flower tree (*Saraca Indica*) and *tinisa*, a middle-sized timber-tree (*Ougenia dalbergioides*). There must be some point of resemblance among the three plants. In a Sanskrit dictionary the word *vanjula* as an adjective means crooked. The three plants agree in having crooked stems.

8. *Ambuvetasa*<sup>44</sup>: It does not mean that the plant grows in water. The plant *hijjala* (*Barringtonia acutangula*) is called *ambuja* in *Amarakosha*, but we know, it does not grow in water, it grows near water courses.

9. *Nadeyi*<sup>45</sup>: It refers to its growing near water. *Nadeyi* is also the name of *bhumijambuka*<sup>46</sup> which, as we have already seen, grows in moist situations.

10. *Parivyadha*<sup>47</sup>: Literally it means what is attacked (by water), suggesting occurrence of the plant near water. *Vidula*<sup>48</sup>—the branches being swayed to and fro by current of water. The word is already mentioned.

The *Amarakosha* has another word—

11. *Vetasvat*<sup>49</sup> which means a place abounding in Vetasa referring to the plant growing in large numbers in one place.



Vetasa fruit

Kshirasvami quotes Chandra, a lexicographer and gives a list of names of Vetasa of which the additional names are the following :

12. *Nichula*<sup>50</sup>: It is also the name of the tree *hijjala*<sup>51</sup> (*Barringtonia acutangula*) in *Amara*. *Hijjala* is a middle-sized tree growing on the shores of rivers like Vetasa with leaves crowded at end, the branches droop down resembling Vetasa also in this respect. In *Meghaduta*, Kalidasa mentions *nichula*<sup>52</sup> which looked fresh and green<sup>53</sup> even in mid-summer.

13. *Namra*<sup>54</sup>: Drooping.

14. *Dirghapatraka*<sup>55</sup>: Having long leaves, i.e., having oblong leaves.

15. *Gandhapatra*<sup>56</sup>: Perhaps a misprint for *gandhapushpaka*<sup>57</sup> (see below).

16. *Ghanapushpaka*<sup>58</sup>: Having clusters of dense flowers.

17. *Samurita*<sup>59</sup>: Entirely covered with foliage. *Jalauka*, *radikulapriya*, *jalajata*, *toyakama*<sup>60</sup>—the meaning is obvious.

The *Dhanvantariya Nighantu*, the earliest medical lexicon, gives a long list of names which is also quoted in *Sabda-kalpa-druma*. The following are new:

18. *Kalama*<sup>61</sup>: The pith drying up the internode may be used as a reed-pen.

19. *Sushena*<sup>62</sup>: (?)

20. *Gandhapushpaka*<sup>63</sup>: Having scented flowers.

21. *Nikunjaka*<sup>64</sup>: Forming an harbour.



Vagbhata, a medical writer, mentions a surgical instrument named *vetasapatra* used for piercing and cutting open. It is thus a lancet having two edges and a point exactly resembling the apex of the leaf of *C.d.*

When does *Vetasa* flower? *Varaha-mihira* in his *Vrihat Samhita* (Ch. XXXIX) forecasts the outturn of linseed (*atasi*)<sup>65</sup> by observing the amount of flowering of *Vetasa*. Linseed ripens in spring and *Vetasa* is in flower a little earlier. The *Vamana Purana* (Ch. VI) is more explicit and describes *Vetasa* in blossom in spring on the banks of rivers.

Summing up the characters of *Vetasa* it may be described as a large climbing shrub supporting itself by the intertwining of young stems and forming a natural arbour which is cool even in mid-summer. Its young branches bend outwards and downwards which constantly swing. Its leaves are oblong, apex, like a lancet. Flowers scented, grey-white, in dense clusters. It grows both on dry lands as well as near water courses. Flowering time winter and spring. These are also the characters of *Combretum decandrum* as noted above.

A few places of occurrence of *Vetasa* can be gathered from Sanskrit literature :

1. North-east Burdwan (West Bengal): The *Vrihat Dharma Purana*, as we have already noted, was undoubtedly composed somewhere there. It mentions *Vetasa*. *Bharata Mallika* also found *Vetasa* probably somewhere there. *Jayadeva* refers to *vetasa-kunja* on the bank of the *Jamuna*. Apparently he was acquainted with the plant and probably saw *Vetasa* on the bank of the *Ajaya*, the river on which his village stood.

2. Kamarupa (Assam): In one of the legends of *Ratnapala*, King of *Kamarupa*, *Vetasa* is mentioned as a boundary plant on a river bank.

3. The shores of the *Narmada*. *Kavyaprakasa* in a famous verse mentions *vetasa taru*<sup>66</sup> on the shore of the *Reva* (*Narmada*). From enquiries I understand, both *C. decandrum* and *Calamus* grow on the bank of the *Narmada* off *Jubbulpore*, and both are used for making baskets. *Vetasa* is described here as a *taru*,<sup>67</sup> 'a tree.' It stands like a tree to a certain height and may be described as a tree.

4. Central Province : The *Markandeya Purana*

1. वेतस 2. वज्जुल 3. वानीर 4. निचुल 5. कुञ्ज 6. गृह  
7. वेत्र 8. वेत 9. वेतसगृह 10. वेत 11. लता 12. "निकुञ्ज  
कुञ्जौ वा झोवे—लतादिपिहितोदरे" इत्यमरः । 13. जम्बूकुञ्ज  
14. भूमिजम्बु 15. वेत्रकीचकान् खज्जूरान् वेतसान् 16. वेत  
17. आटाँडी 18. आटाँ 19. आटाँडी 20. वयसा 21. वयसा  
22. वयसा 23. वयस 24. दैत 25. वेअस 26. आटाँ  
27. वेत 28. वयसा 29. चालि 30. सालि 31. आटाँडी  
32. आटाँ 33. अम्बुवेतस 34. स्थलवेतस 35. अम्बुवेतस

mentions *vanjula*<sup>68</sup> in Ch. VI and many times *vetasa* towards its end. The *Purana* was composed in the Central Province somewhere between *Nagpore* and *Jubbulpore* as shown by me in a Bengali article. Probably the plant occurs in *Berar*, the native place of *Bhavabhuti*.

5. In *Raghuvamsa* (Ch. XIII, 35), *Kalidasa* refers to the occurrence of *Vetasa* on the bank of the *Godavari*.

6. Upper India : The *Vamana Purana* as noted above mentions *Vetasa*. It was probably composed in Upper India.

In all these places *C. decandrum* is found. The identification is therefore complete.

We shall now explain the references of *Vetasa* in the Vedas. Some of the Rishis of the *Rigveda* seem to have been very familiar with the plant. In the *Rigveda* (IV.58.5) a Rishi describes the flickering flame of fire as *hiranmaya vetasa*,<sup>69</sup> 'golden *vetasa*' from its resemblance with the waving shoot of *C.d.* In another place (X.95.5), the derivative word *vaitasa*<sup>70</sup> occurs. It is explained in *Vedic Nighantu* as the male organ of generation, because it resembles pendulous stems of *C.d.* In both the *Yajurvedas* and the *Atharva Veda*, *Vetasa* is called *apsuja*<sup>71</sup> 'born in water' referring to its growing close to water courses.

An interesting historical fact may be deduced from the occurrence of the plant. As it is unknown in the Punjab, it appears that some of the Aryans had spread to the United Provinces, a fact otherwise known. It is obvious from absence of *Vetasa* in *Malwa* the theory that *Kalidasa* and *Varaha-mihira* were natives of that place seems doubtful.

In concluding this paper I thank Professors K. V. Varadpanda of Science College, Nagpore; A. C. Dutta of Cotton College, Gauhati; P. K. Parija of Cuttack College; A. C. Joshi of Government College, Lahore; and T. N. Venkatanathachari of Presidency College, Madras for supplying me with information regarding the occurrence and vernacular names of the plant, and my friend Sri Taraprasanna Bandopadhyaya, Engineer of the district of Bankura, without whose help in various ways this research would have been impossible.

33. वेतस 34. वानीर 35. रथ 36. अन्नपुष्प 37. विदुल 38. शीत  
39. वानीर 40. वेज्जुल 41. अम्बुवेतस 42. नादेयो 43. भूमि  
जम्बु 44. परिब्याध 45. विदुल 46. वेतस्वत् 47. निचुल  
48. हिज्जल 49. निचुल 50. सरस 51. नम्र 52. दीर्घपत्रक  
53. गन्धपत्र 54. गन्धपुष्पक 55. घनपुष्पक 56. संवृत  
57. जलौका, नदीकूलप्रिय, जलजात, तोयकाम 58. कलम  
59. छेषण 60. गन्धपुष्पक 61. निकुञ्जक 62. अतसी  
63. वेतस तरह 64. तरह 65. वज्जुल 66. हिरण्यमय वेतस  
67. वेनस 68. अप्पुज ।



## SHRI RISHABHDEO

By LEHAR SINGH MEHTA, B.A., LL.B.

TOWARDS the end of the twelfth century all was life and chivalrous glory in Mewar. The excitement and splendour of war's alarms, the bray and blare of the summoning trumpet, and the beat of the battle-drum among all stresses and dangers were the incidents of daily occurrence. But this does not mean that that age was devoid of cultural attainment. One of the best-preserved monumental remains of the time is the most elaborately sculptured temple of Shri Rishabhdeo in Dhulev. It is about thirty-nine miles from Udaipur, with which it is connected by a metalled road.

The road from Udaipur to Rishabhdeo passes through a valley, which is the most diversified and romantic in this sub-continent of India. Each hill and dale, tower and tree, each altar, cenotaph and shrine furnishes a legend of its own. Here you will find streams to angle in, dense teak-forest, deer and stags galloping from one place to another, much, in short, to please the eye and gratify the taste. On your way and at a distance of about twelve miles from Udaipur you reach the percipitous precincts of the famous silver and lead mines of Zawar, where the proudest Rajput of splendid courage—Rana Pratap—decided to take up arms once more and keep alive the flickering flames of Rajsthan's life. This is the celebrated spot where the public-spirited and benevolent Bhamu Shah, the hereditary Prime Minister of Mewar, sought out his great master and offered everything he possessed for the liberation of the broken, crushed, and all but annihilated country he loved. You will further meet interesting aboriginal tribesmen, the Bhils, and have glimpses of the sweet and simple Indian jungle life they lead, the humble life so close to nature. You will observe how they are racing after their wandering cattle or joining in some merry rustic romp. Their life is full of mystery, romance, starvation and drudgery. They will not like to be caught up in the current of the twentieth century.

I am not aware of the precise period of the erection of the temple. But one of the inscriptions, in the nail-headed character, records that as far back as the year 1431 V.S. one Hardan Seth, under the instructions of his spiritual Guru Bhatarak Shri Dharamkirti, got it repaired and illuminated it with a light that will never die down. Another important record inscribed on stone narrates that the Mandap or Navchawki, in front of the idol, was erected by Shri Hansa in 1572 V.S. Tiny shrines all over the temple, wherein are placed a number of gods and goddesses, were raised by the descendants of Seth Bhupat in 1754. Gandhi Vijayachand and Seth Guman Chand Bapna crowned the temple with high loop-holed walls and arcade in the years 1863 and 1889 respectively.

Among the wonders of the place is the inner temple, in which is installed the idol, called Shri Rishabhdeo or Keshariaji or Kalaji or Adi Baba, the first Jain Tirthankar and the eighth Tirthankar of the Hindus. The idol is about five feet high and is made of black marble of exquisite beauty and magnificence. All around the temple you will witness, with thrill, no less than seventy-six statues, resplendently installed in small shrines. Of these thirty-eight are



Shri Keshariaji (Rishabhdeo), Dhulev, Mewar

connected with the Jain Digambar Sect and eleven with the Svetambar Sect. These images, the inscriptions reveal, were enshrined between 1611 and 1863 V.S. Mahadeo and Hindu Tirthankars, in white or black granite, come into actual contact with the Jain deities. Majestic in its isolation stands a Mumba or pulpit, whence a Muslim can enunciate the dogma of Mohamed, "There is but one God." Intolerance of difference is a hardy plant and in its refined form exists even in countries that loudly boast of their civilisation. But this temple goes a long way to prove that in spite of innumerable taboos real tolerance exists in India.

It is impossible to do full justice to the architectural beauty of the place. Its vaulted roofs are a perfect model of the most ancient style of dome in the East, probably invented anterior to the Roman architecture.



The temple is surrounded by abundant space. There is space for the establishments of the priests, for the numerous resident worshippers, and for a constant



Shri Rishabhdeo

influx of votaries, numbering about more than a lakh per year. Those whom ambition has cloyed, superstition unsettled, and commerce ruined may be found as ascetic attendants. Determined upon renouncing the world, they first renounce the ties that bind them to it. No blood-stained sacrifice scares away the timid devotees, no austerities terrify, no tedious ceremonies fatigue them. From the mouth of the Indus to the mouth of the holy Ganges, from the great uplands of the Deccan and the country stretching up from the snow-clad majestic northern fringe of the Himalayas down to Cape Comorin, gifts, more especially in the form of saffron, worth about a lakh of rupees per year, lavishly pour in. No donation is too great or too trifling.

The Muslims, so the legend runs, attempted to invade this common place of pilgrimage in or about the year 1792, and the Marathas, under the leadership of Sadashiv Rao, desired to over-run it during the year 1863. But the Bhils are reported to have repelled the assailants with stubborn courage. With swords and spears, bows and arrows the Bhils dealt death on every side, charging and wheeling and charging again, heedless of the loss they were suffering. Fighting desperately the invaders were driven out, and the tide of victory, after dreadful carnage, turned in favour of the defenders.

—O:

## DHARAPAT TEMPLE

By RABINDRANATH CHAUDHURI

Member, Institute of Archaeology, London University

In the ancient land of Bankura<sup>1</sup> during the pre- and early mediaeval period a strong Jain culture, the history of advancement and decay of which could not be fully traced out, abruptly developed on the banks of the two principal rivers, viz., the Dhalakisore or Darakeswar and the Kansavati.<sup>2</sup> The chain of temples which sustained the flow of Jain culture are noted below:

### 1. River Dwarakeswar—

1. "Bankura, the westernmost District of the Burdwan Division (in Bengal Province), is situated between deg. 23 37m. and deg. 22 54m. north latitude, and between deg. 87 33m. and deg. 88 51m. east longitude."—*Statistical Account of the Bankura District* by Hunter.

2. "Colonel Dalton identifies the Bhumij with the 'Vajra-Bhumi' of Jain legendary history, who hunted with dogs and arrows the deified saint Mahavira, when engaged in performing an ascetic pilgrimage through their country. The conjecture is strongly supposed by the prevalence of Jain remains in many parts of Manbhum District, and by the tradition of both Bhumij and Hos that a people called Sarawakas, who can hardly be other than Jains, were the earliest civilised inhabitants in Manbhum and the eastern portion of Singbhum . . ." (Ancient Bankura was included within this area). —*A Statistical Account of Bengal* (Vol. XVII) by W. W. Hunter, (pp. 278-79).

- (i) Sonatapol Temple, Police Station—Bankura, Bankura Subdivision.
- (ii) Siddheswar Temple,<sup>3</sup> P.S. Onda, Bankura Subdivision.
- (iii) Deulbherya Temple, P.S. Chattana, Bankura Subdivision.
- (iv) Dharapat Temple, P. S. Vishnupore, Vishnupore Subdivision.
- (v) Parashmani Temple (or Parsvanath) at Panchal, P. S. Vishnupore, Vishnupore Subdivision.

### 2. River Kansavati—

- (i) Ambika Temple (Jain Smasanadevi), P. S. Ranibandh, Bankura Subdivision.

3. (i) "The Siddheswar temple at Bahulara in the Bankura District is probably the finest specimen of a brick-built Rekha temple of the mediaeval period now standing in Bengal."—*Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculpture in the Dacca Museum* by N. K. Bhattasali, M.A. (p. xvi).

(ii) *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* by Dr. Coomaraswamy, (PL.LXII. 213).

(iii) *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India* (1921-22) p. 84 and (1922-23) p. 59.



(ii) A demonished Temple of Parsvanath, P.S. Ranibandh, Bankura Subdivision.

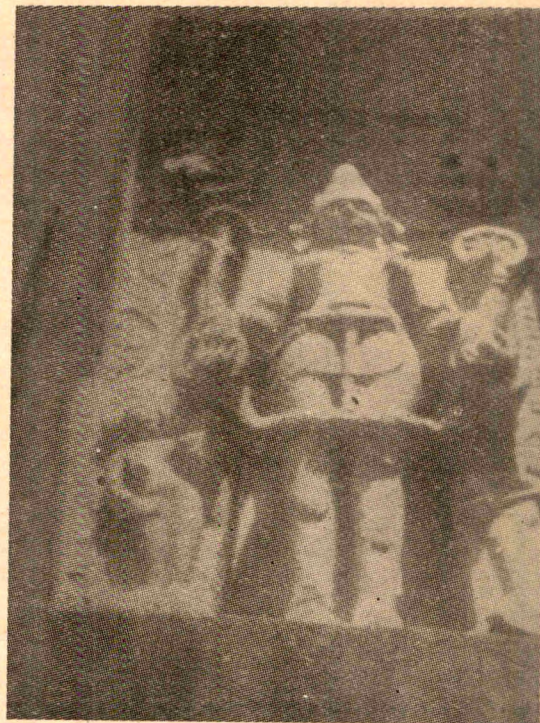
Stray particulars though not complete history of these temples are still available from different sources, e.g., from the references of various chronological manuscripts of this area, Vaishnava Puthi, architectural evidence of the temple and from the iconography and the nature of the images.

is quite unlike those of other existing temples of Bengal. The temple is of South Indian type and bears similarity to the Jagannath Temple of Puri and the Temple of Bhubaneswar.

Three life-size images, one of Vishnu followed by Swaraswati and Lakshmi and the other two of Mahavira—nude, in standing posture, attended on both the sides by similar statuettes twenty-four in number (the



Dharapat Temple



Vishnu, Dharapat Temple

In this article, Dharapat, a Jain temple of early mediæval period, is the subject of our discussion. Before proceeding any further I acknowledge my indebtedness to Sri Maniklal Singh, M.A., Editor, *Silpee*, of Vishnupore, who enlightened me about the preliminary details of the temple. Accordingly we visited the site on May 7, 1950. I am also thankful to Sri Susilranjan Sengupta, B.A., who has rendered me valuable assistance in connection with compilation of this work.

## II

The temple is situated on the northern bank of the river Dwarakeswar within Vishnupore Police Station in Vishnupore Subdivision of Bankura District and is five miles off from Vishnupore Railway Station on the B.N.R. line.

The temple is built of heavy laterite-stone and is about forty feet in height. The massive fort-shaped structure of the temple, with its two doors facing south and west which is an exception to the general rule,

tradition among the Jains is that these twenty-four figures represent the twenty-four Jain Thirthankars and the Muktipath-pradarshaka is Mahavira—and Parsvanath, belonging to the Jain Digamvara sect, are placed on the outer body of the temple. It is apparent that those images were shifted from their original positions and were subsequently placed there.

A stone-tablet, now damaged, was placed at the top of the southern door of the temple stating that it was erected by a Samanta Raja named Adesraja of Dharapat in the 15\*\* Shakabdia. Another reference is also available from Puthi Sahitya, *Madanmohan Bandana*, composed by one Ratan Kaviraj (or Ratan Kavi) in the 1011th to 1013th year of the Malla Era (1703-1705 A.D.), regarding the king of Dharapat, one of the feudal chiefs under the Vishnupore Raj, who was summoned by Raghunath Singha, son of Vir Hambir of Vishnupore, to render military assistance in his battle against Shah Sujah, the Nawab of Raj



Mahal; and king Sabha Singha of Barda (near Chandrakona) in Midnapore district.<sup>4</sup> It is known from the old documents and *Madanmohan Bandana* that King Raghunath Singha approximately reigned about the period 1626-1656 A.D. (932 to 962 Malla Era). Though the last two figures of the stone-tablet erected by Adesraja in the temple are broken off, I infer that this tablet was inserted during the reign of Raghunath Singha and that the king of Dharapat mentioned in *Madanmohan Bandana* is none else than Adesraja.

Among the Malla kings of Vishnupore, Raghunath Singha was the first king to accept Vaishnava faith and it was he who introduced Vaishnavism in Mallabhum (Malla kingdom). That the said Samanta Raja too was of Vaishnava faith can be safely inferred from a name-plate inserted by him at the feet of an existing Radha-image. No permanent shrine is found in the temple. The image of Nangta Shyamchand, which is at present the principal deity, is placed on a wooden platform. Accordingly the temple is called the temple of Nangta Shyamchand.

The word *nangta* deserves special consideration. Nangta or Digamvara is the Bengali synonym for the English word "naked." Nangta or naked attributed to Shyamchand is a peculiar expression and is not to be found in the whole of Vaishnava literature.

What can be the probable reason of the presence, in a hitherto known Vaishnava temple, of the Jain images and the application of the word *nangta* to the image? This can be explained by the presumption that this temple was once a stronghold of Jain

Digambara faith and the images of Mahavira and Parsvanath once occupied the central position of the temple. With the decay of the Jain faith in this region and the growth of Vaishnavism in the mediaeval period, these images were removed by the Vaishnava King Ades from their original position in order to make room for Shyamchand. Though the word Digambara or Nangta is inseparably connected with the Jain Digambara sect, it has, along with the conversion of the temple to its present form, come down to us as a past heritage and has thus come to be applied to Shyamchand.

### III

Vishnupore is a city of temples. These temples most of which were built by Vir Hambir and Raghunath Singha of Vishnupore<sup>5</sup> bear, as regards structural characteristics, marked difference from the temple of Dharapat. From a close observation it is clear that the Dharapat Temple is of more primitive type. On the basis of structural evidence and considering the age of the temple I believe this is not, as stated in the tablet, built by Adesraja who was contemporary to Raghunath Singha of Vishnupore. The temple of Dharapat was originally a Jain temple and as the land passed into the hands of the Vaishnava king this Jain temple was converted into a Vaishnava temple by Adesraja.

The iconography of the three life-sized images discussed before goes to strengthen my belief. These images are of pre-mediaeval sculpture and bear no resemblance to the images carved according to the technique of the Gauda School of Iconography in Mediaeval Bengal.

4. *Sujadi aila chadi sange fouz hazar kuri*  
*Aila fouz vilat lutibare*  
*Prabhur mahima peya rajare siropa diya*  
*Fire gela apanar ghare.*  
*Jangi nuti kare ranga chode aila Sabha-singha*

*Dharapat, Ramsagar, Paikpara, Yadavnagar,*  
*Samanta rajarasav aise.*  
 —*Madanmohan Bandana* by Ratan Kaviraj.

5. (a) The temples—Jor Bangla, Shyam Raj, Raghunath (at present known as Sri Sri Madan Gopal Deber Mandir) were built during the reign of Raghunath Singha.—Ref. *Madanmohan Bandana* by Ratan Kaviraj.

(b) *History of Bishnupore-Raj* (An Ancient Kingdom of West Bengal) by Abhaya Pada Mallik, B.A., B.T., pp. 41-43.





## ART OF SRI J. C. ROY

By J. P. GANGOOLY,

*Cavalier to the Order of the Crown of Italy, and Ex-Principal, Government School of Art, Calcutta*

"The aims of Education in Art is to bring the highest gifts of imagination to bear upon Life and Nature."—G. F. WATTS

With this view-point, Sri J. C. Roy, an artist of no mean order, has strenuously worked hard to discard the usual path of Portrait and Landscape Paintings as is followed by most artists. He took to the develop-



The World



Will-o-the-wisp  
ment of his emotional capacity and, thus to achieve altogether a different line of emotional and abstract representation of his own conception.

To attain this, a strenuous and long-sustained effort was undoubtedly necessary, although it placed him beyond the reach of the general public to appreciate the aim and efforts of his unique productions, apart from the beaten track of others.

It must never be forgotten that there is a joy of contemplation no less than a joy of creation, a joy which pre-supposes understanding and responsiveness; and that joy varies directly according to the capacity for emotional receptiveness.



Art Chamber



Sri Roy, after deciding to discard the beaten track of the average artists of the day, has chosen the path of difficult and emotional subjects of sublime and abstract conception of life. The selection of subjects of his paintings, in which he delights, is not appropriately understood by the general public of average intellect unless the intention of the artist is fully explained. Nevertheless it pleases him and that is all he really cares for.

His pictures of abstract subjects "The World," "Niyati," "Soul of the Country," "Midnight," "Truth," "The Moon," "Activity," "Will-o-the Wisp," "Nathabhm," "Gold Mohor," etc., are the typical examples of his art, the emotional aspects of which his close friends are proud to applaud. His pictures need full explanations to be appreciated by lay men and even by his brother artists of average talent. It must be admitted that when explained they are found to be

highly educative, poetic in character and out of the common run.

A peculiar nature of his character is that he never exhibits his pictures in any Exhibitions in India and is fond of absolute seclusion, keeping himself away from the gaze of the art-loving public. I have often argued just to induce him to exhibit his works, but "No" was his obstinate reply. He prefers his "Art Chamber" to Exhibitions.

Sri J. C. Roy is the Curator of the Calcutta Corporation and is in charge of all their valuable collections. The Corporation is justly proud of his services.

What I admire most, apart from his art, is his sympathetic and helpful nature towards others who may happen to come in contact with him. He is ever ready to extend genuine help if he can possibly do it, and takes a pride in it.

## BAGHDAD

### The City of Legend and History

By P. K. RAVINDRANATH

ONE is unconsciously reminded of the stories of the Arabian Nights and the glorious chapters of an immortal period in the history of man's culture and

time became a hamlet, then a village, then a town and finally blossomed into the city of Baghdad. Baghdad became the focal point from which the trade routes



A view of modern Baghdad

civilization, when one hears of Baghdad. And no wonder, for, Baghdad has a history that dates back to twelve centuries.

The great highways of trade—the caravan routes of the world—intersected at a point, about 300 miles to the North-west of Basrah, at the mouths of the Euphrates and the Tigris. This point where the routes crossed each other for over 4000 years, in course of



The Tomb of Zubeida

branched off to the Mediterranean ports, the Persian Gulf ports, Turkey, Africa, Iran and India and the Far East. It was no wonder then, that the Caliphs, in search of a capital for their Abbassid Empire, pitched



upon Baghdad as the ideal city. They soon made it the largest and most beautiful city in the world.

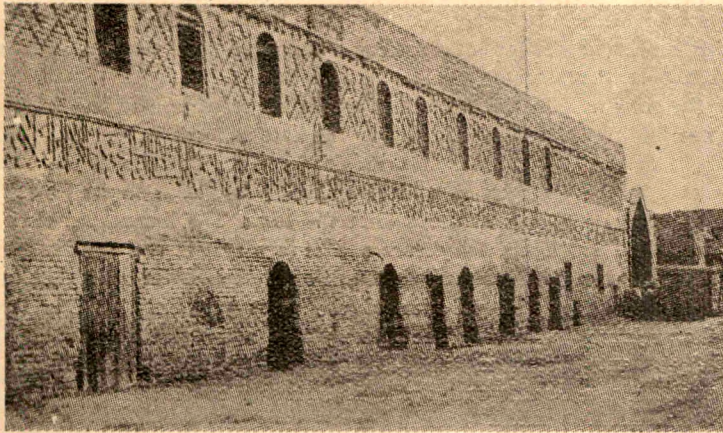
Baghdad, or the City of Peace, was built a little to the north of the present site of modern Baghdad, by Al Mansoor, one of the greatest Abbassid Caliphs in 762 A.D. Modelled on a Roman Camp, it was a circular city, about two miles in diameter, with three

glamour and charm to Harun-al-Raschid's name and to the city of Baghdad. Harun's wife, Zubeida, lies buried in the city, and to this day her tomb is a place of interest to sightseers in Baghdad.

After Harun's time, the city began to lose much of its importance. By about the middle of the 10th century, it was mostly in ruins due to a heavy flood.

A new city began to grow up near the area where Mansoor's army had established their barracks. This site was the forerunner of the present-day Baghdad.

In 1258 A.D. Hulagu, a grandson of Jhengis Khan, and brother of Kublai Khan, sacked the city and put an end to the Abbassid Caliphate. The city was looted and set on fire. Tamerlane captured the city, during his exploits in 1374. In the fifteenth century, the King of Persia, Shah Ismael, occupied the area. Later on, in 1638, Sultan Murad, a Turk besieged and sacked Baghdad. From this period onwards the history of Baghdad sinks into oblivion, till the capture of the



Al Mustansiriyah

Courtesy : Royal Iraqi Consulate General, Bombay

separate walls around it. The walls made of sundried bricks provided the necessary protection from attacks. The battlements of the walls rose to about ninety feet from the ground. There were four gates leading out of the city to the desert highways and caravan routes.

Baghdad grew at the expense of other cities nearby, such as Basrah, Wasit and Damascus, for Mansoor demolished much of the best portions of these cities to build his capital. In the centre of the city was the Palace of the Caliphs. Outside the city gates were the bazaars and on the north were the encampments of Mansoor's army, on the banks of the river Tigris.

Mansoor's grandson, Harun, better known as Harun-al-Raschid who reigned from 786-809 A.D., made Baghdad the centre of the world's learning and arts. Harun himself was a poet and scholar of no mean merit. This also happened to be the period when paper was invented in China, and paper played a great part in people's literature and chronicles. The literary outpourings of Harun's poet and friend, Abu Nuwas, and the exploits of Harun himself are well-known. The tales of the Arabian Nights have lent



King Faisal II Square, Baghdad

Courtesy : Royal Iraqi Consulate General, Bombay

city in 1917 by the British troops under Lt-General Sir Stanley Mauder. Till that time Baghdad was a part of the Ottoman Empire. In 1921, the British installed King Faisal, a local chieftain as the king of Iraq, under their protection. Iraq acquired an independent status only in 1932, when she joined the League of Nations as a free member.

Baghdad is no longer the picturesque city of Harun-al-Raschid's time. A railway station today stands where Harun built his beautiful palace and



gardens. Flat-roofed houses and venerable mosques stand on either side of a maze of narrow, winding alleys. Still retaining its oriental colour, Baghdad strives to be a modern, civilized city.

There are over a hundred mosques in Baghdad, most of them held in high esteem and reverence by Muslims the world over. Thousands of pilgrims flock to these holy shrines every year to pay their homage to the martyrs of Islam. The most important of these mosques, the Khadimain, the dome of which is of solid gold, is of special interest to Muslims. Right in the centre of the present city is what is today the customs house—a huge magnificent building. This was built by Caliph Mustansirih in 1233 and used to be called Al Mustansiriyah. This was designed to be a college, the foremost of its kind in the whole world. The structure of the building is still a matter of amazement even though it was built over seven hundred years ago.

At one end of Baghdad's busiest thoroughfare, Raschid Street is a museum of ancient Arab antiquities. The building that houses this museum was

once a mosque built by Amin-ed-din Marjan, a governor of Baghdad in 1374 A.D. The exhibits and the building itself are of considerable interest.

The ancient and the modern are closely interlaced in Baghdad. Along with the mosques, the oriental bazaars and the winding alleys, Baghdad has an up-to-date aerodrome, good roads, rails and what could be termed a "Western way of life."

Everything appears unreal in modern Baghdad. Ruins of ancient buildings and bazaars contrast strangely with modern streets and squares and residential flats. Half-a-mile off from a labyrinth of evil-smelling lanes, you run into a modern well-laid drive. Dozens of cabarets do a roaring business in the evening hours, while scores of pimps offer to lead you to the best brothels in the town. The limousines, electric lights, telephones and sewage system and the museums of Arab antiquities and of Mesopotamian art and culture speak volumes of the great progress that has been achieved. The latest plastic and nylon articles can be seen in the old covered bazaars alongside with beads and pearls and Persian carpets.

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## AN AMERICAN MOUNTAIN SCHOOL THAT TRAINS LEADERS

By O. K. ARMSTRONG

SITUATED in that ruggedly beautiful area of the Ozark Mountains known as the Shepherd-of-the-Hills country is probably one of the most unique educational institutions in the United States—a school that admits only students without money. It is a school that gives boys and girls from mountain homes a chance at academic and vocational training, in return for which they work in its fields, dairy barns, stone quarry, canning factory, machine shop and other facilities to help pay their way.

Since its founding 42 years ago, the School of the Ozarks has followed the ideal of developing leaders for isolated communities. The institution has given to the surrounding region, comprising about two dozen countries in the midwestern States of Missouri and Arkansas, some of the area's most outstanding farmers and stock-breeders, and farm home-makers among its girl graduates, with a good sprinkling of highly successful business and professional men and women as well. The campus is called Point Lookout, for it lies on a plateau 200 feet above the winding, picturesque White River, and from the administration building there is a breath-takingly beautiful panorama of the valley and the wooded hills beyond.

President R. M. Good, guiding spirit of the school, is as rugged, honest and informal as the hills about

him. He is of medium build, slightly stooped, with a bronzed face and enormous mouth that breaks easily into a smile when he talks. Especially when he talks about his School of the Ozarks. From humble beginnings, the School of the Ozarks has grown to a \$2,000,000 institution, with 20 major buildings, more than that number of homes and work facilities, 640 acres of land and one of the best Jersey herds in all North America. Only 250 students can be admitted.

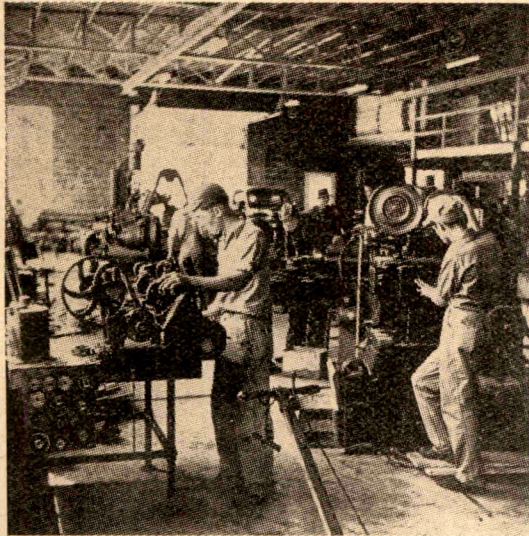
"We take the ones recommended as most needy and as having least educational advantages in their home communities," Mr. Good explained. "Entrance requirements are no money, but intelligence and willingness to work."

The president holds firmly to these two theories about an education: First, that schooling is of no value unless it teaches a youth that nothing is accomplished without hard work. Second, Mr. Good believes that schools should prepare young men and young women to point the way to progress for their own communities. Proudly he tells of the high percentage of School of the Ozarks youths who now occupy positions of influence in the communities where they were reared.

The School, organized by church leaders at the suggestion of a young Presbyterian minister, held its



first classes in 1907. During the early years, students came in on horseback and afoot from mountain cabins in isolated communities. Few had seen electric lights or knew anything about modern plumbing. The very



Future machinists are trained in the School of the Ozarks, a school for mountain children in the American South

first pupil to enroll was Clint McDade, a boy in overalls who walked the 10 miles from Bradleyville, Missouri. Today, McDade is America's leading grower of orchids. He owns two world-famous orchid collections, one at his Signal Mountain greenhouses at Chattanooga, Tennessee, and the other the growings at Sandhurst, England, largest in the 100-year history of orchid raising.

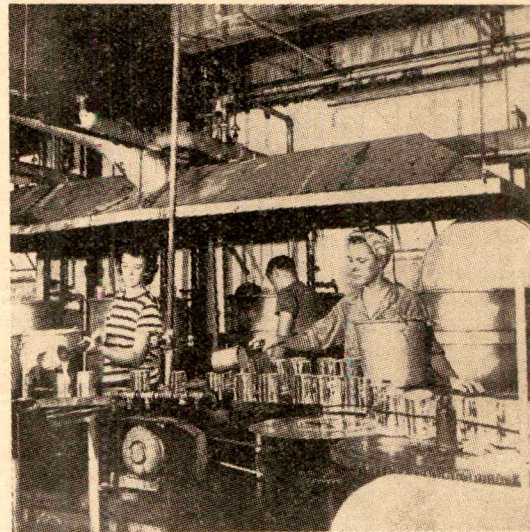
Only grade-school subjects were taught at first. Gradually high-school classes were added. In 1913, the first high-school graduate got his diploma. He was Joseph Gideon. Today he is a distinguished lawyer, serving as prosecuting attorney of his home county—a civic leader of his boyhood community.

Mr. Good took over as president in 1921. He married one of the teachers, and Mrs. Good has remained his close partner in administering the school. The students call her "Mrs. Sunshine" because of her cheerful disposition and helpful advice.

Since practically all the students came from farm homes, and Mr. Good hoped most of them would go back to their farms, his biggest need was to get more land to demonstrate how to make a living from the soil. With private donations he purchased a tract of 440 acres and erected new farm buildings. One of the first students to work on the dairy farm is today one of south Missouri's best dairymen. He farms and grazes 1,018 acres of typical Ozarks plateau soil, hand-

ling around 4,000,000 pounds of milk from his 85 splendid Guernsey cows. His dairy farm is a standing demonstration for all the Ozarks area of the most modern methods of milk production and marketing.

Of the 250 students presently enrolled, 210 live an average of 16 miles from a railroad, 8 miles from a high school and 4 miles from a school-bus route. Forty-two are orphans or from broken homes. No student is accepted who can pay his way at some other school. Each student works 16 hours a week during the 9-month term, and in addition, stays for 60 days of work in the summer, as part payment for the year's course. The cost per student is more than the value of the work done, and numerous individuals and organizations sponsor one or more students, making up the difference with gifts. Students pay for clothing and other necessities in hours of work. The president grins knowingly as he comments: "That is to teach them what many young people are not learning today—that every product can be translated into terms of labor."



Students of the School of the Ozarks are working in the modern cannery which has a capacity of 30,000 cans a day.

Two graduates of the School of the Ozarks, the farm superintendent and the head of vocational agriculture, are the key men in farm training. Both grew up on Ozarks farms and both went on to the University of Missouri. They have laid out a model farm with orchard, small gardens and poultry runs. About everything raised on a small upland farm can be seen growing here. All foodstuffs that can be canned are processed at the big canning factory belonging to the school. It is the best cannery in the Ozarks, with a capacity of about 30,000 cans a day. Principal products



are green beans, tomatoes, carrots and blackberries, along with applesauce, corn, sauerkraut and numerous other items. Arrangements are made with neighboring growers to take their crops for canning, and students do the gathering. Only youths 16 years or older work in the cannery.



Seated at his desk R. M. Good, President of the School of the Ozarks, chats with Joseph Gideon, the first student to receive a high-school diploma from the institution and M. Graham Clark, Jr., Vice-President of the School

The famous "Hyer quality" Jersey herd got its start in 1939 with a gift from Wilkins Hyer, chairman of the trustees of the school. The herd now numbers 80, all with proved bloodlines which combine some of the most outstanding Jersey bulls and brood cows. Three of the school's senior bulls are world-famous. There are 12 cows in the herd rated excellent, and 38 rated very good, with classification average of 88.03 per cent—one of the highest-type ratings of any herd on the North American continent. Under the master dairyman and his assistant herdsman students of the school do the feeding, bedding, milking and keeping of the records. In May, 1948, the National Jersey Association held a two-day meet at the school to honor Wilkins Hyer and the school's contribution to developing the breed.

The School of the Ozarks is an accredited high school and the faculty maintains strict standards, skilfully correlating the academic, vocational agri-

cultural and industrial arts programs. The U. S. Division of Forestry assists in a demonstration of the right use of timber. For industrial training, there are numerous projects. Important is the stone quarry, which furnishes the rock for all the buildings of the campus. In a completely equipped machine-shop boys who are mechanically inclined begin engineering careers. All the school's utilities are handled by students. There is a wood-working mill, where numerous articles are made from native cedar. A printing plant turns out the school's publications.

Home economics for the girls is the real thing. Every day is cooking and baking day, for there are three meals to serve to 250 hungry youths. The arts of homemaking are mastered in the dormitories and modern laundry. In the weaving room are 10 large looms and several smaller table models from which flow a steady stream of beautiful fabrics.

The school places strong emphasis upon family life, and is proud of the fact that up to July 1948, a total of 62 couples have married as a result of friendships begun at Point Lookout. The students are told that the work they are doing is just a sample of what they will have to do all their lives in order to grow crops, raise stock, construct buildings, practise law, build homes and rear their families.

The school is proud of its tradition of being supported entirely by gifts, without any financial drives of any kind, and of its record of never borrowing money, never going in debt, and always paying its bills when due. Mr. Good writes countless letters telling of the school's work and needs. He also adds to his bank of goodwill by sending out about a thousand fruitcakes—made by the girls in the school's kitchen—at Christmas time. "I want people to give only because they believe in our work," he says.

Because of such giving, a conservatory-of-music building nears completion. Foundations are laid for a library, another boys' dormitory, a chapel with tower and chimes, and a building to house the classes and laboratories in science and vocational agriculture—donated largely by a friend, in honor of his mother. Through the years, President Good has been able to keep an adequate faculty and staff because they serve from a sense of worth-while endeavor.

As the new vice-president of the school remarked, "I was challenged by what is being done here, and what can be done in the future, with these splendid potential leaders of this area of American life."—From *Country Gentleman*.





## RESURRECTION AND MAINTENANCE

By ADRIS BANERJI

THE Archaeological Department was established in 1862, with Major General Sir Alexander Cunningham, as the first Director-General. The scope of Cunningham's work was "to make an accurate survey of such as most deserve notice, with the history of them so far as it is traceable and the record of the traditions that are retained regarding them." But his survey did not extend to Madras and Bombay Presidencies, whose charge was given to Dr. James Burgess in 1874. General Cunningham devoted practically all his time to the question of Indian Geography with particular reference to the itinerary of the Chinese pilgrims and to determine the identity of the Buddhist holy places. In those days modern methods of Archaeology were unknown and the diggings that were carried out at Sanchi, Bodh-Gaya (he restored the Mahabodhi Temple) and Sarnath were not productive of any good results except in acquiring a few Museum specimens. With the exceptions of a few provincial surveys, nothing was left of the Archaeological Survey within a few years of Cunningham's retirement. It was in 1902, that the interrupted work was recommenced by Mr. John Marshall at the instance of Lord Curzon. Sir John Marshall's achievements lie in training a proper personnel for conservation and excavation, men who earned international reputation in the pursuit of their profession. He rebuilt the present Archaeological Department, as it is known to us at present; made it a Central charge, coordinated all its heterogeneous activities; saved hundreds of buildings from rack and ruin, and established a dozen museums. His period is indeed a period of renaissance as far as Indological studies are concerned. In less than six years after Lord Curzon's departure attempts were made to undo his great work but without success. Again in 1919 this department did not escape the attentions of the Inchcape Committee but it survived to exhibit to the world the prehistoric civilisation of the Indus Valley. This historical *resume* had become necessary to explain the limitations under which we had to work.

Archaeology is broadly divisible into two groups, prehistoric and historic; the exact division between these are always more or less of an academic nature, and depend upon the peculiar conditions obtaining in the region. Prehistory is again divisible into four great periods: Palaeolithic, Neolithic, Aeneolithic and Chalcolithic. As far as Palaeolithic and Neolithic culture of India is concerned, more spade work has yet to be done before we can come to any conclusion. Our pre-

historic antiquities were collected, and not found in proper settlements. Only recently, Major Wauchope made some trial diggings in Hyderabad and Mysore States and found Palaeolithic and Neolithic artifacts and Iron Age pottery. In Central Provinces, Mr. A. Ghose found some Microliths in the course of his excavations. The Chalcolithic period of India is better known as the "Indus Valley Civilisation," because of the numerous sites found in that valley belonging to that period. With the exception of Kotla Nihang, in the Ambala district of the Punjab and Rangpur in the Limbdi State, which were explored by Mr. M. S. Vats, all the remains of the Chalcolithic period were found in the Indus Valley.

Towards the end of the Stone Age, a revolutionary discovery was made. Primitive man learnt that certain stones melted in fire and became hard when cold. Thus dawned the age of metals. It is conceivable that metal did not supplant stone suddenly. In the very beginnings metallic tools and weapons would not be available to many. The masses, therefore, would continue to use stone artifacts. This intermediate stage between pure metal and pure stone is known as aeneolithic. The latest levels in the "Stupa area" at Mohenjodaro seem to have been aeneolithic, inasmuch as, cherts and flakes were found there in fairly large quantity. Since the earliest levels at Mohenjodaro has yet to be reached we may suspend our final judgment, instead of attempting any dogmatic assertion. At Mohenjodaro, remains of 14 or 15 superimposed cities have been found, of which few only have so far been unearthed. The culture of Mohenjodaro springs before our eyes ready made, and its origin is probably to be sought for in Paleolithic and Neolithic settlements. This conclusion is based on two different kinds of evidences, first from the behaviour of its art which tells us that it had long experience behind it. The second is that our materials are derived from vast cities which were built not in a day. Not only the civilization is urban but the people had developed amenities, such as town-planning, drainage, public baths and attempted preventions against inundations. The city of Mohenjodaro flourished between 3100 to 2700 B.C.<sup>1</sup> The excavations have helped us to realise two more aspects of the life of this forgotten people. The city life here was far more ahead of what

1. This date is not accepted by many. Men of same professions agree to differ.

was anything known in Sumer (south Mesopotamia) and Egypt; and they had commercial intercourse between them is proved to the hilt. The primary basis of life was agriculture. Domestic animals existed, and wheat was the staple food. The crafts of the potter and goldsmith were flourishing. The wheel was known. Glazed fabrics were made. Beads of larger articles and of faience were used. Vessels were made of copper, silver, shell and clay. In glyptic arts, the figures of the animals are remarkable for their vivacity and real feeling for naturalism and form. Carving in marble, like the prehistoric people of Anyang (in China) had made some progress. Cremation was practised at Mohenjodaro, and it was the custom to deposit the ashes in urns or in small brick shrines—the origin probably of the Buddhist custom of *Stupas*. In one case a skull had been ritually buried. The religion of Mohenjodaro man was polytheism. They worshipped the mother goddess, the phallus; believed in tree-worship, chief of which was the *pippala* (*ficus religiosa*) of the Buddhists; and their trees were surrounded by railings or by raised platforms—*Chaitya Vrikshas* of the Epic period. They had a system of weights. On sealings and plaques their divinities are found seated in a posture called by Patanjali at a later date as *Yoga*.

Harappa is another great site, seals and sealings from which were already known since Cunningham's days though their values were not appreciated till the discoveries at Mohenjodaro were made. It was older than Mohenjodaro and was unearthed at an early date. It was first attempted by the late D. R. Sahni but the major portion of the diggings have been made by Mr. M. S. Vats, to whom we owe the two magnificent volumes on Harappa. It is a monument to his industry, labour and skill. The devastation of the site, the fragmentary nature of the remains must have proved baffling to the explorer. Nevertheless, the harvest has been rich. He has found a vast granary to compensate the great bath of Mohenjodaro, only of its kind in India. Huge cemeteries of two different periods with funerary of a type different from those in daily use have been found. Painted pottery was numerous at Harappa which it shares in common with the Chalcolithic stations in Zhob valley.<sup>2</sup>

At Nal, in Baluchistan, Mr. H. Hargreaves found a provincial variant of the Harappa culture, and his good work was continued by Sir Aurel Stein, who found scores of similar sites in ancient Makran and Turan, as well as on the borderland between Iran and Turan. It was now necessary that a thorough survey of the Indus Valley should be made to throw more light to enrich the history of Indology. This difficult

task was later on entrusted to the late N. G. Majumdar, who was unfortunately shot dead in 1938 by some Baluchis. He located 200 Chalcolithic sites. He found another culture underlying the Mohenjodaro culture at Chanhudaro (since excavated by the late E. J. H. Mackay) and Amri. Some of the sites were also noticed by the late R. D. Banerjee in the course of his explorations.

Copper was the earliest of metals to be used and was succeeded by iron. A curious position, however, exists in Southern India. There was no Copper or Bronze age, the use of stone was directly supplanted by iron; what is more, this Iron Age culture was primarily megalithic. Megaliths are stone architectural remains associated with the dead. It means a large stone. The term was officially adopted at the 'International Congress of Pre-Historic Archaeology and Anthropology in 1867' as proper designation of monuments built of huge or small stones. The megalithic remains in South India have been found and systematically surveyed all over the Madras Presidency. They have been found at Aditanallur, in the Tamraparni valley, Perumbair in Chingleput district; Perungalam near Tellichery in Malabar district; Kaniyampundex and Sirimangai in the Coimbatore district; Ujjalkonda in the Karnool district. The excavations have revealed a highly developed culture in which iron weapons and tools were made. Rice was the staple food. Beads of carnelian were used. The goldsmith's and potter's arts were flourishing and ornaments of shell and gold were worn. They have furnished us with a variety of burial customs. At Aditanallur complete skeletons in urns as well as fractional burial were found. At Perumbair, the burial places were marked by stone circles—chromlechs, in the centre of which were clay sarcophagus or cist. At Perungalam caves dug out of laterite rock were utilised as burial places. Kaniyampunde, Sirimangai and Ujjalkonda supplied us with further details about cromlech burials. At Sirimangai stone flakes were associated with iron objects. The policy generally was a polished red and black ware. Lugged pottery, absent in Indus Valley, was found at Perumbair. At Perungalam a red jar with four legs was found. These are but fragments which convey to us an idea about the megalithic culture of South India. Further studies are likely to be more helpful in future.

Amongst the historical sites excavated between 1902-43 may be mentioned Takht-i-Bahi, Shari-Bahlol, Shahji-ka-dehri, Kalawan, Jandial, Mohra-Moradu, Jaulian, Giri and the seven cities of Taxila [3(?) at Bhir-mound]; 3 cities of Sirkap-Greek, Parthian and Scythian cities; the Sirsukh-Kushana city destroyed by Huns in the Punjab and N.-W. F. Province. Sarnath, Kasia, Sankissa, Kasipur, Ramnagar, Maholi, Saheth Maheth Bhita and Rajghat in U.P., Nalanda,

<sup>2</sup> 2. It is now the custom to describe the culture found at Harappa and Mohenjodaro as "Harappa culture."



Patna, Rajgir, Lauria-Nandangarh in Bihar, Paharpur, Rangamati, Mahasthangarh and Gokul in Bengal, Amaravati, Jagayapetta and Nagarjjunikonda in Madras Presidency, Sanchi and Besnagar in the Bhopal State, now in Malava-desa.

Taxila, and hundreds of ruins on the hill tops surrounding the Taxila valley, engaged the attention of Sir John Marshall for 20 years and the results have yet to be published. It has resulted in the discovery of human habitation from circa 7th century B.C. to 600 A.D. The explorations revealed a pre-Macedonian city of irregular streets and a provincial culture over remains of which the Post-Alexandrian city and Mauryan city were built.<sup>3</sup> The finds show cultural affinities between India and the countries beyond the Hindu-Kush. In Mauryan times, the culture was predominantly Indian; but the school of sculpture, that embellished Pataliputra, Sanchi, Sarnath, etc., is conspicuous by its absence. The city in Bhir-mound—the present name of the early cities of Taxila was destroyed by the Bactrian Greeks, who built their city in orthodox Greek plan (?) at a place now called Sirkap. It was occupied by the Parthians and Scythians who circumscribed the city and girt it with a stone-wall with square towers instead of the mud defences of the Greeks. This city was destroyed *probably* by Kadphises, who built the last city of Taxila, burnt and destroyed by Huns, who reduced the whole valley to ashes. From this devastation Taxila never recovered, it gradually passed into oblivion, so that its very name was forgotten and till 1914 it was called 'Saraikala'.

The excavations of Kasia, Sarnath and Sankissa are well known to you. They have resulted in the discovery of the 'Banaras School of Art' which existed from Suriga times, till long after the downfall of Indian independence at the hands of the Turkish converts to Islam. The common belief that all 'Arts and Crafts' came to a sudden end after the second battle of Tarain, and the subsequent series of Muslim victories against effete mediaeval monarchies is no longer tenable. We have found at Nurpur a temple, the ruins of a magnificent temple, built in post-Muhammadian times. In the ruins of Mansingh's temple of Viswanath we do find the same school or style even after *Taj-ul-Ma'sir*'s flamboyant claims that 2000 infidel temples were destroyed at Banaras to build mosques. In some uncanny way, memory of the former art traditions survived, particularly naturalistic arabesques and other designs harmless to the faithful.

In Bihar, the excavations were undertaken of the famous city Pataliputra, the capital of two Indian empires, by the late Dr. Brainerd Spooner, who found the wooden palisade of the great city and the

columnar architecture of the Mauryan palace having remarkable analogies with the "Hall of Audience" of Xerxes and Darius at Persepolis. Unfortunately the rebuilding of the city in modern times has made excavations impossible much as we would like to continue it because of the imperishable grandeur of its name.

Nalanda, a famous seat of ancient learning, was first taken in hand by the late Dr. Spooner and was continued by his successors at the expense of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain. Lauria-Nandangarh is another site excavated by the late Dr. Th. Bloch and N. G. Majumdar.

At Paharpur, the late R. D. Banerji found partially the terraced temple associated with the name of Dharmapala. It has remarkable analogies with the temple No. 1 at Ramnagar. This type of temples is known to *Manasara* as 'Panchala temples.' Scientific deductions, unbiassed and without haste, are required to fix the origin and development of this type of temples, whose logical development, under the influence of luxuriant vegetation of Melanesian jungles, seems to have been the Sailendra temple at Borobudur. Let us not however be hasty and generalise. The missing links and proof of transformations are still wanting and it would not be in the interest of science to be over-imaginative. The excavations at Paharpur were completed by the late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, who also explored Mahasthangarh, Rangamati, etc. At Mahasthangarh, a fortified city, we have found remains belonging to the 8th to 14th century of the Christian era, the ruins of a city made famous by Kalhana, Hiuen-Tsang and others. Sanchi and Besnagar were excavated by Sir John Marshall and Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, respectively. Sanchi has furnished monuments from circa 250 B.C. to 1200 A.D. It happens to be one of the best conserved ancient remains in the whole of India. All these were done at the expense of the Bhopal Durbar. Besnagar in Gwalior State represents the remains of ancient Vidisa, the scene of Agnimitra's amours in Kalidasa's *Malavikagnimitram*. It has been immortalised by one interesting relic, an inscribed pillar of Heliodorus, a Greek convert to Hinduism and an ambassador of King Antalkidas.

In Madras Presidency, Nagarjjunikonda, originally excavated by A. H. Longhurst, was further explored by Mr. T. N. Ramchandran. It has led to the discovery of a *stupa* of Amaravati type, later in date; apsidal temples, monasteries with epigraphs proving that the establishments were built in the time of Ikshaku monarches who succeeded the Andhras in the Krishna valley. At this place Mr. Ramchandran made an interesting discovery. A seemingly solid image of Buddha turned out to be hollow containing relics.

3. Further excavations at this place were carried out by Dr. R. E. Mortimer-Wheeler in 1944-45.

It is necessary now to cross the inhospitable passes and gorges of Karakoram and the Hindu-Kush to take stock of the results following Asoka's attempt at spreading his adopted faith beyond the confines of his native land. For this forgotten epoch of our colonial history we are indebted to English scholars like Rudolf Hoernle, Sir George McCartney, Col. Bower and Sir Aurel Stein; Germans like Von Le Coqu and Grunweddel and Russian travellers like Ro-rich. Altogether Stein made three expeditions to Central Asia in 1902, 1903-08 and 1913-16. He excavated in Khotan, Khadaliq, Niya, Charkhaliq, Turfan, Aksu, Mazar-Tagh, etc. His researches have led to the find of Hindu and Buddhist remains. The culture which was flourishing was fed by several streams, Iranian, Hellenistic, Indian, Chinese and Tibetan. Greatest contribution was that of India. In language, religion and paintings its share was undoubted. But other neighbouring territories are not lacking in their contributions. The script was Indian Kharosthi or the Northern Gupta alphabet; later came Chinese and still later Tibetan. The rich stupa of Rewak *stupa* and the wood carvings of the ancient site beyond Niya, reproduced with astonishing fidelity the motifs of the Indo-Hellenistic School of Gandhara. The frescoes of Dandan Uiliq bore signs of undoubted Chinese influence, yet with equal distinctiveness were found the leading features that characterise the paintings of immortal Ajanta. Further, the influences of Iranian art were also traceable there. So at one and the same place we find the Khotan Art, the product of three most ancient civilisations of the East, Indian, Iranian and Chinese. The seals and sealings found in the different sites bear eloquent testimony to the heterogeneous elements in the Khotanese culture. Stein was unable to explain where the figures of Pallus Athenae, Eros, etc., were engraved. But they were used by the officialdom of Khotan. Amongst the places visited by Stein were Khadaliq, Niya, deserted dwellings of Lop desert, Miran, Tun-Huang (some of whose paintings are now in New Delhi), Turfan, Aksu and Mazar Tagh in 1903-08. Then he led a third expedition in 1913-16 to these places.

We have so long been talking about what spade has done for, what time and man had tried to cheat us, I may now take you to another aspect of our departmental activity which is of no less importance, and distinguishes the Indian archaeological policy from that of other countries in the world. In Palestine, Mesopotamia, Arabia-Felix the ground is generally filled up after the planning and photographs of the excavated structures have been completed and antiquities removed, leaving no trace of the magnificent remains so eloquently described in the reports. In India, so far, the policy had been different. We have

not only excavated, but maintained them, so that you and I can always see and appreciate what the ancients had left for us. How they lived, worshipped and died, so that the man in the street, the boy with his parents, the student and the professor, will all have a better chance of appreciation. Can you, for example, imagine the "Kankali Tila" mound or the Mamalpur mound at Muttra, representing the ruins of the Huvishka monastery? Just also try to imagine the desolation of Sarnath, without the hundreds of votive *stupas*, ruins of the seven monasteries, the fragmentary remains of the Main Shrine, all covered up again with antiquities transferred to Calcutta or Delhi; and the decomposing ruins of the Dhamek Stupa standing as a silent sentinel over the deserted corpse. You may reasonably enquire, "Do the money that you spend generally benefit the public, except in satisfying the aesthetics and antiquarian tastes of a few?" I do assert that archaeological excavations always lead to development. Let us take the example of Sarnath, which is near to you and you have a far better idea of things than Taxila. In 1903-04, there was no communication from the Ghazipur Trunk Road leading to the ruins. Though the Jains had a temple there, they took the *kachcha* road leading to Sarnath Hindu temple and reached their shrine via Barahipur. In 1906-07, Sir John Marshall granted a sum of Rs. 7,000 to Mr. Ortel to acquire lands to make a road and to plant trees on its either side, that metalled road which you now so conveniently use and forget the maker. The population of Sarnath who lived amongst marshes and bamboo jungles, have now increased hundred per cent. For employment they had none, except occasional tips of pig-sticking parties of local Europeans. Nobody dared to come out after the dark. I remember that as late as 1928 and 1938 the local people warned me not to have my after-dinner walks. Murder had taken place in 1938, thefts are still committed, nevertheless, I do claim that there has been a marked improvement. At my suggestion the District Magistrate ordered a police patrol with the result that things have changed so far that you may try to come to Sarnath on foot at midnight without molestation.\* You will find peasants singing boisterously (*Gandhi-virahas*) even at dead of night. The heavy weight of fear has been taken away from them. They can now go anywhere, remain in the fields all night without any fear. Yet fifteen years ago Khelaon Pande was beaten in front of the Museum while guarding his crops. After our Museum was built, you all know that the Mahabodhi Society has built an international colony there and within a few years a Chinese temple has also been added. We have granted them (the Society) lands and allowed them to build their temple on a plot originally acquired for excavation purposes.

\*4. That was before 1947, when I left Sarnath.

The fine metalled road which leads to their temple passes through our land for which no money has been demanded from the District Board which maintains it. There has been arson and looting at Sarnath but it is with pleasure that I testify that no police *zoolum* took place in recent times. The archaeologists are the forerunners of culture in less frequented and forgotten corners of the country; places, which had seen better days, and following the eternal laws of nature had fallen to decay and passed into oblivion. This digression was necessary to explain to you the justification of the conservation policy of the Archaeological Department, which the archaeologists of other countries have failed to appreciate; and we now await the verdict of our countrymen on this point. We are not ambitious enough to consider our subject as a mass subject but we want the support of the cultured gentry and in their silent appreciation and needed support lies our reward.

Originally, conservation was a concern of the provincial governments but since the days of 'Reforms,' however, the task of preservation of monuments all over India became a Central responsibility and thus the extreme necessary work of preserving our national monuments (Hindu, Jain, Buddhist, Muslim and Christian) were subjected to a uniform control, policy and treatment. To understand our difficulties, you should try to appreciate the varying conditions and agencies of destruction, these are the extremely dry heat and cold, large amount of rainfall and consequent growth of vegetation. Our main efforts in Bengal, Assam, Madras and Bombay coasts are directed towards eradicating vegetal growths which is well-nigh impossible. The magnificent remains of Gaur will disappear in a few centuries. The temple of Paharpur is crumbling to pieces.<sup>5</sup> In the plains of the Punjab we have to face another great enemy, the saltpetre in the soil. The erosion, the flood and ever-changing courses of rivers in soft loam, loess or alluvial soil, like the Indus, the Brahmaputra and the Gaages are other destructive agencies. Cities and villages have totally disappeared in East Bengal (now East Pakistan) so that people call this part of the Ganges the *Kirtinasa*, the destroyer of monuments. Earthquakes are another fruitful cause of destruction. For what the rivers, luxuriant vegetation and hand of men leave, earthquakes demolish. Over and above all these, there is another class of agency who have unwittingly proved themselves greatest enemies of ancient relics. These are P.W.D. and Railway contractors. You have yourselves watched at Rajghat how series of

stratified remains were destroyed by the contractors. At Harappa half of the pre-historic site was carried away to make ballast for the Lahore-Multan section of the N. W. Railway. I will now talk to you of our handicaps. The staff for a large country like India is too small. Just imagine, for the divisions of Allahabad, Banarès and Gorakhpur, we have one lower subordinate. From this you may gather how woefully we are short of trained personnel. Because archaeological repairs call for such specialised knowledge, that without training, the work cannot be done by ordinary engineers and overseers. Let me now give you some individual instances. The monuments in Delhi and Agra have been fully conserved. Imagine the glorious Taj, the Fatehpur Sikri and Sikandra, with all its outer buildings and magnificent gateways in ruins; and the smiling little Mughal gardens that greet you at the entrance into these monuments, all covered up with jungles and bushes, and the fountains no longer playing to create that wonderful *chiroscuro*. Let me add the gardens of Shalimar, the lawns of Shahdara and Delhi Fort. That is some part of our achievements and so far we have spent more than a crore of rupees on conservation. But there is need of more and every anna that we spend does not go to fatten the *banias* or the contractors but artisans and labourers. This crore of rupees is not a small distribution of wealth.

The most important feature of the department is the creation of the post of the archaeological chemist and the attached laboratory and the appointment thereto of Khan Bahadur M. Sanaullah, a pupil of Sir Flinders Petrie. He has been responsible for cleaning and treatment of unearthed antiquities and I am giving you figures to convey to you some idea of the huge work done. Copper and its alloys 15,646; Iron 3,658; Stone 1,033; Faience 641; Glass 58; Shell 29; Stucco 258; Wood 82; Paper 19; Textiles 523; Paintings 211, etc., including bones, ivory and other objects the total coming to 28,880 objects. Apart from doing this work he has analysed 718 objects. I may draw your attention to another aspect of his work. All of you, let me assume, have visited Sarnath Museum and seen fragmentary images of Gupta and mediaeval periods. When you go next you would do well to find out the repaired antiquities and try to distinguish between the original and the repaired portions. Excepting the Lion Capital no work was done under his personal supervision but was carried out by the modeller of the Central Asian Antiquities Museum under my general guidance. Another aspect of our departmental activity I have not referred to and that is the science of Museology and Epigraphy which I will take up on some later date.

5. Since this paper was written the responsibility of Paharpur monuments have gone to Pakistan government.



# THE FUTURE OF CIVILIZATION

## A Psycho-Analytic Study

By PROF. YAQUB MASIH,

Head of the Department of Philosophy, G. B. B. College, Muzaffarpur

THE judgment as to the future of civilization can be passed from several viewpoints but, in my humble opinion, none of them are more penetrating than the one offered by Freud. No doubt in this particular instance Freud becomes far more subjective than he has been in his estimate of anything else. However, it has been well said by Reik, that the subjectivity of Freud is unique for it is super-personal. Indeed we can expect nothing else from a man who learned to remain a disinterested observer in hundreds of trying situations of human conflicts. His attitude to human life was always friendly though he was well-aware of its many pitfalls and alarming shortcomings. In spite of his positive outlook towards life his judgment as to the future civilization is pessimistic. His opinions may be thus expressed.

Human beings are essentially the creatures of instincts and their satisfaction seems to be the prime goal of all human endeavours. In other words the satisfaction of an instinct is experienced as pleasure. As such the pleasure principle dominates the whole mental apparatus and draws up the programme of life's purpose.

"The goal towards which the pleasure-principle impels us—of becoming happy—is not attainable; yet we may not—nay, cannot—give up the effort to come nearer to realization of it by some means or other."—Freud: *Civilisation and Its Discontent*, p. 39.

The search after pleasure is a vain pursuit for the pleasure of its very nature is only episodic. The pleasure is obtained only when the privation reaches its climax and this can be only transitory. For example, the pleasure of eating comes only when a certain stage of privation is reached, otherwise not. What to speak of pleasure, we find that there are positive sources of pain.

(a) Our own body is bound to decay and die and therefore we cannot dispense with the bodily pains as the danger-signal.

(b) Then there is the menacing outer world with its inexorable fate which faces us with the most powerful and pitiless powers of destruction.

(c) Finally, the communal life which is our refuge from the terrors of nature is also a powerful source of suffering.

But instead of enumerating the sources of pain it would be advisable to take a stock of plans adopted to reach positive and negative ends of human strivings.

i. The satisfaction of the instincts no doubt allows us the pleasure which we want but the outer world does not permit this, for we find that the satis-

faction of the instincts is followed later on very often by greater pain. Hence there is the doctrine of asceticism which tries to annihilate the very instincts themselves. However asceticism is an impossible task, for the very dynamo of life is the life of instincts and their annihilation is a counsel of self-annihilation. No doubt death itself may be a grand release from the burden of life but then it is the renunciation of life and all its problems but not its cure and remedy.

Seeing this contradiction in asceticism some wise men have counselled not the annihilation but the moderation of the life of instincts. This no doubt brings less pain but then it also brings with it much less pleasure too. Hence this measure too brings with it a certain diminution in vitality and as such cannot be considered as entirely satisfactory.

ii. *Libido-displacement or sublimation*: Every instinct has some source, impetus, object and aim. By aim of an instinct is meant the removal of the excitation of an instinct. However it has been seen that the aim of an instinct can also be inhibited. We will find that the so-called culture is based on this aim-inhibition which is known as sublimation.

"It consists in the abandonment, on the part of the sexual impulse, of an aim previously found either in the gratification of a component impulse or in the gratification incidental to reproduction, and the adoption of a new aim, which new aim, though genetically related to the first, can no longer be regarded as sexual, but must be called social in character."—Freud: *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis*, p. 290.

However, this diversion of the sexual to the socially higher object is possible in all those persons who know how to make best use of their intellectual and other highly refined capacities. But unfortunately, the number of such persons is very limited. And those few who somehow succeed in sublimating their impulses are neither immune from sufferings nor can totally escape from the demand of the crude libidinal cravings. Further, without repression there can be no sublimation and once an impulse has been repressed nobody can predict its success in the form of sublimation for the repressed impulse may also become a highly morbid symptom. Lastly, sublimation is not a conscious process and therefore it is not amenable to one's conscious control. Chances are then that a repressed impulse may go astray rather than that it may be smoothly canalized.

iii. Yet there is another device of obtaining pleasure and avoiding pain. This is achieved with the help of withdrawal from the outer stimuli and the concentration on the inner forces. This is best attained in arts. An art is an open indulgence in the

phantasies which hail from our infantile period in which the weapons of testing the reality were being forged. At that time these phantasies were exempted from the reality-test for the purpose of fulfilling wishes which were very difficult to realize in any other way. (Freud : *Civilization and Its Discontent*, p 35). However, the effect of art is but temporary,—some sort of mild narcotic and is certainly not strong enough against pain.

iv. It seems that the harassed humanity seeks a way of refuge from the many rigours of life. When the refuge is not a real one then it manufactures illusions. Of all the illusions which human beings have framed it seems that religion is the most potent. In it we are taught that there is a heavenly father who will take care of us. This world, no doubt according to it, is not a real world. It is simply a 'vale of sorrow,' but there is another world in which our tears will be wiped out and again, there will be no sorrow, no disease and no deaths. But this reconstruction of an illusory world is a delusion. A paranoiac finding the real world too frustrating turns his back towards it and creates a more satisfying world of his own in which his instincts are easily at least symbolically satisfied. The religious construction with all its hopes and fears is nothing but a mighty delusion sustained by specious arguments. Human beings accept them because they support the fulfilment of their wishes. However, the whole thing is so potently infantile, says Freud, so incongruous with reality, that to one whose attitude to humanity is friendly it is painful to think that the great majority of mortals will never be able to rise above this view of life. (Freud : *Civilization and Its Discontent*, p. 23). But religion does succeed in its task of alleviating human sufferings and sustaining them in distress. But think of the cost. It forces upon its adherents mental infantilism and spreads mass-delusion. At this place it would be out of place to mention the great and grievous mischiefs which religion has perpetrated on human beings. The history records them and will pass on to anyone who cares to take lessons from them. Religion then has to be given up in the same way in which the obsessional neurosis has to be given up in spite of the facts that the neurotics do not want to give up their

illusions for they derive a certain advantage from them both primary as well as secondary. The same thing is applicable to the religions.

v. Of course human beings have found comfort and solace in the presence of their near and dear ones in spite of storms and the raging sea outside. Certainly a successful love-life is a powerful source of deriving much positive happiness. But then there is the lurking fear that the loved one may die. Further, here lies the dilemma. If the individuals indulge in the directly sexual activities then the love is bound to fade and if the sexual activity is limited to its minimum then the enduring partnership comes to be threatened from the internal dissatisfaction. Again, there is also the latent hate against any conscious love and then any love-life is threatened to succumb to the accumulated ambivalence. Besides, there are the neurotics and the pervers and their number is very large and for them this love-life which our society permits is not possible. Love-life, then, too is a hope which more often than not deludes us.

It seems then that nature makes a mockery of our helplessness. It plants into us the aim of the attainment of pleasure and the avoidance of pain but it has ill-equipped us for it. Yes, people no doubt can take recourse to intoxication which will make us insensible to pain at least for a short while but then it degrades us and afterwards mocks us.

After all it may be pointed out by some of you, where is the deep or penetrating analysis? This is nothing but a loose sally of the mind and did not require a much boosted name of Freud. Quite true, we admit to have stated the conclusions of Freud without stating the reasons on which he bases them and now we will try to make amends for it.

We have already seen that the Freudian homo is a creature of instincts which have been classed into Eros and death-instincts. These instincts are not found in a static form in an individual but they admit of development. Hence there are several stages of their development. An individual is said to be normal when he passes through them successfully. A mental disorder is due to the arrest or fixations or regressions to these stages. These levels of development and their corresponding illnesses may be thus shown :

<i>Stages of libidinal organization</i>	<i>Stages in development of object-love</i>	<i>Dominant point of fixation in</i>
VI. Final genital stage	Heterosexual and post-familial object of love (Post-ambivalent)	Normality
V. Early Phallic stage		
IV. Late anal sadism	Ambivalent { <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Infantile object-love with the exclusion of genitality</li> <li>Partial love</li> <li>Partial love with incorporation</li> <li>Narcissism ; total incorporation of objects</li> <li>Auto-erotism ; no objects (pre-ambivalent)</li> </ul>	Hysteria
III. Early anal stage		Compulsive Neurosis
II. Late oral sadism (cannibalistic) stage		Paranoia, Paranoid Personality
I. Early oral (sucking) stage		Manic—Depressive
		Various types of Schizophrenia.

However, this course of the libido never runs smooth, we always show the scars of our upbringing and the infantile conflicts. There are three main alternatives in the instinctual developments, namely, (a) The normal life in which many of the instinctual forces are successfully sublimated, or (b) in which the lure of the early infantile life is so great that we, overcoming the shame and disgust, openly indulge in it. This is the life of the perverts so easily seen in the lives of the Agliories. The inverts or the homosexuals whose number both in the present as well as in the past has been considerable may also be counted amongst the perverts. Then there is the third alternative (c) of the neurotics in whom the attraction for the infantile libidinal life remains but in whom the repression is so great that they can never entertain not even the thought for it. Nonetheless they smart from within and are utterly incapable of normal love-life. Hence there is the Freudian aphorism that there can be no neurosis without some disturbance in one's sex-life. Thus a normal life is based on too much of instinctual renunciation and necessarily such an impoverished life inwardly carries hatred against a culture which demands so much of instinctual restrictions and renunciations. Again, we are in the midst of another dilemma. If we, like the primitive people, indulge in the sexual activities then there can be no sublimation and consequently no culture and if we renounce our instincts then we carry latent hostility against it. But at this stage we need, perhaps, a psychological analysis of culture.

Freud has defined culture thus:

"Human culture—I mean by that all those respects in which human life has raised itself above animal conditions and in which it differs from the life of the beasts."—Freud: *Future of an Illusion*, p. 8.

Now we find two very important elements in our culture, namely, knowledge of and power over nature and the mutual human regulations. Now according to Freud knowledge has been derived from the interplay of the instinctual forces. It begins precisely with the sexual curiosity. The child who has intense sexual curiosity will also grow into a child who will have vigorous intellectual life. As a corollary, then, Freud points out that one who is not free in his love-life will also be uncreative in his scientific or other intellectual life too. But the intellectual activity itself though is related with sex-life is not itself sexual. It is a sublimation of the libido. But what do we mean by sublimation? Of course this is in itself a big story and we can emphasize only one of its aspects, namely, this that the instinctual energy is one and the same though it may be utilized in the achievements of various objects. Hence if we give ourselves to the task of thinking then we will be utilizing the instinctual energy and more we use

it the less will be left for the direct libidinal satisfaction. Thus culture requires thinking and the thinking requires the renunciation of the libido. Similarly the conquest of nature requires the co-operative efforts of many men and this is based, as we will presently show, on the instinctual renunciation.

Therefore, it is clear that the formation of any culture is based on the coercion and the instinctual privation. It will be wrong to suppose that the instincts involved are only sexual though they do predominate. But there is also the instinct of aggression and destruction. The latent hostility to culture is not only due to the privation of the sexual life but also due to the restrictions placed on our hostility. Here again the perplexing riddle is before us. Love and culture conflict.

"On the one hand, love opposes the interests of culture; on the other, culture menaces love with grievous restrictions"—Freud: *Civilization and Its Discontent*, p. 72.

In this state of affairs the females are much more hostile to culture than the males, for the culture is predominantly the pre-occupation of the males and then they too with their limited libido can give so little of it to the women. That the culture requires restriction and the renunciation of the instincts is clear from the following considerations. (1) Even the stage of totemistic culture puts a ban on the incestuous object-love. The mother and the son have to observe very great restrictions. The son has to leave home and has to live in the club-house as soon as he comes of age. The mother too cannot call her son by name.

(2) Further, the restrictions on the instincts are placed by means of the many taboos, laws and the customs. These observances have to be practised from the very infancy and reach their culmination in the initiation rites. Even the life of aggression has to be greatly kept in check.

(3) Even our culture has its own taboos about the life of instincts. Our sexual life too has to conform to certain standards. Firstly only the heterosexual object of the genital type is allowed and all other types of sexual manifestations are banned. For many perverts and the neurotics these restrictions are too much.

(4) Not only heterosexuality but our present civilization demands that the sexual relation should be permitted only on the basis of an indissoluble relation between the man and the woman. This restriction is openly violated by most men and even the best of us feel that this is too much. Long before Freud, Marx had already pointed out that the proletariats have hardly any family life and the so-called family life is allowed only to the favoured rich in which case there is a community of wives in common.



The renunciation of the instincts is so great that humanity is bound to explode from within. The race of the armament and the competition in the piling up of the atom-bombs are the significant features of a civilization which wants to commit suicide, because the burden of the instinctual renunciation is so great. Like Samson of the old testament humanity is waiting for the last promise of the sufficient strength to pull down the pillars of civilization so that everything along with it may perish. It looks upon its very doom as the much-coveted deliverance. This unsatisfactory state of affairs will be more clear if we follow the instinctual basis of the society. This may be explained in this manner.

Following Darwin, Freud supposes that the most primitive human society may be pictured in terms of the present-day gorillas in which case there is the one powerful male surrounded on all sides by a number of females. When the male young ones grow up they are driven away by the jealous male father. In the primitive horde the young sons were exiled who developed homosexual relationship but this relationship was desexualized. The more the brothers entertained hostile longings for the father and the incestuous love for the mother, the more were they united amongst themselves. From the customs of the totem-feasts and the sacrificial rites it is inferred that the brothers once getting united attacked the father and slew him and afterwards ate him up. But then they also loved the father too and as such the parricide came to be deeply regretted in terms of remorse. It seems that the cannibalistic feast in which the father was periodically killed was fairly common in a certain stage. But Freud supposes that the father was also a great object of love and admiration, especially he was so to the exaggerated infantile understanding and this imago endured. The brothers were impelled to the parricide for the sake of the father's females. However, after the slaying of the father they remembered his good qualities too and as such they were filled with remorse. This remorse is still found in the so-called original sin of man. The important consequence of this remorse was the renunciation of the mothers and from that time the incest-taboo was initiated and was perpetuated, for the elders knowing the temptations for the parricide feared the reprisals in their turn from their own growing sons. The initiation ceremony among the primitive people is performed to terrorize the young generation against the incest tendency and the parricidal impulse. Further, the victorious brothers fearing internal revolt for taking the place of the father found this twofold device. The love had to be promoted to curb the influence of the mutual aggressiveness and as such a great part of the libido was transferred to all the brothers.

However, this genital love became inhibited in its aim and was transformed into friendliness. Then again they reserved another part of the genital love in the formation of the families.

At this stage we have made very little reference to the aggressive instincts and hence an account of this has to be given to complete the story. Not only there is the libido but there is also the death-instinct. The eros takes us to other fellowmen and helps in the task of binding together but the death-instincts lead to their disintegration. Not only in everyone there is a latent desire to get back to the primitive matter from which we all have sprung but there is also a similar desire to annihilate the group life.

"Civilized society is perpetually menaced with disintegration through the primary hostility of men towards one another."—Freud: *Civilization and Its Discontent*; p. 86.

Thus it is wrong on the part of the Communists to think that the cause of hostility lies exclusively in the possession of private property, for men will continue to fight over the love-objects. Without deflecting this latent hostility we cannot hope to have any kind of stable society. It seems, then, that for a stable society there is the need of canalization of both eros and the thanatos. The members of the society are combined together with one another in the tie of homosexual love inhibited in its aim and the hate is expressed towards all those members who do not belong to this communal life. Even the followers of the religion of Love fare no better as was clear from their zest for the crusades. Is it any wonder then to find that the primitive people fought with one another? The same story of love reserved for the members of one's own group and hate for all other groups is found in the present history. The Germans got their unity by making the Jews the object of hate; the Indians developed their nationalism through their opposition to the Britishers and history is only repeating itself when we find that both the Anglo-American bloc and the Russian bloc are getting firmly united by playing on each other's fears. The greater the cohesion, the greater is the fear of general upheaval and surer is the impending doom of the human race. Yes, the individuals as well as the human race are fated to meet their impending death-knell. Again there is the dilemma. The culture demands the co-operation of the individuals but greater the cohesion, greater and more serious is the doom of this very culture. We live in a society only by killing and we kill in order to live and one day the killing will become so great that the task of living will become impossible.

Further the peculiarity of the human beings seems to consist in his possibility of developing neurosis, that is, man suffers from fears that are non-

existent. For example, in the anthropoid apes the male ape succumbs to the attack of the young sons as soon as he grows impotent sexually and otherwise; but in case of the human beings the older they grow the greater is the prestige which they command; even in primitive societies they become medicine men or sorcerers. When the old father dies he becomes a still greater menace to the peace of the mind and he has to be appeased. How can we explain this peculiarity of man? Freud has explained this with the help of the formation of the super-ego and as such let us explain this and its role in the formation of our culture.

In the Oedipus-phase the son loves the mother and hates the father. At least this is found in the majority of cases. However, as soon as the son discovers the absence of the male genitalia in the girl play-mates he takes it to be the result of castration by way of punishment for the sexual offence. But what could be the sexual offence? Quite obviously, the offence lies in the love of the mother which he feels sensually in relation to his masturbatory phantasies and then again there is the guilt for having hated the father who from the very beginning has been also the son's ideal. Now the threat of castration begins to take a very menacing form for the child. For him the dilemma is, either indulge in the prohibited love and aggression and lose the valued organ or keep the valued male genitalia with all its complicated and rich phantasies but give up the prohibited instinctual tendencies. In normal cases the child gives up the love-object and reconciles himself with the father. This giving up of the Oedipus-complex is the most momentous step for the child. The father is given up as the object of aggression and the mother is also given up as object-libido. But nothing can be given up so easily. The child gives up the parents only after introjecting them in himself. He sets up the parental imago in his mind and this internalized parental authority assumed the same role in relation to his instincts which the real parents actually wielded. In other words, the internalized parental imago forbids the incestuous love or the cannibalistic tendencies towards the father. This internalization is not a strange mechanism. As a matter of fact we ourselves in celebrating the birth or the death anniversaries of great men very often say that the best way of perpetuating the memory is not by speaking about their good deeds but by following their example in our own lives. In other words we want to be like them. The same thing the child does. He makes a part of the mind in the likeness of the father. This part which carries on the function of criticizing or approving the child's acts is known as the Super-ego. In popular language the super-ego is the conscience of each one of us, keeping only this in mind that conscience is only the conscious facet of the deeper but unconscious

structure called the super-ego. This super-ego is at the root of our morality, the formation of group and society and at the same time is the deeper reason of neuroses and psychoses. We will refer to a few of its activities only.

Super-ego is formed very early in life, roughly between the age of 5-7. As such it is very archaic in its function. Its insufficiency is clear at many instances but it can be illustrated in the group-formation. The celebrated French social psychologist has pointed out that a group regresses to the most primitive level. The members of the group in a state of frenzy become highly emotionalized, exaggerated in their actions and very suggestible in the execution of the act. Now how all these peculiarities of the group-mind can be explained? Freud has pointed out that the group-leader is nothing but the father-substitute or rather the ideal-imago of the father. The situation may be compared here to the situation of the primitive horde with one absolute male father whom all the young sons envied and yet because they could not themselves singly take the place of the father, therefore they were united together in aim-inhibited sexual tie. The same thing is found when a young poet or a celebrated artist addresses a large audience; then all the females have love for the young artist but as they are all rivals for the same love so they deny themselves the love and instead of that join the party of his admirers. In the same way we admire the leaders of today and amongst ourselves we have nothing but the aim-inhibited sexual tie. But our leaders of today depend on the primitive impulses which impel us to admire them and which are these impulses? These are the same which were found in the absolute fathers in the primitive hordes, namely, harsh, cruel, tyrannical and absolutely narcissistic characteristics. That is, they do not want to give any love to others but want that everybody should depend upon them. Our culture has no room for the divine leaders who do not possess these qualities. Yes, this world is not safe for the saints to live in for they want to displace the ideal which we deeply and unconsciously cherish in our hearts. It is no wonder then that Jesus of Galili, Socrates of Athens or Mahatma Gandhi were all killed by their own men. This super-ego then which gives rise to the group-life is also our enemy against any improvement.

Super-ego again is the guardian of our morals. Nobody can entertain any incestuous wish or the parricidal tendency will for the man at once be heavily punished by the super-ego. In popular language it is known as the 'bite of one's conscience.' This critical faculty may become objective at least in some cases as in the case of Mahatma Gandhi or the celebrated Endymion of Socrates. In pathological cases of Melancholia its working can be easily detected. Here the ego in the eyes of his fellowmen does not seem

to commit any serious crimes and yet he takes himself to be the most miserable offender. In his own eyes benighted he walks under the midday sun. How has he come to regard himself such an offender? Well, we have already seen that the external authority of the child gets internalized through introjection. No doubt the later object-cathexes do modify the formation of the super-ego but naturally the first parental imago remains the most dominant influence. However, as soon as the criticizing agency gets internalized a certain peculiarity follows. The super-ego punishes the forbidden wishes with the same severity as the forbidden acts for the wishes are no more hidden from the internal faculty than the acts themselves. Hence the Biblical saying goes like this:

"Ye have heard that it was said of old time, Thou shalt not kill . . . But I say unto you that whosoever is angry with his brother without a cause shall be in danger of the judgement. . . ."

Again, a few verses after it runs like this:

"Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time, Thou shalt not commit adultery: But I say unto you that whosoever looketh on a woman to lust after her hath committed adultery with her already in his heart."

Thus it is easy to get rid of parricidal or the incestuous acts but it is not so with the *impulses*. These tendencies are found in the deepest kernel of the personality called the Id and work unconsciously. Hence the melancholiac will say that he is very sorry but he will not be able to say why he is so sorry. They feel the aggressive tendency unconsciously and then instead of using it against the father or the father-surrogate use it against themselves. The melancholiac practises all kinds of penances and punishes himself but more righteous he tries to be, more sensitive becomes his super-ego and demands a further renunciation of the instinctual satisfaction.

"This means that virtue forfeits some of her promised reward; the submissive and abstemious ego does not enjoy the trust and confidence of its mentor, and, as it seems, strives in vain to earn it."—Freud: *Civilization and Its Discontent*, p. 109.

This harshness of the super-ego also follows from the fact that it is too archaic and is quite unsuitable for the regulation of the adult life. The castration threat does not hold good in reality nor is the father going to be angry with the son for his infantile love-life but the super-ego does not admit these considerations. Hence the super-ego which is guardian of our morals and our uplift is also at the same time the most potent

means of our sufferings. It does not care for the happiness of the ego. Like the despot it ignores the strength of the instinctual cravings or the hardship of the external world.

Freud then comes to the conclusion that the present civilization

"is not worth the effort and that in the end it can only produce a state of things which no individual will be able to bear."—Freud: *Civilization and Its Discontent*, p. 143.

Thus the cultural development demanding too much restrictions in the sexual life and an excessive humanitarian ideal cannot but bring its own collapse.

#### CONCLUSION

Now it may be asked, should we also accept such a cheerless view of life? The thing is that in relation to the ultimate problems everybody has some taste and it does not rest on any rational ground in the restricted sense of the term. As we choose a certain brand of tea and call it good or a certain type of cigar and name it good, so is the case with the final conclusions of philosophy. In my view on the empirical basis Freudism is irrefutable. The reality is hard and is unkind. Any realistic picture cannot be anything but pessimistic. However, I for one would like to be a 'soft-headed' man and would like to transcend the limitation of the past and the present and would look forward to the future as containing the promise and potency of a better life. No doubt nobody can look at the human passions without being awed and cowed by their impetuosity and unreasonableness but one day the voice of reason will prevail. The voice of reason is very faint and weak but then in the long run it makes itself heard. However, the battle is not already fought and won. We have to fight it out for ourselves, here and now and in our own selves. Reason itself seems to be a chance product and we human beings too somehow have tumbled on this planet but let us make this a permanent feature of the universe. We have to some extent exercised the terrors of nature but with the same endeavour we can conquer the inner world no less. The gravest defect of Freudism in my opinion is the absence of value and without this we cease to be even human. According to him there is no final purpose anywhere and therefore he argues, let us so act as if there were no values and final aims. On the other hand we have to proceed in such a manner as if we are going to create a world in which the cry of human hearts will have a place, in which the deepest cravings of all that is dearest and best in us will not be merely a subjective wish but a real intimation of reality.



# HAMLET'S ROLE AS A DETECTIVE

By MAHDI ALI MIRZA

"Who wrote Hamlet?" roared the teacher glaring at little Rupert who was dozing on his seat in the stuffy class room.

"Not I sir," blurted out the little imp snatching himself out of the fairy land where tiny fairies with multi-coloured wings were playing hide and seek with butterflies round the pink and yellow rose-buds.

Yes, but who wrote Hamlet?

A wise Egg started the story that Bacon (the legitimate son of Queen Elizabeth) was responsible for the mischief. But it is no light matter to play this Bacon and Egg business with Shakespeare. The literary world was shocked. "I can't listen to you—you who would pluck the laurels from the brow of the dead Christ," was Lord Tennyson's curt reply to the Baconians.

And that famous exponent of Shakespeare—Henry Irving—has rightly said :

"When the Baconians can show that Ben Jonson was either a fool or a knave, or that the whole world of players and playwrights at that time was in a conspiracy to palm off on the ages the most astounding cheat in history, they will be worthy of serious attention."

But Shakespeare had anticipated all this. On his tomb-stone is engraved for all to see :

"Good frend for Jesus sake forbear,  
To digg the dust enclosed heare.  
Bles be ye man yt spares thes stones.  
And curst be he yt moves my bones."

The Baconian business after fermenting a little mischief died the death it deserved, and all admirers of Shakespeare breathed a sigh of relief. They could again adore their idol,

For his bounty  
There was no winter in't; an autumn 'twas  
That grew the more by reaping: his delights  
Were dolphin-like; they show'd his back above  
The element they liv'd in; in his livery  
Walk'd crowns and crownets; realms and

islands were  
As plates dropp'd from his pocket . . .  
Think you there was or might be such a man  
As this I dream'd of?

Bang!

"What is that?"

"Another bomb on Shakespeare's grave!"

## EARL OF DERBY REAL 'SHAKESPEARE' CLAIM OF BRITISH SCIENTIST

London, June 4, 1950: Dr. Arthur Titherley, formerly Dean of the Science Faculty of Liverpool University, has just written 200,000 words to prove that Shakespeare was in fact William Stanley, Earl of Derby.

Summarising his case in an interview Dr. Titherley pointed out that the Earl of Derby was

born four years before the actor Shakespeare, and was well educated.

Before entering Gray's Inn he travelled through France, Italy, Spain, Egypt, Russia, and Austria.

The only original Shakespeare manuscript left, says Dr. Titherley, is part of "Sir Thomas More," and Dr. Titherley produced a copy of this which he placed beside a letter written by Lord Derby. The two writings appeared identical.

Dr. Titherley pointed out that William Stanley visited the court of Henry IV of France at Nerac. He added: "The scene which took place when Henry's wife, Marguerite, from whom he was separated, descended on his studious court with her ladies is described in *Love's Labour Lost*. But Marguerite's diary was not published until long after.

Queen Elizabeth visited the Earl of Hertford's estate at Elvetham, Hampshire, in 1591 and watched a fairy play in the grounds. Stanley was one of her canopy bearers. The plot described in local records is identical with *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

"Records show that the Earl of Leicester's players, including one Will Shakespeare, a 'boasting usurious fellow' visited the Derby's house at Lathom in 1587 and almost certainly met Will Stanley."

Dr. Titherley believes that Shakespeare was merely agent to Lord Derby.—*Globe*\*

Oh God! Why can't they "forbear to digg the dust enclosed heare."

RIP (Rest in Peace) is the common label for the dead, but for Shakespeare it has come to mean: "Rip him asunder."

Yes they are standing on his grave and demanding with a shovel: "Who wrote Hamlet?"

Listen carefully: Shakespeare's bones are rattling in reply, "No, not I sir. Rumpelstilzken wrote it. And as for me: Methought I was—there is no man can tell what. Methought I was—and methought I had—but man is but a patched fool, if he will offer to say what methought I had. The eye of man hath not heard, the ear of man hath not seen, man's hand is not able to taste, his tongue to conceive, nor his heart to report, what my dream was."

Well that is that. Let us see how far this new publicity for the Derby race will go.

Outside England, there is no country where Shakespeare is more adored than in Germany. Goethe they admire, but Shakespeare they love. The German scholars have approached Shakespeare from different perspectives and have thrown light on his greatness from different angles. Sometimes the approach appears eccentric. Can they be blamed? Matthew Arnold has magnificently apologised for all the critics—past, present and future:

\* *The Statesman*, June 5, 1950.

"We ask and ask—Thou smilest and art still,  
Out-topping knowledge! So some sovran hill  
Who to the stars uncrowns his majesty,  
Planting his steadfast footsteps in the sea,  
Making the heaven of heavens his dwelling-place,  
Spares but the border, often, of his base  
To the foil'd searching of mortality."

Shakespeare's Hamlet has been dissected and analysed in every conceivable manner. A young lady once happened to find time, from the snappy books and journals, to read Hamlet. "What a book!" she exclaimed. "It is just a bundle of quotations!"

Walther Kiaulehn—a German critic—has approached this great tragedy from a unique angle\*. We may like it or leave it, but it has to be admitted that he throws fresh light for revealing the unfathomable depth of Shakespeare. And this is his point of view:

The common belief that Hamlet is mad is based on his dialogue with Ophelia. Is there another example of such terrible conversation between two lovers? Although he is stabbing her with the words: "I loved you not," but we know he loves her. He forbids her to marry, asks her not to be a 'breeder of sinners' and bids her farewell with the advice: "To a nunnery, go." She hopes it is a passing phase and prays: "O heavenly powers, restore him."

But he leaves her flinging the insults:

"I have heard of your paintings too, well enough; God has given you one face and you make yourselves another: you jig, you amble, and you lisp, and nickname God's creatures, and make your wantonness your ignorance. Go to, I'll no more on't; it hath made me mad. I say, we will have no more marriages: those that are married already, all but one, shall live; the rest shall keep as they are. To a nunnery, go."

These cannot be the words of a man in his senses, and *ergo* it is concluded that Hamlet is mad. A hasty verdict, as it is overlooked that Hamlet is a piece of crime literature. This may sound rather insolent and blunt, but it is a fact that English crime literature started with Hamlet. But Edgar Allen Poe, Conan Doyle and Edgar Wallace could not reach the level of Shakespeare's Hamlet.

Hamlet is the first tragedy in which there are no black and white contrasts, no jerks. It just glides smoothly. The dark deed—the clue of which is given by the ghost—is the problem of the play. But only at the end of the Third Act is the guilt conclusively proved. In the uncanny atmosphere with the creeping cold and the fog, the figures move about enveloped in a ghostly mist. A light from an invisible source plays equally on the good and the bad. It reveals the scoundrel praying on his knees, the hero wavering in his decision and the chatterbox Polonius preaching the rules of good behaviour to his son Laertes which are today regarded as the code of the ideal gentleman.

The appearance of the ghost creates the tense criminal atmosphere and starts the problem for the hero. The ghost which roams on the castle platform reveals to Hamlet that he is the spirit of his father. He tells him of the poisoning and goads him to revenge 'the most foul and unnatural murder,' but the mother is not to be molested.

" . . . . Leave her to heaven  
And to those thorns that in her bosom lodge  
To prick and sting her."

The last request spurs Hamlet to play the mad man so that he may catch the criminal without making his mother suspect that he is after her second husband. This decision he reveals to Horatio at the very outset but without letting him into the secret of his plans:

"How strange or odd soe'er I bear myself,—  
As I, perchance, hereafter shall think meet  
To put an antic disposition on."

There is only one person to whom he will say the whole truth—Ophelia. He comes to this conclusion after roaming criss-cross through fields and thorns—

"With his doublet all unbrac'd;  
No hat upon his head; his stockings foul'd,  
'Ungarter'd and down-gyved to his ankle."

And in this condition, "as if he had been loosed out of hell to speak of horrors," he comes before his beloved.

But in her presence, it dawns upon him: she is also a woman like his mother, who within a month married the murderer of her husband. Hamlet's thoughts wander over the nature of women. At the university of Wittenberg he has learnt to seek naked truth after clearing his mind of foggy subjective influences. He begins to ask himself: "Is Ophelia really the person which my mind's eye sees in her because of my love and devotion.—Or is she just like all other women—Can I find in her a comrade whom I can trust—Or should I be on my guard as she is weak like all other women—Has not my mother treated lightly the inner voice that warned her against the murderer?"

*Welcher Sohn eines Weibes misst die Frauen nicht nach dem Mass seiner Mutter?* (Which son of Eve does not gauge women after his mother?)

And in this frame of mind he approaches his beloved with a questioning look as if he is seeing her for the first time:

"Long stay'd he so;  
At last,—a little shaking of mine arm,  
And thrice his head thus waving up and down,—  
He raised a sigh so piteous and profound  
That it did seem to shatter all his bulk  
And end his being."

Hamlet soon notices that he has done the right thing in not trusting her. "In her duty and obedience" she gives Hamlet's letters to her father. Hamlet realises the significance of the request of the ghost to keep

\* Published in the German magazine *Die Dame*, October 1938.

women out of the whole business. But this creates a conflict within him as he seeks a comrade from whom no secret need be kept.

During the long lonely melancholy hours of indecision, Hamlet shoves Ophelia from the lofty pedestal, where his love had placed her, to the abyss occupied by women in his thoughts. But in her presence his intense love tones down his cold thoughts, and his talk with her is a mixture of the soft words of a devoted lover intermingled with his sarcasm against women in general.

And this in brief is the tone of his dialogue with Ophelia, and its reaction is seen on the face of the girl. She is tormented to the very depths when he says that she is deceiving herself if she thinks that she is honest. She is too pretty for that. A pretty woman can never be honest as she is hypnotised by her own beauty . . . "for the power of beauty will sooner transform honesty from what it is to a bawd than the force of beauty can translate beauty into his likeness." And he adds, "I loved you once."

Ophelia replies, "Indeed my lord, you made me believe so," and one can almost see the tears dangling in her eyes.

And Hamlet sees the effect of his words. But he suddenly realises that they are not alone. The king and Polonius are eavesdropping behind the curtain. He has a feeling that matters are heading for a climax. Perhaps this is the last talk he will ever have with Ophelia. And he may not be able to protect her in the moment of danger. He must bring her to a place of safety.

He finds the solution. She must to a nunnery go—and that quickly. Perhaps she will understand. He cannot explain openly, as their talk is being overheard. But he must make her feel that there is no other choice. If he disappears, she should not allow herself to be pressed to marry someone else—for he loves her. He must tell her at the top of his voice that he loves her not. And this for the benefit of the eavesdroppers, that they may realise the uselessness of using Ophelia to spy his movements.

The rest of his talk with Ophelia is a masterpiece in crime literature. He is addressing in four directions at the same time. He informs the king behind the curtain, how much of a scoundrel he is: "for virtue cannot so inoculate our old stock but we shall relish of it," and in the same breath he tells Ophelia, "I loved you not." And this to get her out of the mess. But time proves that he had misjudged Ophelia.

"I was the more deceived," she sobs in reply.

He attempts to console her by saying, "Get thee to a nunnery." This he repeats five times, first as a request and in the end as a command.

He then remembers Polonius, who, he knows, is listening with ears pricked up. He has to tolerate the

old babbler—for is he not Ophelia's father? He knows that Polonius is heading for trouble if he does not stop messing about. He says aloud so that the old meddler may not miss a word: "Let the doors be shut upon him, that he may play the fool nowhere but in's own house."

It is indeed tragic that Ophelia does not realise that he is in earnest when he says, "Go to a nunnery," although he tries to make it clear by cursing her if she ever tries to marry. He is not sure if his mother is also not amongst the audience behind the curtain, but presuming her presence he directs his curses on her and on her paramour though in all appearance they are addressed to Ophelia. He wants the king to know that he is a monster, as a knave like him could not stand the power of beauty that radiates from his mother. He then adds that he (Hamlet) would be a fool if he did not acknowledge the destructive power of beauty. He entreats Ophelia, in the name of Heaven, not to marry even though he may be far far away from her or even if they tell her that he is dead. But to his mother, like an oracle, he warns: "Those that are married already, all but one, shall live; the rest shall keep as they are."

He abruptly finishes the speech and leaves the room. He is afraid that he may not be able to control himself from stabbing the murderer. But he must not do that yet. The accusations of the ghost have yet to be fully proved:

" . . . The spirit that I have seen  
May be the devil; and the devil hath power  
To assume a pleasing shape; yea, and perhaps  
Out of my weakness and my melancholy,—  
As he is very potent with such spirits,—  
Abuses me to damn me: I'll have grounds  
More relative than this: the play's the thing  
Wherein I'll catch the conscience of the king."

Hamlet's calculations prove correct, but not in the case of Ophelia. Hamlet leaves Denmark after killing her father, who had not heeded his advice to get out of the game. But Ophelia's mind gets deranged. Even in her madness she appears to hear the voice of her lover. While Hamlet's ship is tossing on the high seas Ophelia, who is equally sweet in her madness, is walking up and down the corridors of the palace, sadly humming childish songs, with a blank look in her eyes.

The king asks: "How long hath she been thus?" She stops her song, and replies to herself in the voice of her lover: "I hope all will be well. We must be patient."

\* \* \* \*

Well, that is the interpretation of Herr Walther Kiaulehn of the famous dialogue between the ill-fated lovers.

Did Shakespeare mean it?

Can we ever know?

"We ask and ask—Thou smilest and are still."



## TOPOGRAPHY OF ABHIJNANA-SAKUNTALA

By VIJAYENDRA KUMAR MATHUR, M.A.,

*International Academy of Indian Culture, Nagpur*

For a long time past *Abhijnana-Sakuntala*, the world-famous play of Kalidasa, has received the most careful attention of European and Indian scholars but in spite of this, there are a few points about the geographical background of the play, the part of the country in which the scenes are set and the minor details of topography which have not been properly worked out so far. An attempt is being made below for the first time to identify in a consistent manner the places mentioned by Kalidasa in the play.

The story of *Abhijnana-Sakuntala* is too well-known to be detailed here. We are concerned here only with the location of various places, that have become, through the great genius of Kalidasa, an inseparable part of this great drama. These are as follows :

Hastinapur, the capital of King Dushyanta, the hero of the play and a descendant of the Lunar line. (Act V).

The forests where he goes out for hunting (Acts I and II).

The river Malini and hermitage of the sage Kanva where his foster-daughter Sakuntala, the heroine, was brought up and lived (Acts I, III and IV). Malini is also mentioned later, in Act VI (verse 16).

Sachitirtha in Sakravatara where the ring of Dushyanta which Sakuntala wore was lost as a result of a fall into the river Ganga, when accompanied by Gautami and two disciples of Kanva she is on her way to the capital of Dushyanta to meet her husband (Act IV).

The Ashrama of Maricha on the mountain of the Kimpurushas, Hemakuta by name. It was here at this celestial hermitage that the reunion between Dushyanta and Sakuntala was effected. (Act VII).

The ruins of Hastinapura, as is well-known, lie in the district of Meerut, U.P. about 57 miles north-east of Delhi, near an old channel of the Ganga. It was the capital of the kings of the Lunar line before Indra-prastha near Delhi was given that honoured place by the Pandavas. It finds a prominent place in the Mahabharata as a flourishing city of great renown. The identification of the present site of this ancient capital which still bears the old name, at once gives us a clue from which we may get a broad idea as to the part of the country where the scenes of the play are presumed to have been enacted.

The hermitage of Kanva, the home of Sakuntala, lay on the bank of the river Malini which has been beautifully described by Kalidasa. As is clear from the

story, we must look for this place not far away from Hastinapura. There is a river known as Malan which rises from the hills of Garhwal and flowing through the northern part of the Bijnor district (which adjoins the district of Meerut), joins the Ganga at Raolighat about six miles north of the town of Bijnor. According to a local tradition, it is the same river as Malini of the play and the hermitage of Kanva is said to have been at the modern town of Mandawar, about ten miles from Bijnor and four miles from the railway station Chandok, on the main line of E. I. R. between Muazzampur-Narain and Balawali, beyond Najibabad.

Mandawar, which is on the right bank of Malan, is a very ancient place and according to the identification proposed by Cunningham is the Matipura mentioned by Yuanchwang. No excavations have ever been made on the spot and we do not know what precious treasures of archaeological value are lying hidden there.

I think the local tradition mentioned above, is fully confirmed by all the circumstantial evidence that we possess. This will be made further clear by what follows.

The forest where Dushyanta is described as having come for hunting may be identified with the deep forest in the Terai of the Garhwal hills which still provides excellent sport. Amasot, a place near Sahanpur, a small zamindari estate north of Najibabad, is a favourite resort of tigers, deer and other wild animals and parties of hunters are often seen camping around this place. An old tradition at Sahanpur estate says that the Moghul emperor Jahangir also once visited these forests on a tiger-hunting expedition.

Wild elephants are also found in large numbers in parts of this dense forest known as Kajalibana and Kalidasa actually refers to the depredations of such an animal towards the end of Act 1 (verse 29). These forests are about twenty miles north-east of Mandawar and about forty-five miles from Hastinapur across the Ganga. It is probable that in the time of Kalidasa these forests were more extensive and touched the fringe of the area round Mandawar. The fact of Dushyanta having had a hunting camp near this place and having intruded within the limits of the sage's hermitage while chasing a deer (Act 1) thus fits in quite well in the present topography of this place. These forests, it seems, were the only hunting ground providing great sport, situated within manageable distance from Hastinapur.

In Act VI, verse 16, Kalidasa describes the river

Malini and the hermitage of Kanva in a most picturesque manner.

Dushyanta says to his friend Madhavya referring to a painting of the Ashrama of Sakuntala on which he was working :

"The stream Malini has to be shown with pairs of swans resting on its sandy banks, on both sides of it the holy hillocks of the father of Gauri (Himalaya) with antelopes reclining on them. Also I wish to represent a doe scratching her left eye on the horn of black buck under a tree on the boughs of which are suspended bark garments."\*— (Translation by Saradaranjan Ray).

It seems to me that the word पादाः here has not been correctly translated. It should not mean the hillocks of गौरीगुरु the Himalaya but only the outlying region adjacent to the foot of the mountains, for the hills of Garhwal and those near Hardwar are clearly visible on a fine day from Mandawar where the hermitage was situated, but it cannot be said to be surrounded by the hills which may be inferred from the above translation. Mandawar as has been stated above is about twenty miles from the Garhwal hills.

Sachitirtha, (the tirtha of Sachi, wife of Indra) in Sakravatara (the tirtha of Sakra, Indra) where Sakuntala accidentally dropped the ring while going to Hastinapura and where a fisherman† who calls himself a resident of this place, got it from the belly of a fish caught by him, has left no old tradition which could help in its identification. But a chance philological resemblance in names has led me recently to identify this place correctly.

The shortest route from Mandawar to Hastinapur will lie across the river Ganga about nine miles from Mandawar, through the southern part of the modern district of Muzaffarnagar and beyond the boundaries of the district, to Hastinapur in the district of Meerut, in all a distance of about thirty miles. Now, there is a place named Shukkartal on the right bank of Ganga in Muzaffarnagar district. Across the Ganga, on the E. side, about nine miles in a straight line from Shukkartal, is Mandawar on the river Malini. Shukkartala is a place of pilgrimage where a large fair

is held annually on the Kartika fullmoon day. It is famed as the place where Sukadeva recited the story of the Bhagawata-purana. According to the local people, Shukkartala is named after Sukadeva but they have nothing to account for the word 'tala' in the name. I am now convinced that Shukkartala is only a corruption of Sakravatara, referred to by Kalidasa. Philologically the change from Sakravatara to Shukkartala is quite obvious and on other grounds too this identification fits into the general picture. Thus Sakuntala's route from Mandawar to Hastinapur would be as follows:

Nine miles from Mandawar to the Ganga, crossing of the Ganga, arrival at Shukkartala (Sakravatara) on the right bank in the Muzaffarnagar district, where the ring was lost and lastly from Shukkartala to Hastinapur—a journey of about twenty miles. The fisherman living at Sakravatara could easily go to Hastinapur for selling his catch every day.

It seems from the statement of Gautami\*\* in Act V that Sachitirtha was a particular bathing place within the precincts of Sakravatara which might have been a name of a large area as it is even now. That it was situated on the Ganga is also clear from the words of Dushyant†† in Act VI.

The Ashrama of Maricha described in Act VII is said to have been situated on the Hemakuta mountain of Kimpurushas or Kinnaras. The place which is said to have been in heaven cannot be identified with the help of geographical data for obvious reasons. But it is not improbable that certain Himalayan races living in the high regions either in Tibet or interior of Garhwal hills were known as Kinnaras and the reference here may be to such a place. It seems to be quite clear that Kalidasa had the particular topography of the places described about in his mind, when he referred to the carrying away of Sakuntala by an apsara to heaven. He could not naturally think of a better place which would not be very far away from her father's place and yet beyond the reach of mundane influences.

Note : References are to the edition of the play translated by Saradaranjan Ray, published at Calcutta, ninth edition.

\* कार्या सैकतलीनहंसमिथुना खोतोवद्वा मालिनी  
पादास्ताममितो निषण्णहरिणा गौरीगुरोः पावनाः ।  
शाखालम्बि वल्कलस्य च तरोर्निर्मातुमिच्छाम्यधः  
श्रेणे कृष्णशृङ्गस्य वामनयनं कण्डूयमाना मृगी ॥

† अहं शक्रावतारवासी धीवरः

••नूनं ते शक्रावताराभ्यन्तरे शचीतीर्थसलिलं वन्दमाना  
प्रभ्रष्टमंगुलीयकम्

††शचीतीर्थं वन्दमानायाः सख्यास्ते हस्ताद् गंगास्रोतसि  
परिभ्रज्यन्तम्





# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

## ENGLISH

EVERYDAY LIFE IN ANCIENT INDIA : By Padmini Sengupta. Oxford University Press. Pp. 203. Price Rs. 5.

In the course of her Introduction to this short, but well-written monograph, the author observes (p. 8): "India is (read was) a treasure-house not only of great deeds but of manners and etiquette, of an ideal mode of living, and of a simple pattern of human existence which it is hard to find in these chaotic days of world-wars." This patriotic outlook does not prevent her from noticing from time to time dark spots in the picture, e.g., the inequality of castes in the epics (p. 56). The result is, on the whole, a good popular account of Indian manners and customs in the ancient period. We miss however an adequate treatment of the conditions in the centuries of early Buddhist literature. The author's division of Indian history into Hindu, Muslim and British periods (p. 4) is hardly accurate, nor does it appear on what authority she assigns the 12th or 13th century B.C. to the great war of the Mahabharata (p. 5). Her judgment that the last two centuries of the 'Hindu period' were static and negative (p. 6) may well be questioned. Equally unsupported by facts are some of her other statements, e.g., that the Vedic *sabha* decided issues by 'majority vote' (p. 47), that many of the place-names in 'Burma, Siam and Indo-China' (*sic*) are South Indian (p. 89), that 'the Cholas are mentioned in the *Periplus*' (p. 90), that 'Indians were buried and not cremated according to Megasthenes' (p. 110), that 'Buddha and Mahavira repudiated the Vedas and Brahmanas (*sic*) and based their teachings on the Upanishads' (p. 136). The author's reaction towards the popular tales of Kautilya's relation to Chandragupta Maurya (p. 61) and of Vijaya's conquest of Ceylon (pp. 88-89 and 153) is uncritical. The reference to the Maurya Imperial cabinet as consisting of the *Diwan* (*sic*), the *purohita*, the *senapati* and the *yuvraja* (p. 66) is startling. Confusion between the Pallavas of the Prakrit and the Sanskrit charters is shown by the statement (p. 92) that 'the language of the Pallavas was a Prakrit and they patronised Sanskrit learning.' A few proper names have been misprinted, e.g., Dhananada (p. 61), Ko-kho-ki (p. 77 n), Bhuiya (p. 97), Gosha (pp. 145, 154 and Index s.v.). A word of credit is due to the author for her illustrations which show sound judgment.

THE ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT OF THE TRAVANCORE-COCHIN STATE FOR THE YEAR 1124 M.E.

(1948-49 A.D.): Ernakulam: 1950. Pp. 9 plus 30 illustrations.

This is a record of a year's work of the State Archaeological Department under the usual heads of conservation, exploration, excavation, epigraphical and museum work. Though not marked by any important discovery, it contains a valuable list of ancient and historical monuments and archaeological sites and remains of the Travancore-Cochin State, illustrated with good plates. This list is enough to indicate the big gap in our knowledge of the historical antiquities of the State before the mediaeval period.

U. N. GHOSHAL

WOMAN'S ROLE IN PLANNED ECONOMY : Report of the Sub-committee of the National Planning Committee. Published by Messrs. Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd., 3 Round Building, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay 2. Price Rs. 6.

In these days of slackness of effort and damping of energy, it is something to read of the hopeful atmosphere that prevailed in those days of 1939 when the National Planning Committee held its sittings and pondered over ways and means of doing good to the country at large in its various strata. The report of the sub-committee on Woman's role in planned economy was not considered by the National Planning Committee, and that report, edited by Prof. K. T. Shah, is now placed before the public by Messrs. Vora & Co. Happy days of co-operation between Prof. Shah and Pandit Nehru: the idea of a Planning Commission was not yet censured by a critical public, and the members of the Committee, a galaxy of representative names of social and political workers, brought their business in due course to a successful conclusion.

The individual and social status of women has been at last sought to be determined, and the civic, economic, property and education rights of the individual have been discussed, along with the relation of the individual to the family in general and to the husband in particular, and the problems arising therefrom. This has been followed by a summary statement of policy and of recommendations, with the relevant resolution of the National Planning Committee.

The whole thing is interesting reading, and gives to the reader an idea of how things are shaping. The gravity of the situation will be realised when we remember that the happiness of about 50 per cent of the people in our country is involved in its consideration. Some of the inequalities between men and women are already giving way to a better state of things;



e.g., discrepancies in the scales of pay in the higher classes, say, of the Educational service; the total lack of interest in the organization of creches, the utter want of facilities for the physical culture of girls. But the Sub-committee goes so far as to declare that women students ought not to be exempted as a rule from military training. But something also depends on local initiative, and when we are told (p. 144) that in Gujarat even girls make use of Akhadas, the question naturally occurs, why not elsewhere too?

The plans would revolutionise the conditions of life in this country, but not mere planning: only when they would be translated into action.

In the concluding portion of his introduction Prof. Shah says: "Democracy would fail to achieve its purpose if and so long as women is debarred from any economic or cultural rights, privileges or obligations of equal citizenship. Equal opportunity is now guaranteed to all citizens of India; and there is no reason to doubt the guarantee will fail to be implemented." Let us hope Prof. Shah still finds no reason to doubt the guarantee of the Constitution of India. To follow up the recommendations of the Planning Committee would indeed be the ushering in of a revolution.

P. R. SEN

**LOST ILLUSION :** By Freda Utley. Published by George Allen and Unwin Limited, London. Price 12s. 6d.

Soviet Russia is the most lauded and most maligned country in the world today. To not a few, the U.S.S.R. stands for progress, for human happiness and for human dignity. To them it is the land of Socialism, a land where the Marxist ideal has become a reality. To many again the Soviet State, a vast prison-house behind an iron curtain, represents a negation of, a challenge to, all man has fought for and striven after through ages.

Freda Utley belongs to the latter school of thinkers. Hers is a formidable list of indictment against the U.S.S.R. It is a land where slave labour, corruption, inefficiency, jealousy, favouritism, espionage, wilful manipulation of statistics to suit pet theories and industrial feudalism thrive. A new bureaucracy and a new aristocracy have taken the place of the old. Human miseries are greater than ever. Life is "bereft of nearly all freedom." The Soviet Constitution of 1936, which guarantees the fullest civil and political rights to the Soviet citizen, is a gigantic hoax and has always remained a dead letter. Some of these charges may not be altogether baseless. Even the warmest supporters of the Soviet system, the fanatics excepted, do not claim that it is free from all defects.

The achievements of the Soviet Government may best be assessed by comparing pre-1917 Russia with the Russia of today, by finding out whether the Soviet citizen is happier than the Russian citizen under the Romanoffs. According to Freda Utley, he is not. But she does not adduce any proof worth the name in support of her verdict.

Some of the defects and drawbacks noted by her are inevitable during a period of transition. Allowance must be made for some initial mistakes. The birth of a new order, in common with all other births, must be preceded by a birth-pang.

The fact that the Soviet State, born amidst a

chorus of universal disapproval and condemnation, has become one of the two most powerful countries of the world in course of a little more than one generation points to the inescapable truth, viz., the new order in Russia has some intrinsic merit missed or ignored by its critics. Ruthless tyranny, heartless terror, drabness, poverty, despair and death alone cannot certainly make a people as strong as contemporary Russia. There must be some other factor or factors. It is exactly on these that Freda Utley maintains a scrupulous—shall we say, deliberate?—reticence.

SUDHANSU BIMAL MUKHERJI

**THE FUTURE OF THE CONGRESS :** By Acharya J. B. Kripalani. Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 38. Price ten annas.

ACHARYA J. B. KRIPALANI (A Symposium): Edited by P. D. Tandon. Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 132. Price Rs. 2-8.

The ensuing session of the Congress to be held at Nasik imparts a new importance to these two books as Acharya Kripalani has stood as a candidate for the position of President of the Congress. The result of the election will be out by the time this issue of *The Modern Review* appears before the public.

The pamphlet on the Congress was first published on December 15, 1948. Since then the drift to which the writer drew attention has reached a stale-mate in which the leadership of the Congress, identical almost with the Government, appears as helpless automata incapable of giving a dynamic lead. By analysing the causes of this failure Acharya Kripalani traced it to its lack of faith in an "all-round social revolution" towards which Gandhiji had been striving to move the country with the Congress as its "spear-head." He illustrated his charge by saying that the Central Government and the Provincial Governments were "indifferent" to the constructive programme; the "constructive workers" also did not come out of this analysis with more credit. Matters have worsened owing to "power-politics" in the quagmire of which the Congress has lost itself.

The second book contains character-sketches of Jiwatram Bhagwandas Kripalani written by men and women who have known him more or less intimately, Babu Rajendra Prasad and Sarojini Naidu amongst them. The others are fellow-workers of his. The book was published in November, 1948. Krishna Kripalani who is related to Jiwatram narrates the characteristics of the class—the Amils of Sind—from which J. B. sprang "self-assertive and self-complacent," dreading "originality," holding "learning" and "cultural pursuits" in little esteem. The 62 years of J. B.'s life have shown that he possessed all the qualities that are anathema to his class. Anil Chanda of Bisva-Bharati says that he is "a fanatic and there is a sleepless fury in him that raises perpetually a tornado around him. And in the ensuing dust the real man is lost" and misunderstood. He has a "bad temper," but as Sadik Ali of the All-India Congress Committee says, it is "good" to have it, and "spend it on friends and foes impartially."

As we read these lines we have often wondered how with this temper of his he could serve Gandhiji with such loyalty and for about 30 years. Journalist Chatapathi Rau explains: "J. B. is the best commentator on Gandhiji. His is the dialectic approach regarding Satyagraha as an organized code of military warfare." Therefore could he make fun of "fads" as he called certain of Gandhiji's constructive programmes,

It has given an uneasy feeling to many that such a virile personality should have had no say in the counsels of the ruling authority of Republican India. These character-sketches heighten this feeling.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

**KASHMIR SPEAKS :** *By Prithvi Nath Kaula and Kanahaya Lal Dhar. Published by Messrs. S. Chand & Co., Fountari, Delhi. Pages 203. Price Rs. 5-8.*

The book is divided into three parts giving the story, tragedy and glory of Kashmir separately. Part I gives the geography, social, economic and political conditions and other information till Kashmir joins the Indian Union. The misrule of Kak ministry is also described in this part. Tragedy of Kashmir begins with the Pakistani invasion and in next four chapters the authors give in detail the destruction of Kashmir by Pakistani hordes and United Nations' efforts to settle the dispute, 'cease fire,' etc. The last phase, i.e., Dixon's mediation is not given in the book as the book was published before Dixon's appointment by the Security Council. In the last part, the authors give a detailed account of the progress made by the State under Sheikh Md. Abdullah as Prime Minister. The authors contend that although Kashmir is for the Kashmiris and the State of Kashmir is inseparably connected with and is a part of the Republic of India, and from the dawn of history, Kashmir has been the crown of Aryabarta. Hindus and Muslims of Kashmiris belong to the same race, speak the same tongue, inherit the same civilization and culture and as such the so-called two-nation theory of Mr. Jinnah has no application in Kashmir. So Kashmir is to join Bharat, not Pakistan her aggressor.

The book is well-illustrated. The last chapter gives brief life-sketches of some of the makers of modern Kashmir including Sheikh Md. Abdullah, Sher-e-Kashmir. Kashmir, an earthly paradise, land of one nation, land of the poor, is vibrating with the spirit of Nationalism under the leadership of its present Prime Minister Sheikh Md. Abdullah and in near future is destined to play a great part in the history of free India. At present its future is hanging in the balance but the final say rests with the people of Kashmir.

Those who are interested to know past history and the present situation of this great land of Kashmir will find this volume extremely fascinating and useful. The paper and binding are good and illustrations nicely printed.

A. B. DUTTA

#### SANSKRIT

**UTTARA SATYAGRAHA GITA :** *By Pandita Kshama Rao, Hind Kitabs, Limited, Bombay, I. Pp. 157. Price Rs. 6-12.*

The present is a companion volume to *Purva Satyagraha Gita*, dealing with Gandhiji's life up to the Gandhi-Irwin Pact, in an epic strain and style, published years ago by the author, who is a well-known Sanskrit scholar. The *Uttara Satyagraha Gita* continues the story of the great-souled one up to his 75th birthday. It is to be sincerely hoped that the Pandita will before long also bring out an "addendum," covering the remaining few years of the hero's life, thus completing her great work. In 47 cantos, each composed in the *arsha* metre of Anushtup, she has dealt with the various events between 1931 and 1944 as a recorder as well as a revealer of their significance

in the light of Gandhiji's philosophy and faith. The fluency of the author's style is the secret of the "strength" as against sentiment—of the epic's appeal. The book deserves an honoured place in the library of every lover of Sanskrit and of Gandhiji.

G. M.

#### BENGALI

**MAHA-CHIN :** *By Sudhansu Bimar Mukhopadhyaya. Published by Bina Library, 15 Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta. Pages 240. Price Rs. 4.*

This is a book on Great China as the name implies. The learned author gives an exhaustive description of a vast country with its hoary civilization and chequered history in modern times. The subject-matter of the book has been discussed in twenty-one chapters and each one of these chapters deals with the subject concerned very thoroughly, Geography, Natural resources, Civilization, Peasants, Manchus, Reforms, Journalism, Dr. Sun Yet-sen and the Revolution, Republic, Chiang Kai-shek, Japan and her aggression, Aggression by European Nations, Rise of Women, Youth Movement and Communist China—all these subjects find their places in different chapters under discussion. In the 20th chapter under "Whither China" the author guesses the future trend of events in China. In the last chapter important events for the last one hundred years have been given chronologically. As the author closes with 1948, the present success of the Communist China does not find any place in the book, but past trends definitely showed the increasing hold of the Communists over the masses.

The book is well-written, informative and illustrated and we have no doubt that it will have wide circulation among the educated public interested in China and international affairs.

A. B. DUTTA

#### HINDI

**BALAK, GHAR OUR SCHOOL KE BAHAR :** *By Kedarnath Shrivastava. Garija Publications, Surjapole, Udaipur. Pp. 190. Price Rs. 4-8.*

The child's overall growth is determined by several factors: the home, the school and the society or style of government under which he lives. Unfortunately more often than not, his vision is not allowed to cross the compound-wall of his school or to travel beyond his door-step. And this stultifies his self-development seriously. The author, who is an experienced teacher, therefore, suggests ways and means whereby the child could be influenced for good by his many contacts with the world outside his present narrow limits. A valuable aid indeed to every school-teacher who, being usually poor, would have consequently, desired the price of the book to be kept within the reach of his ever-shrunken pocket.

G. M.

#### GUJARATI

**SONORI SHEKH AND FULDANNI CHHAB** (Parts I and II) : *By Pirojsha Palanji Damri. Published by Isna Asani Press, Bhavnagar. 1947. Pp. 123+48. Paper-cover. Unpriced.*

This is a collection of golden pieces of advice and the compiler calls it a Basket of Flowers. For a Parsi, the work done is creditable. He has culled from the writings of poets and others, passages full of admonition and advice, couched in simple language. He has made good use of his extensive reading and study.

K. M. J.

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# INDIAN PERIODICALS



## National Planning Commission

*Science and Culture* observes :

Dr. John Matthai's two press statements issued early last month in which the late Finance Minister explained the circumstances leading to his resignation from the important cabinet office of Finance and the Prime Minister's simultaneous reference to this at his Trivandrum speech have been widely discussed and debated in the press. This resignation followed differences of a fundamental nature between the Prime Minister and the Finance Minister over a number of issues, of which the most important was the recently established National Planning Commission. Some sections of public opinion have criticized Dr. Matthai for what they have preferred to call a betrayal of trust by giving out some inner happenings calculated only to embarrass the government at a time when co-operation and understanding from all sections of the public with the government are not only desirable but urgently necessary from considerations of national interest. Others—and quite a large section, fully believing that democracy works by trial and error and that the electorate have an inalienable right to know, and the government and government officials in high positions of trust and responsibility owe it to the electorate to inform them, all public issues of importance, have equally welcomed Dr. Matthai's frank and pointed statement.

The differences were not political, but concerned policy regarding vital economic, financial and administrative matters arising out of the constitution and composition of the National Planning Commission.

Strangely enough, hardly 3 months before his resignation, Dr. Matthai, while presenting the budget before the Parliament on February 28, 1950, himself announced the government's decision to set up a National Planning Commission, told its composition, and explained its objects and functions. It is no wonder, therefore, that his categorical statement that the NPC was "totally unnecessary and in fact, hardly qualified for its work" and "not merely ill-timed but in its working and general set-up ill-conceived" should have created general confusion and grave misgivings in public mind about the whole business of the NPC.

The late Finance Minister's apprehensions that the composition of the Commission with the Prime Minister as its Chairman and its tendency to develop as a parallel cabinet which would ultimately encroach on the present influence and power of Finance Ministry and of the Standing Finance Committee and reduce them to a mere sanctioning authority, are understandable and merit careful thought. His disclosures that there are at present a large number of government plans costing nearly Rs. 3000 crores, a great number of which are unworkable because they lack technical details, are undoubtedly matters for serious considera-

tions. These also include quite a number of very important plans for which full technical details have been worked out, but which still have to be kept in cold storage because funds are not available. The public would also remain grateful to Dr. Matthai for being told of the government extravagance and indiscriminate spending when the last farthing in a stringent economy should have gone to promote the country's precarious food position and general economic condition and towards the rehabilitation of unfortunate refugees from East Pakistan. But the entirely negative attitude towards the whole question of planning, as expressed in his statement, particularly on the part of one who has been known for many years to be a well-known advocate of planned economic development of the country, would indeed appear puzzling to many and disappointing to most.

We do not want to get involved in the much discussed discussion on the desirability and necessity of national planning. *Science and Culture* has rendered pioneering service to the country by advocating national planning during British days, and when independence came, it lost no time to advocate the setting up of a National Planning Commission on proper lines. This was nearly three years ago, when the soil was virgin, and a properly conceived National Planning Commission could have done immense good to the country. But to our utter disappointment, planning became anathema to the ruling circle, and the muddled methods of the British days were allowed to continue. This policy of drift has been leading to chaos, till some people in the Congress thought of planning as a remedy; and a resolution was staged by the Congress Committee in January 1950. As a result the National Planning Commission came into existence towards the end of February, and a subsequent government press note elaborated the terms of reference of the Commission.

We are inclined to think that the gravest mistake has been committed by placing the NPC under the chairmanship of the Prime Minister.

We do not question the competence of the Prime Minister to become Chairman of the NPC. But he is an extremely busy man, engaged in hundreds of things vitally concerning the country's fate, such as foreign policy, co-ordination of the work of his colleagues, etc. He can hardly be expected to find time to give any serious attention to the grave question of national planning and unless serious attention be paid to the matter, proper schemes of planning cannot be evolved. He will have hardly time to listen to counsels of the members of the NPC, and being engaged in hundreds of other works he cannot spare necessary time to judge correctly between the different issues.

At the same time, having arrogated to himself the power, he will, we are afraid, try to impose on the members his own views and prejudices. A national planning commission charged with the task of making

assessment of the country's material and human resources, drawing up plans for the best and most effective utilization of such resources, determining priorities, and of keeping a strict watch on how these plans are being put into operation, should be able to function in an atmosphere of freedom with the smallest possible interference from the cabinet. Closest co-operation with the various ministries, would be essential, but the Commission would also be required at times to criticize the steps and actions taken by the ministries and if necessary disapprove of proposals emanating from ministries from overall considerations. To be really effective, it should have an independent and dispassionate approach to all problems of national development. We do not believe this will be possible as long as the same person presides over both the cabinet and the NPC. With the Prime Minister as Chairman, the Commission would either tend to be a mere appendage of the cabinet or to be a parallel cabinet as Dr. Matthai apprehends.

### Live Stock in India

The problem of the preservation and improvement of live stock in India requires a thorough study in view of its important bearing on the rural economy of India. R. V. Rao observes in *The New Review* :

"The cow and the bullock bear on their patient backs the whole structure of Indian Agriculture," so says the Royal Commission Report on Agriculture, but it is unfortunate that nothing has been done to improve the situation. The place of livestock in rural economy in tropical and sub-tropical countries is more important than elsewhere and speedy solution of live stock problems is for us a matter of vital necessity. Closely related to crop production is the improvement of animal husbandry. Because of lack of livestock industries, we are deprived of opportunities for improving our economic position. What is wanted is a national approach. Let us hope that the F.A.O. Conference on livestock which recently met in Delhi will give the lead in the matter.

In India where the only motive force as well as the means of transport is the bullock, the prosperity of agriculture depends among other things on livestock.

Indian cattle yield an annual income of about 1200 crores of rupees. This is more than the value of India's crops. This however does not include the value of poultry. Specialised and organised poultry farming is conspicuous by its absence. We have too many cattle (India's livestock population is 264 million, about a quarter of the total bovine population of the world); whereas there are 100 for every 100 acres of sown area, there are only 38 in Holland. Of these only 25 per cent are working cattle. It is no wonder that a foreign visitor remarked that India is being eaten by her animals. Because they are inefficient, there is high mortality. We want better cattle and the objective can be achieved by discriminate breeding, more scientific feeding and better control of disease. Our per-capita consumption of milk is the lowest in the world.

The Agrarian Reforms' Committee constituted by the Government of Hyderabad, of which the present writer is a Member, studied the problem and came

to the conclusion that there is a deficiency of cattle for the agricultural requirements of the State. An economic survey of a Hyderabad village has revealed that 60 per cent of the cattle were unfit for work.

The problem of grazing has to be considered. It is of value only for five months in the year. Year by year, the percentage of area left for grazing purposes has been going down. The percentage of grazing area excluding forest area open for grazing works out only to 3 per cent for the State as a whole.

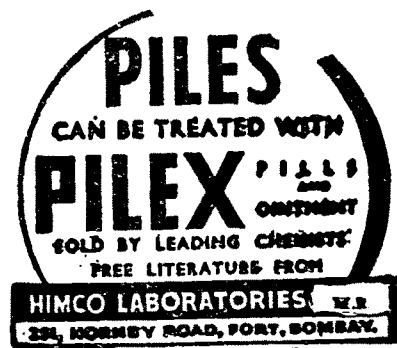
Our cattle mortality is very high and Veterinary facilities are few. Even in regard to cattle breeding for service purposes, we have one bull for every 80 cows.

The paucity of breeding bulls is supplemented by the uncastrated working bullocks of doubtful quality. The total number of buffaloes in Hyderabad during the quinquennium 1940-45 decreased by 90 per cent and those in milk by 11 per cent. It is not milk problem only that is involved but agricultural economy suffers unless steps are taken to remedy the shortage of breeding bulls. Poultry is still regarded as the Cinderella of agriculture. Till recently commercial poultry farming as a specialised occupation was practically non-existent.

It is better to undertake practical measures as the preservation and development of cattle resources should be part and parcel of the 'Grow more food Campaign' although no quick results can be expected from it. The decrease in the number of efficient cattle and milking buffaloes should cause alarm.

Cattle breeding as a regular business is pursued only by a few people. The efforts made by the Government to improve cattle breeding are not significant. If the depletion of cattle noticeable in recent years is to be made good, as Mr. Ralph Philips, the Secretary-General of the U.N.O. Sub-committee said, improvement in breeding activities must be carried out on Government owned or sponsored farms. At the same time private cattle breeders should be encouraged. There should be free distribution of stud bulls and the award of premia to 300 selected private bulls under appropriate conditions. We may have to import breeding bulls from outside wherein we have to consider the question of adaptability. The possibility of artificial insemination centres may also be investigated.

The facilities for cattle grazing are inadequate. The growing of grass and fodder crops



in the cultivator's field seems to be the only remedy.

The following observations contained in the Report of the Cattle Preservation and Development Committee 1947-48 deserve to be borne in mind :

"The use of edible oilcakes for any other than cattle feeding purposes should be prevented and cattle dung utilised for manure. Oil extraction and cotton seed ginning centres should be established in rural areas so that their by-products may be utilised for cattle feed purposes. An Experimental Fodder Farm should be established in each zone of cattle breeding activity. Use of cotton seed for the manufacture of vegetable oils and use of chemicals in oil extraction should be banned. Production of fodder and cattle feeds should receive as high priority as production of foodgrains."

The Royal Commission on Agriculture suggested that there must be one dispensary for every 25,000 head of cattle; at this rate there should be some 500 dispensaries in the State. It is suggested that dairy-farming be developed both as a cottage and large scale industry, so as to provide subsidiary employment in the villages and at the same time to supply the milk requirements of the cities which are indifferently served in this respect. The question of establishing large-scale dairy farms besides a number of rural units should be seriously considered. The offer of grants-in-aid in cash together with the assignment of sufficient land for grazing may possibly attract intelligent persons to take to this industry. The Government would do well to import every year a certain number of buffaloes of good breed from foreign countries and make them available for service free of charge in selected places.

In view of the fact that the woollen industry is developed in the Country, it is necessary that sheep-farming should receive more than the token attention which has been hitherto paid to it.

A country-wide development of poultry farming may be undertaken in view of the great possibilities of this industry and its suitability as a subsidiary occupation to the agriculturist. It is also suggested that the Government should investigate the possibilities of developing bee-keeping as a rural industry.

Also recommended is the establishment of *Charmalayas* for the collection and economic disposal of the skins of dead animals in the rural parts. India is the largest supplier of hides and skins to the world market, the annual value of her exports amounting to Rs. 8 to 11 crores in prewar years.

### Social Progress

*The New Review* observes :

The changeless East is changing, and changing fast. A striking proof can be found in the facility with which our legislators adopt social reforms and enter upon most progressive legislation. The latest instance is the Fair Wage Bill which was introduced in the last session of Central Parliament and which completes the Minimum Wage Act of 1948. The minimum wage which is fixed for some specified industries is defined as the wage 'which ensures an employee the means to provide a standard family with food, shelter and clothing, and also medical expenses as well as the education of children appropriate to their station in life.'

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Parliament gave the Bill a sympathetic reception and will consider it in detail during its next session. It is bound to pass into Law; our legislators are wont to display progressive ideals which the nearness of crucial elections will not tone down. It was with a twang of impatience that they heard the Provinces had not all taken suitable steps to implement the Minimum Wage Act of 1948 and legalised a period of respite. Too often do Centre and Provinces, Legislative and Executive, fail to keep in step. Laws, rules and regulations are voted at commendable speed, but provinces and executive suffer from what looks to be an incurable limp.

#### PORTUGUESE COURTESY

The Indian Christian community above all others feel grateful to Portugal for having relinquished her rights of ecclesiastical patronage over some Indian bishoprics. They were goaded to irritatin at those ancient privileges which past services justified but modern developments rendered annoyingly obsolete. They acknowledge past devotedness and are gratified at the present courtesy, even if it be a little tardy.

They look forward to the day when they will be able to welcome their Goan brethren as fellow-citizens. The Goans who have migrated to all the corners of India keep as loyal to their ancestral place as any other community; this loyalty to the native village is eminently respectable though it adds to the cultural complexity of India. In the case of Goans and Pakistanis this ancestral loyalty needs adjustment to political conditions. Gone are the days when all and sundry could roam all over this sub-continent, settle anywhere and join any service. Today Pakistan and Goa are foreign countries; their nationals have to be legally treated as foreigners, with consequences damaging to their economic advancement.

On a longer view, the resorption of Goan territories as a part of Bharat is unavoidable. Indian consciousness in Goan youth is growing rapidly, though it is overawed by the presence of African troops and retarded by some ugly features in a few neighbouring districts of Bharat.

The Government of India is becoming impatient at 'the foreign pimples' on India's face; its restraint in applying economic pressure is commendable but cannot last out, once longanimity will have vanished with the old Congress High Command. It is puzzling that the Portuguese leaders who usually combine imagination and realism do not provide for developments that are inevitable. The legalistic view that Goa is an integral part of Portugal is badly contradicted by the *Acto Colonial*, and besides no amount of legalism will thwart the course of history. Would it not be a piece of the highest statesmanship to offer Goa plebiscite and autonomy? The measure might

involve the loss of a diminutive 'possession,' but it would save all the cultural influence that can be saved and confer on Portuguese cultural prestige an uncommon glamour. It would also secure the goodwill of the Indian government and people, and in modern international life goodwill is priceless.

#### The Negro and World Progress

William A. Rutherford writes in *The Aryan Path* :

It is often said, and agreed to by most, that the foundations of peace rest in the minds of men. It seems to me to be as undeniably true that the progress of the world can be measured by the physical and moral condition of man. The title of this article might be, as I suspect my editor thought it was, *The Negro in World Progress*. As we shall see, however, the slight difference in terms covers the rather large realms of two quite different subjects.

On the one hand, it is a question of world progress in a number of spheres such as science, economics, literature, philosophy, religion, etc., from one state to another. The record of the different problems which have faced and face mankind, and the solutions with which it has answered them. In this respect the subject of *The Negro in World Progress* would naturally embrace members of this group, such as the famous scientist, George Washington Carver, and perhaps the more obscure 18th-century Negro slave and almanac maker, Benjamin Banneker, and a host of others, including contemporary American Negroes such as Ralph Bunche and W. E. B. Du Bois, and their contributions to humanity in all the many spheres of human endeavour.

On the other hand, however, that of *The Negro and World Progress*, no such record of glorious achievement and contribution exists. If the postulate can be accepted that the condition and plight of men is an index of world or human progress, then from the point of view of the Negro—and the world—little or no progress can be recorded. In the disordered world of today, such progress must be made and recorded while there is the possibility of making it and a chronicler still alive to note it.

This generation might look with pride and satisfaction upon the strides that man—black, white, yellow, brown—has made during the past decade: the achievement of freedom and national independence

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by millions of people; the mechanical and technological developments and innovations which theoretically enrich all mankind; the organized campaigns against illiteracy and ignorance; the discoveries in medicine and chemistry which can overcome heretofore invincible maladies; the tiny steps that have been taken in some countries towards a more social—equal—distribution of common goods; the increasing international movement of national cultures, evinced by the interest, in almost all countries: in the literature and art of other countries. These things, and many more, might be looked upon with pride and satisfaction.

If the scrutiny of man's progress was thorough enough—or made by a Negro—the look of pride and satisfaction would become one of shame and disgust—and perhaps of anger.

Of the millions of people in the world today who still live under the brutality and assorted horrors of racial or national subjugation, the majority are Negro. In a world where there is supposedly a growing literacy rate, stands Africa—99 per cent illiterate. Under the eyes of the 20th-century gods, Freedom and Justice, black men are lynched and murdered legally—without trial,—starved and forced to work without pay, and are hated for being weak. Technological advancement can mean little to them when their first thought is bread. Medical discoveries are of no interest, even in the most diseased parts of the world, when they have no doctors and schools refuse to train them because their faces are black.

It is not good to think of these things when contemplating world progress, yet they are a part of it. For how long have these things been true?—How much progress has been made towards changing them?—Then how fast are we progressing? It is difficult for a Negro to think of "world progress" and not be bitter. For if there has been progress in the world in the complete sense, *ergo*, he is not a part of that world, for he has known little or none.

It goes beyond the limits of our credulity to argue here the basic equality of men. And it would seem to be as obvious that, men being equal, it is impossible to have world progress without it being progress for the *whole* world. Consider the impossibility of a unit with one part of it going forward and another part standing still or going backward. Recalling our topic: The Negro and World Progress (as opposed to The Negro in World Progress), some might think that our treatment had slighted the subject. After all we are only a few thousand years old, and we—including the Negro—have made *some* progress. But we would do well to remember that progress can only be real when it is universal and equal. And that, until it becomes so, we are faced, sooner or later, with an explosion which will leave our "progress" in ashes. *There are hundreds of millions of people whose situation has been getting worse instead of better for the last four hundred years. They have known no progress.*

The key to the desires and needs of our times, peace, security, freedom from fear and want, lie in that often used but seldom understood expression: Equality. And until we achieve this, progress, in terms of the world, will be a highly academic and nebulous question, and one likely to blow up in our faces at any moment.

## Gandhi Memorial Number

### Visva-Bharati Quarterly

#### Contributors

JAWAHARLAL NEHRU  
S. RADHAKRISHNAN  
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES  
ALDOUS HUXLEY  
J. B. KRIPALANI  
SATIS C. DASGUPTA  
NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE  
HUMAYUN KABIR  
K. G. MASHRUWALA  
HORACE ALEXANDER  
ARTHUR MOORE  
H. S. L. POLAK  
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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## Farewell to Harold Laski

Herbert Howarth writes in the *Jewish Frontier*, July 1950 :

The death of Professor Harold Laski was a tragedy in many ways. He was only 56 and his powers were full and robust and as trenchant as ever. On the night of Thursday, March 23rd, he was suddenly taken ill, was carried to the hospital and died there on Friday.

What a keen thin body he had ! I see him in the mind's eye as he looked when talking to the Fabian Society one evening at the London School of Economics a year or two ago. With his slight dark hair, his glasses, his wiry frame, he was a rapier or a scimitar of a man—certainly some sort of sword, swift to cut through bad thinking. His speechmaking was the same. For an intimate, intelligent audience his darting tongue and insistent criticism could provide the finest of all entertainment. He searched out shams and exposed them devastatingly.

But the destructive criticism that was Laski's stock-in-trade was based on warm, shy ideals. Behind the glasses the twinkling, awake eyes were utterly humane. He could be so destructive and unsparing of his political opponents only because he was so loving. The Fabian Society, with which he was very closely connected, worked in terms of economics, and, as the name with its invocation of the Roman strategist implies, set out to be a battle-machine, but its impulses were rooted deep in Victorian faith in progress and man's capacity for goodness. In this sense Laski was a born Fabian, and never ceased to be one.

That will be clear to all who read his writings or heard him speak, whether in Britain or America or Western Europe. What may not be so clear in America, where Laski's most obvious importance was as a theorist of the British Labor Party, is that he was also, even while far out of touch with orthodox observance, unremittingly Jewish, bringing to bear on all he touched those complimentary capacities for detailed criticism and broad understanding which are part of the development of Jewish genius.

There was a legalist accuracy of definition about Laski's thinking that was almost Talmudic;—and he gave it a political application. There was also that motive power of love that made him a Fabian and a humanist, and that was almost Hassidic;—but that, too, he gave a political application, making it selective, but making it also purposeful and inspiring, so that in fact, it inspired students at the London School of Economics for twenty-nine magnificent years.

One can be yet more specific about the Jewish qualities of Harold Laski. He was a Manchester Jew. He was a product of the great, if now fading, Manchester era of British Jewry. Within the few weeks since Laski's death Princess Margaret has been laying the foundation-stone of a new Free Trade Hall at Manchester, replacing the historic Free Trade Hall swept away in Hitler's blitz. This new hall will in fact be a cenotaph, a mere tribute and inscription to the

Manchester of the nineteenth century, for which the original hall had a living meaning and pointed to a dynamic, thrusting economic instinct, out of whose workings the prosperity of the city and all adjacent Lancashire was begotten. Such prosperity attracted able men to it and produced able men among their descendants. The Jewish community developed commensurately with the whole of the cotton folk.

It was a vigorous community at the forefront of British Jewish affairs. Everyone will remember, for example, that when Weizmann came as a young man to a British university, he came to Manchester. Zionism won quick comprehension there, where ideas were as fluid and lively as in the capital. The vitality of the community may be said to have gone *pari passu* with the greatness of the *Manchester Guardian*; and when Laski was growing up the editorship of C. P. Scott was in full advance. The Rylands Library had been founded, the Halle Orchestra had made its splendid reputation. You could not be Nathan Laski's son in the Manchester of that era without carrying a flame with you into life.

From school in Manchester Harold Laski went to a distinguished university career at New College, Oxford, where he won the Beit Historical Essay Prize and took a first class degree in his finals. Then for further study to America, to begin a lifelong association with the States which was eventually to be of almost national value, because it enabled him to interpret American opinion to Britain and British opinion to America. The effect that America had on his inner growth has never been evaluated, but one thing can be hazarded, that it helped in promoting both the incisiveness of his style and the breadth of his idealism. It did not modify his direction; it rather took him more rapidly in the direction he was going.

His name is especially associated with the London School of Economics, which he joined on return from America. Teaching political history there, he handed down his gifts to one generation of pupils after another. And that brings me back to the memory with which this short tribute opened, the speech I heard him make in a Common Room of the School that dusty summer evening. It was a speech which, as it now seems to me, contained the essence of the man, the key to his role in current British politics. The subject of his talk that evening was the way institutions change and lose their character. What about this very institution we are in now, he asked his audience. He reminded them how the London School of Economics began:—Sidney Webb and Bernard Shaw and Bertrand Russell working together, teachers and pupil, in a room half-adapted to serve as a school. It began, unaided and isolated, as a practical instance of Fabianism appealing to the mind and seeking through the operations of the mind to turn the world from "a darkling plain where ignorant armies clash by night" into a better place to live in. Now today, more than fifty years later, the institution is world-famous, well-endowed, thriving in every way, but—its purposes are forgotten, and instead of Fabians

those who teach in it and adorn it are brilliant brains dedicated to the duty of proving that we live in the best of all possible worlds. Institutions die within as they become strong and admirable externally. Forms swell but their functions atrophy. That was his text.

Of course, the text was meant, like everything else in Laski's life, to have an immediate political application. No doubt was left in the minds of us, his audience, that in criticising with such pungency and humor the school he zealously loved, he was uttering a parable. His barbs were bent, really against the British Labor Party, of which he was at that time, I think, still Chairman. He meant that the Parliamentary triumphs of 1945 had brought perils to the Labor movement as well as power. Instead of loyalty to the spirit that had formed the Party at the beginning of the century, there might come a slow senescence, a complacency, and an inner death. British Labor's first full bite of political mastery also brought the Party's first big crisis. This is in fact—and I try to say this objectively, without expressing any private opinion on the rights and wrongs of the matter—a crisis with which the Parliamentary Labor Party is still battling. If it forgets its original character, and becomes a thing of pomp and circumstance, there may eventually be a fatal split, when those who don't want complacency will have to part company with the other half of the membership, and problematical consequences will follow for the electorate and for our neighbors and friends.

From this point of view Professor Laski's death was a tragedy in more than a conventional sense. One of the most dangerous aspects of Labor's crisis is that it is largely unconscious, a dizzy struggle by drugged men. Laski was a force against that. Completely conscious of what was happening, he expressed himself with absolute clarity about it. Hateful and hated he must have made himself to certain powerful Party colleagues who were most liable to the complacency he attacked. But he was unsparing of himself and them. He insisted on consciousness. And his voice was authoritative enough, and his secret personality lovable enough, to make them listen.

Laski was unchanging, while the movements and institutions of which he was part changed with the unfortunate,

habitual transience of human affairs, that always tend to lose their lustre. To this extent there was, by an obvious paradox, an extraordinary conservatism about him.

That conservatism, if it can be called so, that uncompromising diamond center of the man, is the only thing in him to justify the assertion that he had of late years failed to keep step with the movement of circumstances. It was the writer of Laski's obituary in the *London Times* who appeared to imply this. The obituaries in the *Times* are an important feature of the British scene. They should, and often do, represent the warm verdict of his contemporaries on the man who has just gone. But, personally, I seemed to find a grudging tone in an otherwise long and informed account of Professor Laski on the day following his death. Of course, as Christopher Sykes very properly

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says in *Four Studies in Loyalty*, there is no reason why platitudes should be lavished on the dead, and honest criticism can have a place in the funeral tribute no less than praise; but I felt that in that half-column in the *Times* the narrow ideological resentments, that mark our days so grievously, had spoiled the true assessment of a man who after all had a beauty of soul as well as a beauty of intellect.

As a matter of fact, within the last six years Professor Laski had demonstrated in a specific case that, just as he retained all his energy, so he retained pliability of mind and the capacity to reverse his views at the behest of outward conditions. This was over the issue of Zionism. Although brought up amid the Zionist vigor of Edwardian Manchester, his belief in Fabian progress and in the possibility that a charter of human rights, written or unwritten, could be observed in our time, carried him apart from the short-term aspirations of Zionism. He stayed apart a long while. It would not have been surprising if he had remained always where he was. But half-way through the war years he sent a contribution to the *New Statesman and Nation* that openly and firmly announced a change of position. He had been receiving correspondence from the "Middle East," and, in the light of the developments in Europe, had decided that the demand for a Jewish State in Israel was necessary. From then onwards he gave his assent to it, and from within the Labor Party combatted Bevin on the issue as long as Bevin continued to resist the facts of the situation. The recent realistic adaptation

of Foreign Office policy towards a measure of co-operation with Israel must have been some satisfaction to him. Even more satisfying must have been British policy on India some time ago. But too many unsatisfactory things remained, and not in Britain alone, and one can only speculate how far an absolute despair suddenly pushed him out of the battle into the grip of death.

It is not a bad way to judge a Professor to ask what his students thought of him. The men and women at the London School of Economics were devoted to Laski. After the war the predominant complexion of the British universities changed from pink to Tory blue, but the feelings of the student public for the grim, devastating, sharp-tongued lecturer underwent no alteration. When his important liberal action failed after the 1945 election, involving him in heavy costs, his students, most of them dependent on scholarships and perennially hard up, contributed without stint to the fund set up to help him.

His mouth used to set very bitterly as he made his malicious lecturing points, proceeding in logical sequence from attack to attack. But the students in the benches before him never hated or caricatured that bitterness, as students, full of appetite for life, often might. They knew that the malicious pugnacity was not aimed at them and implied no criticism of their aspiring brashness; they thought it was rather aimed at the forces that destroy or cramp youthful ardour; and they were right.



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### Old Hindu Balinese Art

*Merdeka* of the Indonesian Information Service, reproduces the following extract from *Island of Bali* by Coverrubias :

Already in the records of Chinese travellers of the fifth century it is mentioned that in the country of "Poli," perhaps Bali, there were Hindu princes, and that the travellers were received by priests who danced around them blowing conch-shells. Bali was already a colony of the Central Javanese kingdom of Mataram, the earliest recorded ruler of which was, according to Stutterheim, King Sandjaya or Sanjaya (A.D. 732) of the Sailendra dynasty, who ruled also over southern Sumatra. The Sailendras were Mahayanic Buddhists, and their highly developed art was like that of the great Gupta period of India. Sivaism was introduced towards the middle of the ninth century and, by degrees, the power of the Sailendras waned, but it was within this period, from the seventh to the ninth centuries, the golden age of Javanese art, that the finest monuments of Java were built, the Buddhist Borobudur and the Sivaist Lora Djongrang in Prambanan. Soon this great civilization disappeared mysteriously and Bali came under the rule of independent kings in Pedjeng and Bedulu. From their time we have remains of the classic style in the neighbourhood of the present villages of the same names, some in ruined temples, in caves, or among the ricefields, in the strip of land between the rivers Pakrisan and Petanu, where so many of the antiquities of Bali are found. Towards the beginning of the eleventh century there was a renaissance in East Java, in Kediri, brought about by the Balinese-born king Erlangga. Under him Bali became again an integral part of Java and classicism received a new impetus. It was Erlangga who instituted Javanese as the official language of Bali and Erlangga's brother ruled Bali in his name. This brother was buried (according to Stutterheim) in the spectacular "Kings tomb" in Gunung Kawi near Tampaksiring. Tantric black magic seems to have played an important part in Erlangga's time and while he was having trouble with his greatest political enemy, his own mother, had sworn to destroy his kingdom by the black arts.

Among the important relics of the ancient period are the following :

*Gunung Kawi* : On the banks of the river Pakrisan, descending a steep ravine, is a group of sober, undecorated monuments shaped like the ancient burial towers (tjandi), hewn out of the solid rock, each inside a niche, four on one side and five on the other. To the right of the main group is a sort of monastery with coves also carved out of the rock, arranged around a central cell with a platform in the centre. The monuments are supposed to belong to the eleventh

century, when cremation had not yet been introduced into Bali, and Lekkerkerker thinks the cells were probably designed to expose the corpses to be destroyed by decay and wild animals, such as was the custom among Indonesians. The monuments were only discovered in 1920, but the Balinese knew them, and kept them with reverence because they attributed them to the giant, of mythical times, Kbo Iwa, who is supposed to have carved all the ancient monuments with his own fingernails. The natives formerly called the tombs Djalu, but the present place-name, Gunung Kawi, means "mountain of poetry" or "mountain of antiquity."

*Bukit Dharma* : In Kutri near Bedulu there is another antiquity of the classic period, also related to Erlangga. It is the beautiful statue of Mahendradatta, Erlangga's mother, as the goddess of death, Durga. It is preserved in the sanctuary of Bukit Dharma, which archaeologists believe to be the burial site of Erlangga's mother. The statue is badly worn, but it can still be seen that it was of the purest classic lines.

*Gua Gadja* : Together with Gunung Kawi, the best known relic of the ancient art is the famous "Elephant Cave" near Bedulu. Gua Gadja is a great hollowed rock, perhaps the former residence of a hermit, elaborately carved on the outside, covered with representations of stylized rocks, forests, waves, animals, and people running in panic because directly over the entrance is the head of a great monster with bulging eyes who splits the rock with his enormous fat hands. Nieuwenkamp says that it may represent Pasupati, who divided the mountain Mahameru into two parts and, taking them in his hands, placed each half in Bali as the Gunung Agung and the Batur. There are a number of ancient stone water-spouts outside the cave, and on the inside is a statue of Ganesa in a central niche, with a linga on either side. The Gua Gadja dates also from the eleventh century and perhaps receives the popular name of "Elephant Cave" because of the statue, inside, of the god Ganesa, shaped like an elephant. But Goris attributes the name to the fact that the river Petanu, which runs near the cave, was called in old times Lwa Gadja, the "elephant river." Elephants have never existed in Bali and the elephant motifs that appear so frequently in Balinese art were importations from India or Java. As of Gunung Kawi, Kbo Iwa is also, according to popular belief, the author of the cave. Other hermitages with rock reliefs are the one near by called Toya Pulu; the Gua Racksasa near Ubud; Djakut Paku, both on the river Oos (Uwos); and the caves near Kapal in Bandung.

*Pedjeng* : In the ricefields approaching Pedjeng there is a beautiful stone water-spout in the shape of a youthful hermit holding in his hand a small human figure out of whose body once issued a stream of



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water. Further on, in what appears to be the former site of a temple, are scattered fragments of classic statues; an altar of human skulls; the vague silhouette of a slim woman, covered with damp moss, fallen and half-buried. The most complete statue is that of a wild raksasa crowned with skulls and about to drink from a larger, stylized human skull. In Pura Panataran Sasih, the temple where the bronze drum is kept, there are a number of ancient statues, the majority being commemorative statues of former kings.

**Pamulisan** : In the ruins of pura Panulisan on the mountain of the same name; are some fine statues of kings from the eleventh century. The temple was destroyed by an earthquake and despite this fact it is regarded as a sacred place. An extravagant stairway of cement has been built to reach it, but the temple has not been repaired.

Other statues worthy of mention are the figures of Durga in the temple Pondjok Batu on the road to Tedjakula in North Bali and the great statue of Dewa Ratu Pantjering Djagat, over twelve feet high, the largest statue in Bali kept jealously out of sight in the tower (meru) of the temple Trunyan, a Bali Aga village on the eastern shore of Lake Batur. The statue is considered very old and is held to have magic power.

#### U.S. Schools Experiment with Television as Classroom Aid

Boston, Massachusetts, September 12.—United States public school authorities are exploring the possibilities of using television as an aid to teaching current history and other subjects to American school children.

Under study are the educational benefits derived by students in viewing such events as sessions of the United Nations, national political conventions, and the opening of the U.S. Congress. Some educational institutions are now using television in the classroom to supplement art lectures, scientific experiments, and nature studies.

Television already is being used regularly as a teaching aid in the public schools of three major U.S. cities—Baltimore, Chicago, and Philadelphia. In these cities, television enables students to see and hear concerts presented by internationally-famous conductors, forum discussions and interviews with prominent people, dramatizations of plays being studied in the classroom, and other educational programs.

The public schools of Boston are participating in a television experiment sponsored by the Department of Education of the State of Massachusetts and Boston University School of Education. In one school, the Radio Corporation of America has installed a television set free of charge. Films prepared by the Encyclopedia Britannica corporation are used for the programs.

Although television as a teaching tool has not been tried in Minneapolis, Minnesota students of one school take part each week in a television program. The school's radio department chooses material for presentation, according to Madeline S. Long, consultant in radio education. "During 1949," she reports, "more than 106 teachers and approximately 125 pupils participated in productions."

The Department of Radio Education of Detroit, Michigan, maintains a television set for receiving and evaluating programs, but there are no sets in the schools. —USIS.

#### American Scientific Schools Increase Emphasis on Humanities

Washington, June 5.—The faculties and students of engineering and technical colleges of the United States are placing increasing emphasis on the humanities—literature, languages, fine arts, and social sciences. This fact is reported by the *New York Times*, which recently made a survey of leading American scientific schools.

Many technical and engineering schools now require students to perform at least 20 per cent of their academic work in liberal arts, and a substantial number have revised their programs to provide more non-professional courses. Among the cultural subjects offered are music, poetry, art, philosophy, psychology, government, literature, and foreign languages.

Courses in the humanities are popular with students in the scientific colleges, the survey shows. In addition, the *Times* notes, the students are engaging to a greater extent than ever before in cultural activities outside the classrooms. They sing in choirs, join debating clubs and college forums, and participate in many other projects that tend to broaden their educational experiences.

At the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, for example, there are two glee clubs devoted to serious music, a symphony orchestra, and a variety of other musical activities among students. The institute also brings distinguished guest speakers, largely in the field of public affairs and the humanities, to the campus. Usually, notes the *Times*, the largest halls are unable to accommodate the crowds of students who wish to attend.

"The problems of modern society stem from the whole of human experiences," observes Dr. Walter J. Wohlenberg, dean of the engineering school at Yale University, in commenting on the trend toward the humanities. "To understand and help in their solution requires a broad educational background. While still maintaining the professional requirements, it is essential to carry on the liberal arts." —USIS.

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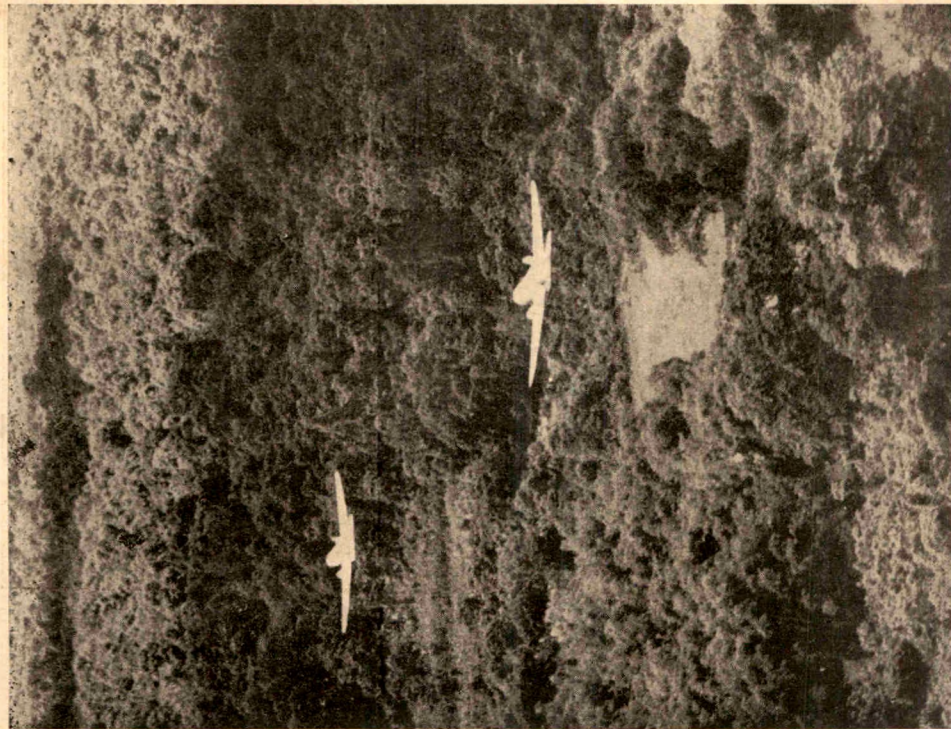
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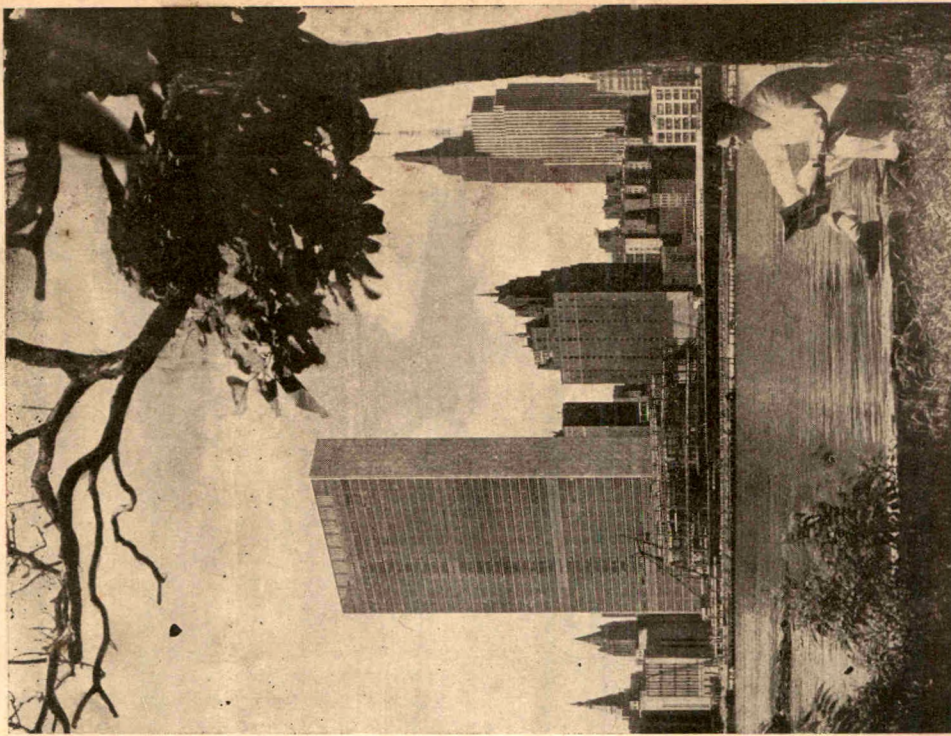
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## NOTES

### *Red Star over Tibet*

It is now the turn of Tibet to be "liberated." The attempt at liberation of South Korea was aborted, at least so it seems, due to the drastic action taken by U. S. A. So the loss of face is being repaired on the Roof of the World by the conversion of Shangri-La into the Devil's kitchen of a "Hot and Cold War" laboratory!

But what is happening in Tibet? There are conflicting reports as yet. Some say that the Dalai Lama's regime is being upset by malcontents, who have nominally acclaimed the youthful Panchen Lama as being their titular head and who are being aided by military formations of the Chinese People's Republic. Other reports say that it is a regular invasion by the Chinese People's Republic, the object being the complete subjugation of Tibet. But be whatever it may, that last stronghold of mediaeval romanticism seems to be doomed. The Forbidden Land by having kept its doors tightly closed against all the progressive forces of modern civilization has automatically deprived itself of the means of defence against aggression by ruthless totalitarian forces.

There is deep disappointment in all our hearts at this uncalled-for action by China. Whatever might be the shortcomings of Tibet, it was an inoffensive State, where the people were happy in their ignorance and contented with their squalor and penury. Like the Miller of Dee they envied no man and no man envied them. They lived in a land imbued with an aura of mysticism the fountainheads of which were the great monasteries with their vast libraries filled with the learning of mediaeval theocratic lore. The romantic that is present in the hearts of most of us deemed Tibet to be one immense Shangri-La, a haven of Peace far from the maelstrom of power-politics and economic cannibalism. There is widespread regret therefore, and resentment, at seeing this Paradise defiled at the gesture of the Cominform.

Maybe we are all wrong, maybe there is a need

for the modernization of Tibet. But can that be done by the forces of China, which country itself needs all the modernization that the world can provide? As for "liberation," we know what that means. Once the iron curtain is drawn between the "liberated" land and the rest of the world, farewell to Liberty as we understand it and as the world has understood it since the dawn of civilization.

Tibet has drawn this calamity on herself through her policy of isolation which she considered essential to preserve the hot-house environment of her mediaeval Theocracy. For how could a hot-house exist when the world is being shaken by major cataclysms of Power-politics? *And between Tibet and India there is another semi-mediaeval isolationist State, Nepal, with wide gateways to both Tibet and India.* The time has come to give deep consideration to realities. Mere regrets will not suffice.

The invasion of Tibet by the Chinese has drawn protests from the Government of India. In language of studied gentleness the Indian Ambassador to China has registered his Government's disapproval of this outrage on good neighbourliness. We have been told that India has been trying to induce China to stay her hand to help negotiate a new relation of mutual adjustment with Tibet and refrain her from doing anything that would add to the complications of an already complex situation in Central and East Asia.

But China has not paid heed to this friendly advice thus putting a question mark to the spirit of the declaration made on September 18 last by General Yuan Chung-sien when he presented his credentials to the President of Republic of India. The General spoke of "the long, close historical and cultural relationship" between the two countries, and the "smooth" development of the new relationship between them. If China had appreciated the unpopularity that Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has incurred in backing her claims to U.N.O. leadership, President Mao Tse-tung would have given more consideration to this friendly advice.

Perhaps, we have not yet realized that States do not



act purely on idealistic grounds. But the Government of China should have done so considering the wide repercussions of their aggression on Tibet. We can anticipate the pleas that the Mao Tse-tung Government would put forward. The Lhasa authorities are a brood of reactionaries; the invaders constitute a "liberation" force; the Panchen Lama is a patriot who is out to drive this caucus away and set up a People's Government. These admirable arguments ring familiar to us; North Korea has supplied the world with their most recent illustration.

If China persists in her aggression despite all these protests we must realise that China under the Mao Tse-tung government has repudiated the ancient concept of good-neighbourliness as it obtained in Asia, and has accepted the Communist philosophy of the U. S. S. R. We know only too well what that stands for, as we have had the testimony of a whole host of intellectuals who turned to Communism as the last hope of a decadent civilization and crawled back to democracy, appalled and stricken, after they had glimpsed repeatedly at the Medusa-head of Russian Imperialism hidden under the mask of Marxism.

"Liberation" is just one more slogan. We have no intention of preaching, at least not to our gilded jays and their dupes, who are incapable of judging for themselves, having lost all volition after being mesmerised almost to petrification by the Cominform. For, as Arthur Koestler writes, "The addiction to the Soviet myth is as tenacious and difficult to cure as any other addiction. After the Lost Week-end in Utopia the temptation is strong to have just one last drop even if watered down and sold under a different label. And there is always a supply of new labels on the Cominform's black-market on ideals. They deal in slogans as bootleggers deal in faked spirits, and the more innocent the customer, the more easily he becomes a victim of the ideological hooch sold under the trade mark of Peace, Democracy, Progress, or what have you."\*

Regarding the Communist concept of "liberty" we have the testimony of Andre Gide, Nobel Laureate and the *doyen* of French literati, who once, not so long back, thought that the Communist experiment contained the only means of the salvation of humanity. He says, "It is a characteristic trait of despotism to be unable to suffer independence and to tolerate only servility. However just his brief, woe betide the Soviet lawyer who rises to defend an accused whom the authorities wish to see convicted. Stalin allows only praise and approbation and soon he will be surrounded only by those who cannot put him in the wrong since they have no opinions whatsoever." Further, with regard to the vaunted liberty of the worker in the Soviets he says, "The small, independent worker has become a hunted animal, starved, broken and finally eliminated. I doubt whether in any country in the

world—not even in Hitler's Germany—have the mind and the spirit ever been less free, more bent, more terrorized over—and indeed vassalized—than in the Soviet Union."†

These are the realities that face the nationals of a country about to be "liberated." However, as things stand everything is in the lap of the gods. We hope China will not forsake the ancient path, but we cannot rest with that, we must realize where and how we stand. Pandit Nehru desires to keep India neutral. We all sincerely wish him success as our infant State is exceedingly ill-equipped for anything else. But that must not blind us to the state of affairs all around us.

Let us face the facts. We have no friends in this world, and we are divided inside our own house. The Congress has fallen from its ideals, having been corrupted by office-seekers, black-marketeers and others of that infernal brood. As a result it can no longer count on the implicit faith of the masses as it could in the old days. There are shortages, delays everywhere and the nationals of our country are depressed and distraught by the rampant inefficiency and corruption of the administration. In short, the soil is ready for the sowing of the dragon's teeth. So we have to be alert and vigilant, day and night, or else we might again be "liberated" for another century.

### "American Imperialism"

There is a great deal of loose talk about "American Imperialism" these days. Perhaps if we understood the natural failings of the American peoples and if the Americans tried to understand the susceptibilities of Asiatics, the World would be a better place for all mankind. In any case this loose talk has overstepped normal limits, thanks to some of our more thoughtless mouthpieces and scribes. There is now resentment in the U.S.A, much to the delight of some of our comrades who are actively trying to further the cause of Russian Imperialism. The *New York Times* of October 12, 1950, has the following as an editorial :

"The news from India these days is shocking to Americans, especially to American friends of India and there is no reason why this should not be said frankly and without equivocation. The attacks of Indian and Pakistani delegates on the United States at the international conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations in Lucknow are hard to take at a time when American blood is being spilled and American money taken from all taxpayers to help Asia preserve her independence and raise her standard of living.

If the charges that economic aid is imperialism are the result of ignorance and hence of misunderstanding, it must be put on record that the Governments in New Delhi and Karachi, the embassies in Washington, and the press in India and Pakistan are certainly to be blamed. It is incredible that officials of these Governments do not

\* The God that Failed.

† *Ibid.*

know better than to permit their intellectuals and journalists to believe that the United States is sending economic aid to Asia simply to enable Wall Street to enslave the Asiatics. It is truly discouraging to feel that in putting themselves at the head of the democratic struggle against totalitarianism, and paying with American lives to do so, our people should be accused of seeking selfish, imperialistic ends. We expect such charges from Moscow and its Communist or fellow-travelling stooges around the world: we do not expect them from countries that consider themselves on the democratic side and have access to all the information.

It would be a derogation of the duty of a friendly newspaper not to make it clear that Americans are also sorely disappointed with the policies pursued by Prime Minister Nehru concerning Korea. To us it is illogical to condemn the North Korean aggression and then not support the only possible measures to right the wrongs that have been done and to make Korea into a unified, independent state, free of all foreign control.

Pandit Nehru purports to speak for Asia, but it is the voice of abnegation; his criticism now turns out to have been obstructive, his policy is appeasement. Worst of all, one fails to find a valid moral judgment in his attitude. One can feel certain that history will condemn the Nehru policy as well-intentioned but timid, short-sighted and irresponsible. He is too big a man to persist in error or to be afraid of second thoughts. He is too intelligent not to face the truth sooner or later. The faith that all his friends and admirers have in him will surely be justified in the end. Meanwhile, he is doing wrong to the cause of freedom, of Asian nationalism, of justice and right."

This editorial, we may say, reflects the general opinion of a very large majority in the United States, and they have some considerable justification. It is easy enough to impute motives and it does not need a brain of any great calibre to argue *ad lib* about all the "isms" in the world. But it needs something much more to pour blood and treasure in floods to back one's convictions, as the Americans are doing in Korea. This is a point that should be remembered by our amateur Machiavellis.

On our side we would say that as yet we have found little to help us in our troubles in the way of sympathy or succour from the world outside. The nationals of our land are hard pressed and there is want and discontent on all sides. The government is undergoing a terrific strain in trying to find the solution to a myriad of problems. And we find that our problems are being used as bargaining counters by better placed nations. So there is a tendency to denounce Moloch and Mammon alike.

We would like to credit the U.S.A. with all the goodwill in the world, indeed we would like to extend the hand of friendship to every nation. But we have found the *Herrenvolk* attitude, combined with the attributes of Shylock, in one camp and a cynical basilisk appraisal from the other. This has rendered us suspicious and resentful. The Kashmir issue was taken to the U.N.O.

in good faith by Pandit Nehru although there were ample justifications for solution in another way, and there he was bamboozled by diplomatic finesse of the well-known "Perfidious Albion" type. So we might be excused if we fail to enthuse over Korea, for after all enthusiasm, like charity, begins at home.

All right-thinking Americans should understand our viewpoint. If they wish to further the cause of democracy in Asia they can only do so if they get rid of the influence of British and European colonial traditions in their Foreign office. The *New York Times* has taken umbrage at the speeches in the Pacific Conference at Lucknow and blamed our embassy and administration for this state of affairs. We have no desire to indulge in *tu quoque* but we may be forgiven if we ask the *New York Times* how often it has presented any Indian news, or a commentary thereon, without flagrant distortion? Indeed to our mind it has out-Britished its London namesake, in recent years, where anti-Indian propaganda is concerned. And the same thing applies to many career diplomats and military men who have come to India.

President Truman's San Francisco broadcast of October 14, has been keenly studied by us. We reproduce all that is relevant to Asia and Asiatics below. The broadcast is filled with noble sentiments, and we have no reason whatsoever to doubt its sincerity. But it will not reach the hearts of Asiatics unless the *Pucca Sahib* tradition and the "Whiteman's Burden" idea is eliminated.

### *President Truman's Broadcast*

The United Nations action in Korea is of supreme importance for all the peoples of the world.

For the first time in history the nations who want peace have taken up arms under the banner of an international organization to put down aggression. Under that banner, the banner of the United Nations, they are succeeding. This is a tremendous step forward in the age-old struggle to establish the rule of law in the world.

Today as a result of the Korean struggle the United Nations is stronger than it has ever been. We know now that the United Nations can create a system of international order with the authority to maintain peace.

When I met with Gen. MacArthur we discussed plans for completing the task of bringing peace to Korea. We talked about the plans for establishing a "unified, independent and democratic" government in that country in accordance with the resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations.

It has been our policy ever since World War II to achieve these results for Korea.

Our sole purpose in Korea is to establish peace and independence. *Our troops will stay only so long as they are needed by the United Nations for that purpose.* We seek no territory or special privilege. Let this be crystal clear to all—we have no aggressive designs in Korea or in any other place in the Far East or elsewhere.

No country in the world which really wants peace has any reason to fear the United States.

The only victory we seek is the victory of peace.

The United Nations forces in Korea are making spectacular progress. But the fighting there is not yet over. The North Korean Communists still refuse to acknowledge the authority of the United Nations. They continue to put up stubborn, but futile, resistance.

The United Nations forces are growing in strength and are now far superior to the forces which still oppose them. The power of the Korean Communists to resist effectively will soon be at an end.

However, the job of the United Nations in Korea will not end when the fighting stops. There is a big task of rehabilitation to be done. As a result of the Communist aggression Korea has suffered terrible destruction. Thousands upon thousands of people are homeless, and there is serious danger of famine and disease in the coming winter months.

The United Nations is already extending relief to ease the suffering which the Communist invasion has brought about, and it is preparing to help the Koreans rebuild their homes and restore their factories.

The name "United Nations" was first used in the dark days of the second World War by the countries then allied to put down another aggression.

From that day until this the cause of peace has been strengthened by an active policy of co-operation among the free nations. It is not by chance but as a result of that steady policy that fifty-three members of the United Nations rallied immediately to meet the unprovoked aggression against the Republic of Korea.

We have to recognize that, as we have moved steadily along in the post-war years, our policy of building a *peaceful world has met constant opposition from the Soviet Union.*

Here in San Francisco five years ago we hoped that the Soviet Union would co-operate in this effort to build a lasting peace.

But Communist imperialism would not have it so. Instead of working with other governments in mutual respect and co-operation, the Soviet Union attempted to extend its control over other peoples. It embarked upon a new colonialism—Soviet style. This new colonialism has already brought under its complete control and exploitation many countries which used to be free. Moreover, the Soviet Union has refused to co-operate and has not allowed its satellites to co-operate with those nations it could not control.

In the United Nations, the Soviet Union has persisted in obstruction. It has refused to share in activities devoted to the great economic, social and spiritual causes recognized in the United Nations Charter. For months on end it even boycotted the Security Council.

These tactics of the Soviet Union have imposed an increasingly greater strain upon the fabric of world peace. Aggression and threats of aggression, aided and abetted by obstructionism in the United Nations, have caused

grave concern among the nations which are honestly seeking peace. The response of the free world to the aggression in Korea has given those nations new confidence. But events in Korea have also made it more apparent than ever that the evil spirit of aggression is still abroad in the world. So long as this is true, we are all faced with a clear and present danger.

Today, we face a violent and cynical attack upon our democratic faith, upon every hope of a decent and free life—indeed, upon every concept of human dignity. Those who support this evil purpose are prepared to back it to the limit with every device, including military force.

The Soviet Union and its colonial satellites are maintaining armed forces of great size and strength. In both Europe and Asia their vast armies pose a constant threat to world peace. So long as they persist in maintaining these forces and in using them to intimidate other countries, the free men of the world have but one choice if they are to remain free. They must oppose strength with strength.

This is not a task for the United States alone. It is a task for the free nations to undertake together. And the free nations are undertaking it together.

In the United Nations, Secretary of State, Acheson, has proposed a plan for "uniting for peace," to make it possible for the General Assembly to act quickly and effectively in case of any further outbreak of aggression.

In our own country, and in co-operation with other countries, we are continuing to build armed forces strong enough to make it clear that aggression will not pay.

Our military establishment moved the necessary men and supplies into Korea, 5,000 miles away, in an amazingly brief period of time. This remarkable accomplishment should not delude us into any false sense of security. We must be better armed and equipped than we are today if we are to be protected from the dangers which still face us.

All this will be difficult, and it will exact many sacrifices. But we are aware of the dangers we face. We are going to be prepared to meet them. Let no aggressor make any mistake about that. We value our independence and our free way of life in this country and we will give all that we have to preserve them. We are going ahead in dead earnest to build up our defenses. There will be no letdown because of the successes achieved in Korea.

As we go forward, let us remember that we are not increasing our armed strength because we want to. *We are increasing our armed strength because Soviet policies leave us no other choice. The Soviet Union can change this situation.* It has only to give concrete and positive proof of its intention to work for peace. If the Soviet Union really wants peace, it must prove it—not by glittering promises and false propaganda, but by living up to the principles of the United Nations Charter.

If the Soviet Union really wants peace, it can prove it—and could have proved it on any day since last June 25—by joining the rest of the United Nations in calling upon the North Koreans to lay down their arms at once.



Our national history began with a revolutionary idea—the idea of human freedom and political equality. We have been guided by the light of that idea down to this day. *The forces of Communist imperialism dread this revolutionary idea because it produces an intolerable contrast to their own system.* They know that our strength comes from the freedom and the well-being of our citizens. We are strong because we never stop working for better education for all our people, for fair wages and better living conditions, for more opportunities for business and better lives for our farmers. We are strong because of our social security system, because of our labour unions, because of our agricultural program. We are strong because we use our democratic institutions continually to achieve a better life for all the people of our country.

This is the source of our strength. And this idea—this 'endlessly revolutionary idea of human freedom and political equality'—is what we held out to all nations as the answer to the tyranny of international communism. We have seen this idea work in our own country. We know that it acknowledges no barriers of race, or nation, or creed. We know that it means progress for all men.

The International Communist movement, far from being revolutionary, is the most reactionary movement in the world today. It is violently opposed to the freedom of the individual, because in that Communist system the state is supreme. It is equally opposed to the freedom of other nations, because in that Communist system it is Soviet Russia which must be supreme.

Today, the peoples of the Far East, as well as peoples in other parts of the world, are struggling with the false revolution of communism. Soviet communism makes the false claim to these peoples that it stands for progress and human advancement. Actually, it seeks to turn them into the colonial slaves of a new imperialism. In this time of crisis we ask the peoples of the Far East to understand us as we try to understand them. We are not trying to push blue-prints upon them as readymade answers for all their complicated problems. Every people must develop according to its own particular genius and must express its own moral and cultural values in its own way.

We believe that we have much in common with the peoples of the Far East. Their older civilizations have much to teach us. We hope our new developments may be helpful to them.

We know that the peoples of Asia cherish their freedom and independence. We sympathize with that desire and will help them to attain and defend their independence. Our entire history proclaims our policy on that point. Our men are fighting now in Asia to help secure the freedom and independence of a small nation which was brutally attacked.

We know that the peoples of Asia have problems of social injustice to solve. They want their farmers to own their land and to enjoy the fruits of their toil. That is one of our great national principles, also. We believe in

the family-size farm. That is the basis of our agriculture and has strongly influenced our form of government.

We know that the peoples of Asia want their industrial workers to have their full measure of freedom and rising standards of living. So do we. That is the basis of our industrial society in this country.

We know that the peoples of Asia have problems of production; they need to produce more food and clothing and shelter. It is in this field that we can make a special contribution by sharing with others the productive techniques which we have discovered in our own experience.

We are not strangers to the Far East. For more than a century our missionaries, doctors, teachers, traders and business men have knit many ties of friendship between us. If we can be of help, we are ready to offer it—but only to those who want it. Through the Economic Cooperation Administration, Point 4, and in many other ways we are trying to help the peoples of other countries to improve their living standards. We will continue these programs in co-operation with the United Nations. *Even as we undertake the necessary burdens of defense against aggression, we will help to expand the work of aiding human progress. Otherwise, measures of defense alone will have little value.*

We seek full partnership with the peoples of Asia, as with all other peoples, in the defense and support of the ideals which we and they have written into the Charter of the United Nations. This is the partnership of peace.

I have spoken to you tonight about some of the things which all of us are thinking about as we press ahead to finish our job in Korea. At a time when our forces under Gen. MacArthur are locked in combat with a stubborn enemy, it is essential for us to understand what our broad purposes are and see clearly the kind of world we seek to build. As your President, I realize what it means to the homes of America to have the youth of our land called to meet aggression. These are the most solemn decisions and impose the heaviest responsibility upon those who must make them. I have told you tonight why we must do what we are doing. *We hate war, but we love our liberties. We will not see them destroyed. We want peace, but it must be a peace founded upon justice. That American policy is as old as our republic, and it is stronger today than ever before in our history. We intend to keep it that way.*

### *Pacific Relations Conference*

The Pacific Relations Conference, which held a 12-day Session at Lucknow, made a fairly exhaustive review of the political and economic relations between Pacific countries and between them and the West. The discussions revealed the view that although the U.N. charter was beginning to emerge as a new ethical standard, world communism stood unanswered as a world ideology. But it was fully realised that despite the growth of world consciousness nationalism was still Asia's predominant

mood and would remain so until all vestiges of Western imperialism were wiped out. There is a fear that although the West was obliged to bid good-bye to territorial imperialism in many of the important Asian countries, it was developing a new type of economic imperialism.

East-West relationship, it was felt, could not be regimented through dislike or antagonism to a particular power, for example, Russia. Further, there was apprehension about American Imperialism. Asian delegates enumerated a number of sources of friction between Asia and the West and singled out U.S.A. as a particular target of attack. Dislike of co-operation between Asia and the West on the basis of charity or anti-Communist ideology was manifest. Regarding Russia, it was suggested from the Indian side that Asia tended to distinguish between stopping aggression and stopping communism. The West might identify Communism with aggression against democracy but to Asia democracy was a much larger concept than the particular forms of society established in the West. The force of argument from the Asian side was so strong and the sentiment so clear that the Western delegates had to concede by declaring that they had no quarrel with the Russian people; they were mainly opposed to the "diabolical Kremlin conspiracy."

India's refusal to join the U.N. Commission on Korea came in for particular adverse comment by the Western delegates. It was explained from the Indian side that India did not approve of the U.N. forces crossing the 38th parallel which could be construed as an act of provocation. In this matter India had chosen to remain neutral, possibly to serve as intermediary in peace negotiations at some stage.

A Pakistani delegate's analysis of the situation, almost similar to India's, suggested that Asia should maintain relations with Russia, that in developing its ideology, it should not reject Communism out of hand but draw from it precedents which it considered were helpful. In any case, Asia would draw closer to Russia if its relations with the West became more strained.

Finally, there was discussion of Asia's attitude to the U.N. It was suggested by the Indian delegates that the U.N. was no more than a forum while Western delegates suggested that it could also become a democratic front for action against disturbers of peace. It was suggested that a forum should impose no commitments and obligations on its members, that its membership should be quite consistent with the desire of a nation to remain neutral in political conflicts, but neutrality and membership in an anti-aggression organisation might not be compatible. Questioned further, the Indian delegate replied that India was neutral as between alliances outside the U.N. but not neutral as between aggression and resistance to aggression by the U.N. Critics of India maintained that as a U.N. member, India was morally bound to accept and help implement majority decisions, referring specially to India's action regarding Korea. The Indian delegates countered by saying that such minority

attitude as they had advocated was quite consistent with democratic procedure. A minority group need not serve on a committee or commission with whose aims and objectives it was not in agreement. Conformity with every decision of the U.N. should not be made a test of loyal membership.

### *Commonwealth Economic Aid Plan*

Commonwealth Ministers have unanimously adopted a draft report containing the six-year economic aid programmes of India, Pakistan, Ceylon and the British territories of Malaya, Singapore, Sarawak and North Borneo. The plan emerged after a ten-day secret talks of Commonwealth Ministers and representatives of non-Commonwealth South and South-East Asian countries. A *communique* issued after the Conference says that the draft report would be considered by the individual Commonwealth Governments concerned and published if approved by them. The Ministers' examination of these aid programmes and of the resources available to the Governments concerned for their implementation showed clearly that, if they were to be carried out in full in the six-year period, two grave difficulties must be overcome. These were the shortage of manpower and the shortage of capital. The Ministers had agreed to recommend to the Governments the adoption of a draft constitution for the proposed Council for technical co-operation, which is designed to alleviate the shortage of technical manpower. Under this constitution the Council will be composed of representatives of all Governments that wish to co-operate in the scheme. It will operate through a Technical Assistance Bureau with headquarters at Colombo.

South and South-east Asia now had a population of about 570 millions and this alone showed the immense importance of this area to world trade and stability. Speaking of the enormous potentialities of this region, Mr. Gaitskell, British Economic Minister who presided, said, "If only the necessary technical manpower can be found and trained and the capital obtained for necessary equipment it is estimated that in India, in agriculture alone, 50 per cent increase in production of jute can be achieved as well as a 30 per cent increase in cotton, a 30 per cent increase in oil-seeds and 8 per cent increase in food-grains. Ceylon could double her cultivated areas. In Pakistan, two irrigation projects would make available an additional 48 lakh acres of land. A further 23 lakh acres of land virtually waterlogged in West Pakistan could be recovered. Mr. Gaitskell thought that Britain's Colonial Development Corporation might be one of the agencies for assisting economic development in South and South-east Asia."

### *Japan and the United States*

War in Korea has hastened the idea of having a peace treaty with Japan just as in Europe the fear of

Soviet imperialism has demonstrated the value of German participation in halting this danger. General MacArthur has set up a machinery that may be effective for keeping down an outburst of Japanese ambitions. But for a permanent solution of the problem, raised by Japan, requires another method of treatment. This we find indicated in an article published in the *National Christian Council Review* of August, 1949.

The writer of the article was Dr. Stanley Jones who tried his best in November, 1941, to stave off the fight between Japan and the United States. The article quotes from a letter written by Dr. Jones to Mr. Terasaki of the Japanese Embassy at Washington, on December 10, three days after the Pearl Harbour attack. It also discredits the Allied story that Admiral Nomura and Mr. Kurusu were playing a dishonest part through their last-minute peace negotiations.

The most important part of Dr. Jones' article, however, is where he suggested the policy that his State should follow in Japan :

"Personally I hope, the Americans will not stay too long, for this is not good for the Americans. They are beginning to like the privileged position they occupy—the best of home and hotels; the best of the railroad equipment for the Allied trains, first class being given to them and second and third to the Japanese; a roped-off lane separates them from the Japanese in the railway stations; plenty of cheap and efficient servants for the homes; good meals in the military establishments at 40 cents a meal, and above all a people at their beck and call. It is true that the Military Government says they do not rule, nevertheless their suggestions to the Japanese officials amount to rule. From this privileged position they have come to teach the Japanese people democracy. This is a heavy handicap. It may result in this situation teaching them imperialism. Many like it so well they come back. I hope this unnatural relationship soon ends for the sake of the Japanese who are being weakened by too much dependence, and especially for the sake of the Americans in whom the imperialist mind is in the making."

### U. N. and Asia

The U.N. General Assembly has given General MacArthur the "go ahead" for crossing the 38th parallel in pursuit of North Korean forces. The parallel has been crossed, and the U.N. armed forces are now almost on the Manchurian border. This resolution was passed by 47 votes to 5 with 7 abstentions. India and Indonesia were among the seven abstentions. The Indian delegate said that India viewed with gravest misgivings that part of the plan which authorised the occupation of North Korea. A U.N. Commission for Korea was formed with Australia, Chile, Holland, Pakistan, Philippines, Turkey and Thailand as members. India was offered a seat on this Commission which she refused.

In this connection, Pandit Nehru's message to the United Nations Association on the U.N. Day is significant :

"The U.N. came into existence to give expression to

the worldwide desire for peace and co-operation between nations. It had to meet powerful political and ideological differences, but it wisely decided to bring together all nations in spite of those differences, and in the hope that the spirit of mutual understanding and co-operation will gradually grow through this association. The constitution was not perfect from the strictly democratic point of view, but it recognized realities in the world today and provided for them.

"Today the United Nations faces a severe crisis. On the fate of the United Nations depends the fate of war and peace and the future of the world. It is clear that *the United Nations will cease to be what the original Charter intended it to be, if the important nations of the world cannot function through them, or if there is a parting of the ways between some nations and the others.*

"It is important, therefore, that the spirit and approach of the old Charter should continue in spite of all difficulties that we have to face.

"It would be a tragedy if the United Nations ceased to be. I have no doubt that the world requires some such organization, and if we fail this time we shall have to start afresh.

"But we need not think in terms of failure. We should try our best to get over the present crisis and stop this drift to war.

"The importance of the United Nations was never so great as now when danger threatens it. The United Nations can only function successfully if it does represent the nations of the world.

"It is an organ for peace and, so long as it furthers peace, it will strengthen itself and go ahead. Once it loses sight of that objective, it loses its main function and its importance.

"India is devoted to peace, and because of this it is supporting the United Nations, and will continue to support it."

### In Europe

A U.S.A. journalist, Mr. Devere Allen, has interpreted the mind of his country's leader in the *World Interpreter* sometime ago. "Fundamentally right in urging that Marshall Plan nations be better integrated, the United States worries Europeans because it tends to make the task appear more simple than it is. The big dilemma is this: you can't get anywhere with economic reconstruction unless you admit the need for planning. There has to be *planning across frontiers* and for that reason there has to be *planning inside every country.*

Such countries as Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Finland and Britain are committed to a large measure of industrial nationalization. It is fairly moderate, but it differs from the present trend in France, Italy, the Netherlands, and Belgium. The dominant parties in the former area believe that socialization is essential, not only for internal recovery, but for successful international co-operation. With minor exceptions, the pattern by which they could integrate is plain.



The United States is not especially warm toward such a basis for unity. Yet it is opposed, at least officially, to a revival of the cartel system, which is always a possibility where nationalization has not taken place, and which was partly responsible for the rise of Hitler. Therefore, the American emphasis in Europe has been placed increasingly on two things which many Europeans believe to be contradictory: free trade, and international integration."

The West European countries do not, however, hold the key to the situation in that continent. Germany does this. "In Germany, where a race is even now on between nationalization and cartels, the U. S. has been lax in smashing the cartels while vetoing nationalization even where voted by the people. Germany will have to be a partner in West Europe's integration; but when the rest of West Europe is going in several rival directions, what role will Germany play? The long uncertainty has hampered German production, which must be safeguarded for democracy but which must be stepped up for the general recuperation."

"..... as long as planning is needed for a real integration of economic life, and Americans are against planning under nationalization and afraid of planning under cartels, complete integration will remain a dream."

This analysis has politico-economic reactions in the German mind which a European publicist, Mr. Ferdinand Tushy, summarized for the world's benefit. The title of his article is "Dark Forces in the New Germany." We share it with our readers. "It is only natural that Germans, and others close to them, should be glancing around for signs of anybody calling to mind the late Adolf Hitler. The times are not the same as they were in 1922-23 when Hitler made his meteoric rise in Munich. To-day they lend themselves even more to extreme one-man demagoguery. Germany is split in two and the Occupation Powers are locked in cold war among themselves as they bid for German support and goodwill. Unlike the start from zero in the 'twenties, Nazi parties and organisations are in being in public life. Socialist Dr. Schumacher is not to be shaken from his Bonn declaration that "a large part" of the Parliament there is Nazi, while the existence of a "Nazi General Staff," planning resistance to the Allied authorities, has been disclosed by Major-General Bishop, British Commissioner in the Ruhr.

Former Nazi editor Ottmar Best, leader of a strident Nationalist Press revival, declares that his newspaper "will show the German people what they lost in Hitler," and former Hitler Youth leader Bernard Poiss tells former members of the Hitler Youth and Maidens invited to the Cologne Youth Rally that "the past is still a glimmering memory." The Germans are avowedly looking for another Leader to unite the nation. Their arrogance has returned, together with an incipient militarism among the younger people who march the street, bawling Hitler songs.

The new U. S. High Commissioner, Mr. McCloy, opines that "another call for the Fuehrerprinzip" may be

sounded. Who might answer it? Any attempt to say at this stage, would be rank guess-work. But it is not too early to go over some of the men who are raising the Germans' temperature outside the Parliament of the West and the Puppetry of the East. The fellow who has got nearest the Hitler technique is Alfred Loritz, middle-aged leader of the Economic Reconstruction Union, which has 12 seats at Bonn. Loritz operates in the same Munich that Hitler did, and, when barred from halls, gets up on dustbins, anything, and rants raucously. He is against all parties on a variety of charges, and, like Hitler, finds himself prosecuted for slander. This rabble-rouser is called "nihilistic and an enemy of public order."

Drenched in Hitler memories, Bavaria is in an emotional state, and can give rein to it under the easy American Occupation. Bookstall publications vie with one another in their Hitler "revelations," replete with pictures of the dead one, and, if this be not direct Nazi propaganda, it is the best method of collecting money to finance Nationalist publications. In particular several men who served under Goebbels and Ribbentrop have formed a group to manage the business affairs of one Bruno Groening, faith healer, and in his way as weird a character as the young Hitler police spy of 1919.

A bird of a different feather is Franz Halder, German Army Chief of Staff from 1938 to 1942, when Hitler dismissed him. Acquitted by an American court and passed as denazified by a German one, Gen. Halder has written a best-seller which, while purporting to show up Hitler as the brigand, amateur cause of defeat, manages to re-ignite the Fuehrerprinzip in young German minds. But particularly the book seeks to sustain the legend of the invincibility of the German Army—even as Ludendorff led the former chorus that it had been stabbed in the back in 1918.

In the British Zone, at Brunswick, there is a mysterious "Major H," who is said to be making much headway among ex-officers of the Services and former Hitler organisations. More is known of the activities of Major-General Remer, the same who was rocketed from Major, by the Fuehrer himself, after he had given the alarm over the Berlin generals' putsch of 1944. Remer heads the German Reich Party and says it will be ready to take over "absolute power" in 1951. This speech was made in Oldenburg, which was the second province to go Nazi, and is still a Junker stronghold. Despite a ban on revolutionary speeches, the British did nothing about it, and one may say with some assurance that the days of such interference are over.

Egon Salat, high official in respect of 80,000,000 growling German refugees in West Germany, says, the common demand is for a new Fuehrer "like Moses or a man of the newest history to lead them out of their troubles." By common accord, these refugees could form the core of Nazi or Communist revolution. At present they limit themselves to burning down houses to draw attention to their own houseless state. An old-timer still totting his extreme Nationalism under cover of religion is

Pastor Niemöller, who used to command a U-boat. His return for being warmly welcomed in Britain was to tell New York that Britain is the real opponent of German recovery. A wily camouflaged customer who stirs racialism—and means to. Nor should the enormous success of "The Devil's General" go without mention. This play glorifies one General Harras of the Luftwaffe, who is the spit of Goering in many essentials. The vast popularity of Harras reflects nostalgia for the typical German character, on the spectacular level, which Goering was. I have presented half-a-dozen characters currently rousing the Germans, but believe that the new Leader, if one there is to be, is most likely still unknown and liable to come from the layer of the earliest Hitler Youth—circa 1928—that survived the war. A young man of, say, 30 or 35 to-day."

This is not all. German scientists are at work as the following report released by the United Press of India in February last went to show. "Startling exposures of the activities of German scientists in rebuilding Germany's war-time power are contained in the British scientists' report which it is understood, has been submitted to the Foreign Office."

The report has been prepared by a delegation consisting of Sir Robert Watson-Watt, Mr. J. G. Crowther, and Dr. R. C. Murray representing the Association of Scientific Workers and the Institute of Professional Civil Servants.

After visiting all the centres of German scientific activity the delegation reports that German scientists are itching to go full speed ahead on war preparations.

"If only they could invent a weapon," one official told the delegation, "which would destroy the entire occupying force without harming a single German, they would be only too happy."

The leaders of research in pure science in the British zone, says Dr. Murray, like Hahn, Heisenberg and Windaus, have devoted their energies since the collapse to the revival of the old Kaiser Wilhelm Society.

The society was the nucleus of the scientific section of Hitler's war machine and was destroyed by the Allies only to be replaced by German scientists by an organisation called the Max Planck Society.

Mr. Murray reports that this Society is most undemocratic and certainly does not want to see that science is placed at the disposal of mankind for the service of peace.

### *World Health Organization Conference*

An important forward move in developing health co-operation among the countries of South-east Asia was made during 8 days of international meetings held in Kandy, Ceylon, on September 22 last and days following. The regional branch of the World Health Organization took the initiative in this matter. We have been watching with interest the Organization's work for a better life for Asia.

At the close of the five-day Regional Committee Meeting, about 30 Directors of Health Services from all over South-east Asia, attended a WHO-sponsored Conference where they pooled information and exchanged experience on practical methods of dealing with principal health problems of the region.

This was probably the first international Conference of Directors of Health Services to be held in South-east Asia. The Conference covered subjects of vital importance for the health of the 500 million population of the region, including Training of Health Personnel, Control of Communicable Disease, Environmental Sanitation, and Public Health Administration.

At the WHO Regional Committee Meeting preceding the Conference, a new member of WHO, Indonesia was represented for the first time. Other member States attending were, Afghanistan, Burma, Ceylon, India and Thailand. Representatives were also present from French and Portuguese India, and observers were invited from UN Information Centre, UNESCO, UN International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF), FAO, ILO and other international agencies. During the meeting, Health Ministers and leading health officials from all over the region, surveyed the past year's progress in international health work and mapped out details of WHO regional programmes for 1951 and 1952.

Concrete and detailed proposals for international assistance to S. E. Asian countries in meeting their acute needs for trained medical and public health personnel were outstanding in the Report of the Programme Sub-committee adopted on September 26 last, the final day of the conference.

Burma's invitation to hold next year's meeting in Rangoon was accepted.

Among the Programme Sub-committee's recommendations for 1951 and 1952 Programmes were an international Training course in Nutrition in Calcutta and another in Health and Vital Statistics in Colombo; a number of Tuberculosis training and demonstration centres in several countries of the region; and extensive international teaching staff to strengthen and develop training facilities and institutes throughout S. E. Asia. The vital importance of training local health and related personnel is also recognised in other internationally-sponsored projects approved by the Committee for the control of malaria, venereal disease and typhus, and the promotion of schoolhealth and environmental sanitation.

Realising the serious need for developing practical and effective services in the field of maternal and child health, the Committee adopted plans for UNICEF-supported projects in this field in all the countries of the region during the next two years.

During 1951 and 1952 WHO has made budgetary

allowance for providing over 90 Fellowships to enable doctors and health workers to obtain advanced training abroad.

The Committee agreed that maritime countries should consider becoming signatories to the Brussels Agreement which lays down international measures for the control of venereal disease among sea-farers. As an important first step in giving effect to such measures, it was recommended that a demonstration port project for V. D. control should be established in Colombo.

Certain countries of the region, the Committee learnt, were formulating plans for home production of essential medical supplies such as DDT and Penicillin. In view of the importance of making S. E. Asia as far as possible self-sufficient in this field, the Regional Director of WHO was requested to assist governments in ensuring that such production projects were begun in the most suitable places and that there should be no unnecessary duplication of efforts.

On the suggestion of the Indian delegation which stated that India had qualified personnel in malaria, tuberculosis, cholera and plague on a level with those from abroad, the Committee adopted a resolution requesting that international staff in field teams should be kept to a minimum in countries where adequate local staff were available, and that the money thus saved should be used in providing more equipment and supplies. It was further agreed that Governments should be given as wide a choice as possible in the selection of international experts to work in their countries.

In view of the increasing gravity of population problems in many S. E. Asian countries, Ceylon proposed the appointment of an Expert Committee to study and report. The Committee decided, however, that it would be sufficient in the first place to ask the Regional Director to circulate a questionnaire on this subject to Member Governments in the Region, and to collaborate with other international agencies already investigating these problems.

### *J. N. Mandal's Resignation*

Mr. J. N. Mandal, Pakistani Minister for Law and Labour in the Central Cabinet, has resigned on the issue of treatment of the minorities in Pakistan, specially East Bengal. In his letter of resignation, he said, that "Hindus will never allow themselves, whatever the threat or temptation, to be treated as 'jimmies' in the land of their birth. A major part of Mr. Mandal's letter to the Pakistani Prime Minister was devoted to events in East Bengal prior to the Delhi Pact and conditions in Pakistan in relation to Hindus after the Agreement. In more than one place in the course of his letter Mr. Mandal alleged that despite his repeated requests to the authorities to alleviate the difficulties of the minority community no action was taken. He said, "I brought to your notice

the inefficiency of the East Bengal administration. I made serious charges against the police administration. I brought to your notice incidents of barbarous atrocities perpetrated by the police on frivolous grounds. I did not hesitate to bring to your notice the anti-Hindu policy pursued by the East Bengal Government, especially the police administration, and a section of Muslim leaders."

He stated that the reasons for the Dacca Riot, which started on February 10, were mainly five :

1. "To punish Hindus for the daring action of their representatives in the Assembly in their expression of protest by walking out of the Assembly when two adjournment motions on Kalshira and Nachol affairs were disallowed.

2. "Discussion and difference between the Suhrawardy group and the Nazimuddin group in the League Parliamentary Party was becoming acute.

3. "Apprehension of launching of a movement for the reunion of East and West Bengal by both Hindu and Muslim leaders made the East Bengal Ministry and the Muslim League leaders nervous. They wanted to prevent such a move. They thought that any large-scale communal riot in East Bengal was sure to create repercussions in West Bengal where Muslims might be killed. The result of such riots in both East and West Bengal would prevent any move for reunion of both Bengals.

4. "The feeling of antagonism between Bengali Muslims and non-Bengali Muslims in East Bengal was gaining ground. This could only be prevented by creating hatred between Hindus and Muslims of East Bengal. The language question was also connected with it.

5. "The consequences of non-devaluation and the Indo-Pakistani trade deadlock to the economy of East Bengal were being felt most acutely both in urban and rural areas and the Muslim League members and officials wanted to divert the attention of the Muslim masses from the impending economic breakdown by some sort of jihad against the Hindus."

Summing up impressions of his tour of East Bengal early this year, Mr. Mandal wrote, "In the district of Barisal alone, a conservative estimate of casualties was 2500. Total casualties in the East Bengal riots were estimated as in the neighbourhood of 10,000 killed."

About the Delhi Pact he wrote, "The East Bengal Government was not only slow to set up the necessary machinery as envisaged in the Delhi Agreement, but also was loath to take effective steps for the implementation of the same. . . . As a result of the Delhi Agreement the condition of the Hindus is not only unsatisfactory but absolutely hopeless and their future completely dark. The confidence of Hindus in East Bengal has not been restored in the least. That a pretty large number of Hindu migrants, mostly Scheduled caste cultivators are returning to East Bengal is no indication that confidence has been restored. It only indicates that their stay and rehabilitation in West Bengal and Assam have not been possible. The sufferings of refugee life are compelling them to go back to their homes."



Mr. Mandal said that the Delhi Agreement was meant to create conditions in which to solve "so many disputes and conflicts between India and Pakistan." But, he claimed, nothing had been settled. "On the contrary communal propaganda and anti-Indian propaganda by Pakistan both at home and abroad is continuing in full swing. The observance of Kashmir day by the Muslim League all over Pakistan is eloquent proof of communal and anti-Indian propaganda." Mr. Mandal listed the following among the causes of the exodus of the Hindus from East Bengal: Economic boycott of Hindus, wholesale requisition of Hindu houses and non-payment of any rent, activities of Ansars "against whom I received complaints all over and who are a standing menace to the safety and security of the Hindus," and interference in educational matters.

Referring to West Pakistan, Mr. Mandal said that about 100,000 scheduled castes who remained in Punjab (?) after partition were converted into Islam. He added that the condition of the small number of Hindus that were still living in Sind and Karachi was deplorable. He said, "I shall not be unjustified if I say that there is no freedom for Hindus in Pakistan. The principle of equality of treatment, justice and fairplay, brotherhood and toleration so far as Hindus are concerned have been thrown off. My advice in the matter of treatment of minorities was never heeded to. The East Bengal Government deliberately turned their deaf ears to my suggestions and advice." Mr. Mandal also said that there was hardly anything called civil liberty in Pakistan. Any criticism of the government or formation of any political organisation was not tolerated.

Mr. Mandal has sent his resignation from Calcutta where he had come on the ground of medical treatment. His letter of resignation would have attained much greater force and importance had he submitted it at Karachi. Mr. Mandal, unlike his leader Dr. Ambedkar, evidently had greater faith in the Muslim leaders. When the demand for an Achhutstan was rejected and the scheduled caste population of the sub-continent were distributed between the two newly created dominions, Dr. Ambedkar remained in India while Mr. Mandal chose Pakistan as his asylum. As a Central Minister of Pakistan, he followed the same old policy of maintaining the cleavage between the caste Hindus and the Scheduled castes, thereby weakening the entire Hindu Society. Pakistan reaped the full benefit of it, squeezed out the Caste Hindus while they earned the neutrality of the Scheduled castes by holding out hopes to Mr. Mandal's kith and kin. After the February purge of East Bengal, Pakistan has just started applying the pin-prick tactics to the Scheduled caste population. This has startled their leaders. Mr. Mandal has taken three long years to understand Pakistan politics. It is now clear that Pakistan has no more use for Mr. Mandal. His position had therefore become untenable in that Dominion. He himself admits that all his "advice" were met with a studied discourtesy and that no other choice but to leave Pakistan was now open for him.

Mr. Mandal's letter of resignation, however, will remain a document of importance and significance. The five causes of the East Bengal holocaust of February last, enumerated by Mr. Mandal, have lifted the veil and have laid bare the real politics that lay behind the seeming madness.

### Latest on Pakistan

On the wake of Shree Jogendra Mandal's letter came the statement of Shree Satindra Nath Sen, member of the East Bengal Assembly, who amidst the terrorism of East Bengal officialdom and Muslim hooliganism has been upholding human dignity with courage and fortitude all his own. True to the traditions of his own public life, he has called upon Shree Jogendra Mandal to face up conditions in East Bengal without fear, and justify his own faith in the *bona-fides* of the Muslim League, the creator of a *Shariat*-ruled State, and invite sufferings and sacrifices on himself with the purpose of transforming it into a modern State.

We know that this requires patience and faith in the ultimate goodness of human nature. But things look dark at present. And even Muslims in the two Bengals appear to be losing that quality. We have recently had occasion to read two articles by Dr. Syed Jeelany, sometime editor of the Calcutta *Morning News*, organ of the Muslim League in the hey-day of Janab Huseyn Suhrawardy's "Direct Action" frenzy. The writer is at present a roving correspondent with his head-quarters at Calcutta of the *Pakistan Observer of Dacca*, of the *Civil and Military Gazette* of Lahore, of the *Hindusthan Times* of Delhi—a combination of assignments that requires a certain skill to reconcile. He appears to have got over the Muslim League heresy of "two-nations" as is evident from his comment published in the Bombay weekly—*Bharat Jyoti* dated October 24 last: "...Bengalis, be they Hindus or Muslims, are one people of the same race, language and culture;" "...Partition or no partition, the Bengali Hindus and Muslims are still one."

Dr. Jeelany has something to say on the Mandal episode. He says that he has known Shree Jogendra Mandal "since the days when he belonged to Netaji Subhas Bose's party." With regard to the immediate cause of resignation he says: "Mr. Mandal was, to the last minute, ready to go back to Karachi if it accepted his terms. It was only when he despaired that he prepared his statement and, even then, he had to submit it for the approval of certain quarters who ordered the deletion of two paragraphs in which Mr. Mandal had paid a tribute to Pandit Nehru's peaceful efforts. I had seen the original draft."

Of Liaquat Ali Khan, the letter makes an interesting revelation:

"When Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan first visited East Bengal after the death of Mr. Jinnah he is said to have called a meeting of senior officials and Divisional Commissioners as well as a select few of non-Bengali District Magistrates and told them that his Government's policy towards the Hindus of East Bengal is to consider them 'enemies of the State and potential

Fifth Columnists.' He is also said to have added that 'for obvious reasons, every one must keep the matter under his hat'."

A month later, Dr. Jeelany confronted "a senior East Bengal official" with the question of confirming or denying the authenticity of this report. Embarrassed the official could only say: "You newspaper-people know how to get on. But the P. M. was only putting a hypothetical case." Of the Home Secretary of East Bengal specially, Janab M. Azfar, the writer has things to say which explain much of what have been happening in the Province. He is a "pukka Muslim" with his scrupulous 5 prayers every day; he has been "a Hindu-baiter long before partition;" whenever he mentions the word "Hindu" he couples it with "the adjective 'mal'oon,' cursed."

The second article published on October 25 last has some stinging remarks on the "Ansars," East Bengal's "ugly caricature of a national militia." Composed at present "mostly of ex-convicts and *goondas*," the organization would stink in the nose of respectable people. The word is "a plural without a regular singular;" during pre-Islamic days the word signified "aiders"; Islam's prophet widened its meaning; "ansars" are those "who hasten with succour to people in distress, undertake to take them back to their homes, and see to it that they are safe there." In East Bengal this militia was put under Janab A. H. M. S. Doha, a former Deputy Commissioner of the Calcutta Police "whose name is anathema to Hindus and Muslims alike even today." The writer has given out a version of the latest Doha episode as follows: "In fact, it was the Muslims of Calcutta who attacked Doha's car on March 4 this year when they came to know that he had arrived at Calcutta as special *attache* to the Pakistan Deputy High Commissioner in the City." With his knowledge of the Pakistani ruling class in their strength and weakness, Dr. Jeelany appears to have come to the conclusion that "the nearest proper nomenclature for East Bengal's riff-raff levies is the Assassins."

The report of the Basic Principles Committee of the Pakistan Constituent Assembly has thrown a bone of contention between the eastern and western areas of the State divided by about 1200 miles of Indian Union territory or by about 2500 miles of sea from Karachi to Chittagong. The report has suggested a two-chamber legislature with concurrent powers, with equal representation from every State. Feelings in East Bengal have got excited over the prospect that the proposed arrangement will make Baluchistan with a population of about 6 lakhs equal to East Bengal with a population of more than 50 lakhs. A committee of Action for Democratic Confederation has been set up at Dacca to agitate against these proposals. The Calcutta *Statesman*, generally friendly to Pakistan, attempts an interpretation of the agitation in the following terms:

"Although the immediate cause of this bitterness would appear to be the Constitutional proposals, it has also its roots in the past including factors like the language question, allocation of some taxes as between the province and the Centre, lack of any cheap and regular

means of transport between the two wings of Pakistan, which would have resulted in the common man in Eastern and Western Pakistan being thrown more together."

In the Pan-Islamic field the second session of the International Islamic Economic Organization held at the capital of Iran — the first had been held at the Pakistan capital—has not been able to bring peace and amity among the Islamic States. Pakistan and Iran contested the Presidentship of the General Assembly of the U.N.O. The former's representative, Janab Zafarullah Khan, got defeated, whereat a Pakistani paper wrote:

"Either there should be no emphasis at all on religion; in that event one can join some more broad-based political arrangement or alliance. But if international relations are necessarily to follow the religious pattern, the Muslim countries must cease quarrelling among themselves even though it may be over the presidentship of a body like the United Nations."

We would be glad to believe that this comment constitutes the dawn of second thoughts on the danger of Pakistani rigidity. The rebuff over Kashmir may also induce a more reasonable attitude in the Pakistani mind. Sir Owen Dixon's report mildly suggesting that Pakistan has been an aggressor in Jammu-Kashmir has created confusion in Britain and the United States, the two patrons of Pakistan. In this extremity, the latter, a late comer into power-politics, is reported to have thrown the whole problem on the former's lap as it is a "Commonwealth" affair in the solution of which Britain is expected to take the initiative. The latest report from United Nations centre indicates that she is quite willing. So we should watch her steps.

### *Recovery of Abducted Women*

Recovery of abducted women has continued as an object of controversy between India and Pakistan. India has tried her best to trace, recover and send back Muslim women abducted in this country. Both the Central and Provincial Governments here have employed a good deal of attention and energy on this recovery. But the story with Pakistan is different. That country has, from the very beginning, sought to evade any fulfilment of the agreement on the recovery of abducted women. They have not yet recovered and returned even a very small proportion of women known to have been abducted in Pakistan. Instead, reports of government officials sheltering abducted women have reached this country. The recent East Bengal-West Bengal Press Note duel is only another link in this chain of controversy, but it deserves attention as the latest instance that Pakistan has not changed its mind in this respect even after the Delhi Pact. The West Bengal Government Press Note is self-explanatory and is given below:

"In their Press Note issued from Dacca on October 13, the East Bengal Government made a reference to the activities and work of the Search

Service Bureaux of East and West Bengal. The Government of West Bengal note with regret the manner in which the said Press Note has deliberately omitted to mention certain important statistics, as well as facts, which are well known to both the Governments through official agencies.

"First, while referring to the work of the East Bengal Search Service Bureau, the East Bengal Government Press Note has failed to mention that out of a total of 183 cases of alleged abduction of Hindu women in East Bengal, reported to that Government by the West Bengal Government, reports of inquiry in 47 cases only have so far been sent to the West Bengal Government, out of which in only one case prosecution has been started against the abductor, and the abducted woman has been recovered and placed in jail custody. In respect of the 138 cases no reports whatsoever have yet been received by the West Bengal Government.

"Out of the 47 reports received so far, in nine cases the Hindu women were reported to have embraced Islam voluntarily and were allowed to go back to the custody of the alleged abductors, and only in one case the woman was sent back to her relatives living in West Bengal. Apparently, these nine cases have not been treated by the East Bengal Government as cases of abduction and appear to have been included in the cases of 11 women referred to in the Press Note as having been allowed to go back to their 'relations.'

"Under the Delhi Agreement in all these nine cases the conversions are not to be recognized, but still these women have been allowed to return to the homes of their newly-acquired relations on the ground that they had embraced Islam voluntarily. In two cases only the women were reported to have taken shelter in Muslim houses during the disturbances and these two were subsequently restored to their relatives. In one case a Hindu woman was rescued by a Muslim but placed in a refugee camp from where she was restored to her relatives. In eight cases the women were reported to have left for West Bengal and not abducted. These reports are, however, being verified by the West Bengal Government. In 14 cases the women either never lived at the addresses given or the addresses were not traceable.

"The 133 cases of Muslim women alleged to have been abducted in West Bengal and mentioned in the East Bengal Press Note, the number should be 105, as officially communicated. The East Bengal Press Note does not mention that inquiry reports covering 93 cases have already been officially sent to the East Bengal Search Service Bureau and in 10 other cases also inquiries have been completed.

"In 70 cases the women were never abducted and have been traced to be living with their relatives. In 11 cases the women alleged to have been abducted never lived at the addresses given, and in seven cases the women were reported to have been killed during the disturbances. In five cases the reports were found

to be false and there were no incidents of the kind alleged.

"In one case, however, a Muslim girl, who was wrongfully detained by a member of the majority community and was later released by the alleged abductor, was found by the police and restored to her mother. The miscreant was prosecuted but as the girl failed to identify the culprit, this did not end in conviction. In another case of a similar nature, investigation is proceeding and the girl has been restored to her relatives by the police.

"It is hoped that in future fuller statistics will be given in the Press Notes issued by the East Bengal Government so as not to allow any scope to the public mind to draw conclusions from incomplete information."

### *Import Control Inquiry Report*

"In our view the fundamental problem of import control in this country is the problem of securing a maximum measure of stability in policy and administration, and the efficient and expeditious implementation of approved policy,"—observes the Import Control Inquiry Committee in its Report just submitted to the Government of India. The Committee was appointed in July this year with Mr. G. L. Mehta as Chairman and Mr. Tulsidas Kilachand and Mr. D. L. Mazumdar as members to inquire into the working of import control and to recommend measures for improving the efficiency of the Import Control Organisation.

Stability in administration and policy is recommended in four principal directions: in the over-all exchange allocations, in general licensing policy, in the licensing policy in respect of particular commodities and in administrative methods and practices. Without such stability, the Committee rightly observes, import control would be liable to serious fluctuations causing uncertainty in the trade and consequent dislocation in commercial dealings. One of the principal recommendations of the Committee to ensure the desired stability is to fix a minimum annual ceiling of Rs. 400 crores in the foreign exchange budget for import trade for the next two years, so as to reduce fluctuations as far as possible.

The basic objectives of import control policy, the Committee recommends, should be:

(a) To limit the aggregate imports on government or commercial account to the total available foreign exchange earnings from different sources including sterling releases;

(b) To distribute the available foreign exchange resources in the most equitable manner with a view to securing planned development of agriculture and industry and to meet the essential requirements of the consumers;

(c) Consequently with the above objectives, to



moderate the fluctuations in the prices of particular commodities where they may have abruptly risen far above the parity of the general level of prices.

Decentralisation of the licensing procedure, extension of the free licensing system, increased facilities to newcomers and steps towards improvement of the efficiency of the Import Control Organisation are some of the principal recommendations made by the Committee.

So long as the present difficulties regarding balance of payments last, the Committee recommends the notices of the Government should be to concentrate on the maintenance of the existing OGL's, followed by a gradual liberalisation of imports of licensible articles. The Committee feels that the OGL list should not be extended unless the Government are satisfied that they will be able to maintain the items on the OGL for a sufficiently long time. Short period inclusion followed by prolonged exclusion of important commodities on the OGL has been the principal reason for heavy price fluctuations and scarcities leading to blackmarket in many essential commodities. In order to avoid this vice, the Committee feels that a free licensing system would give the government an opportunity to consider whether the stage has been reached when an item can be placed on the OGL.

The normal period of licensing is recommended to be extended to one year instead of six months as at present. In regard to capital goods and heavy electrical plants, the period of license should continue for three years with only one revalidation after six months.

In regard to distribution of licenses, the Committee endorses the policy of distribution to actual users, established importers and newcomers. As regards newcomers, the Committee recommends that the list of items for which newcomers are eligible should be kept stable. The Committee has also suggested modification of the existing procedure regarding grant of licenses to newcomers, by which returns on business turnover may be certified by auditors rather than by bankers as at present. Encouragement of newcomers to business is welcome but at the same time provisions should have been made for cancellation of licenses and blacklisting of those whose unbusinesslike actions lowered the prestige of our country abroad. Strong and deterrent measures against such peoples, about whom the former Commerce Minister, Mr. K. C. Neogy, made bitter complaints, are long overdue.

Decentralisation of the licensing procedure to the utmost extent possible is another important recommendation made by the Committee. All licensing should be done at the ports except some which, because of their special nature, should be handled by the Chief Controller of Imports at New Delhi. The Committee devotes considerable attention to

the administrative aspects of the working of the Import Control Organisation.

The Committee has recommended improvement in the quality of personnel employed in Import Control and the methods of work. *This, we consider, is the most important of all their recommendations. The present administrative machinery of the Import Control Department has proved itself incapable of rising to the standard of efficiency and integrity expected of them.* A complete replacement of the present administrative machinery by a full-fledged Economic Civil Service formed by recruitment through open competitive examination conducted by the Union Public Service Commission should now be seriously thought of.

### *Bombay Textile Strike*

After two full months of hold-out, the strikers of the Bombay Textile Mills have made an unconditional surrender. During greater part of the strike period, 95 per cent of the city's 225,000 workers in 62 mills remained idle. As a result of the strike the country is estimated to have lost 235 million yards of cloth and 58 million pounds of yarn. While the workers have lost Rs. 4.10 crores in wages, the industry has lost a total business turnover of about Rs. 23 crores. This strike is the biggest in the industrial history of the country. It began on August 14 and ended on October 14. The strike was called by the Socialist Mill Mazdoor Sabha. The demands were two—three months' wages as bonus and recognition of the Socialist Mill Mazdoor Sabha. The Industrial Tribunal awarded two months' wages as bonus which was finally upheld by the Appellate Tribunal. The demand for recognition of the Sabha, which included the largest number of workers, several times more than those included in the INTUC Union, has throughout met with a firm reply in the negative. The Bombay Government's reluctance to accord official recognition to the strength of the Socialist Party specially on the eve of the coming general elections was one of the prime reasons of this long-drawn strike. Coupling of the monetary demand with that of recognition made the strikers' position vulnerable and when the Appellate Tribunal knocked down the bottom of the former, the second demand could not be held out. Leaving this problem unsolved must be considered fraught with danger.

### *Sugar Prices*

The Government of India have decided that prices of sugarcane and sugar shall remain at the same level as last year, that is, Rs. 1-10 and Rs. 23-8 per maund respectively, states a Press Note. It was further decided to fix statutory ceiling prices for *gur* and *khandasari* both in producing and consuming areas in parity with the price of sugar and sugarcane, and accordingly the price of *gur* in U. P., Bihar and Madras will be Rs. 18 per maund. In deficit areas prices will shortly be announced and the ceiling

prices of *khandasari* will be announced also in due course. The Tariff Board's earlier recommendation for a reduction in the prices of sugar and sugarcane has been disregarded. The Press Note sets at naught the very reasonable expectation that the Government would grow wiser by their last year's sugar experience and take steps for the supply of sugar this season and that at a lower cost. On public demand, a sugar muddle enquiry committee has been set up but its activities are little known. The inquiry into last year's sugar blackmarketing could not be completed in one year's time. On Tariff Board's recommendation, the protective duty on sugar has been discontinued but same benefit has been granted to them by continuing the same amount as a customs duty. The name has been changed but the substance remains.

Nominally statutory recognition of the Sugar Syndicate has been withdrawn but the Government's kind patronage of the sugar lords still continues as ever before. The Press Note adds, "In order to meet the requirements of the country in sugar until the end of December, it is necessary to produce about 100,000 tons of sugar within the country before December 15. With this object and in view of the low recovery of sugar during this period, the Government have decided to purchase from factories in Western U. P. and East Punjab sugar not exceeding 100,000 tons at a somewhat higher price. This higher price shall apply only to new season sugar produced up to that date." It is thus clear that the Government did nothing during the past one year to pull down prices, instead they have opened the season by offering a higher price for one-ninth of the total stock and last year's price for the rest.

The next step the Government have taken to help the sugar lords is to eliminate their competitors through the introduction of a system of licensing of kolhus, power crushers and *khandasari* plants in factory areas. The same Press Note says, "In order to maximise the sugar production by ensuring additional cane supplies to the sugar factories, the Government of India have decided that a system of licensing of kolhus (cane-crushers), power-crushers and *khandasari* plants shall be introduced in factory areas . . . It has been brought to the notice of the Government of India that despite the promulgation of an order for such regulation by the Uttar Pradesh Government a large number of kolhus are being set up in factory zones without a license. Such setting-up and use of kolhus is unauthorised and constitutes an offence punishable under the law with imprisonment and fine. Such kolhus and other apparatus are also liable to be seized and confiscated." The sugar factories have enjoyed a double protection from both internal and external competition. The latter has been eliminated formally on paper but retained in reality through the continuance of the same amount

of protective duty with only a change in the nomenclature. The Government have now threatened to come down on their internal competitors with a heavy hand.

This last step, to say the least, is very unjust from the standpoint of the sugar consumer. He has suffered for long 18 years during which the protected sugar industry has shown no signs of improvement, and has given no indication to reduce costs through the introduction of improved methods in the cultivation of sugarcane and the manufacture of sugar and a scientific utilisation of bye-products. The bagasse, even today, is mainly burnt as a fuel in most of the sugar factories. With the vast improvement in technical efficiency that has taken place lately, it should be possible for factories not only to dispense with all extra fuels but also to save bagasse for other purposes. For bagasse has been found useful in the manufacture of insulating and press board, wrapping paper and straw boards, and plastics and resins. Glass, suitable for making coloured bottles, has also been produced from bagasse ash. Again, press mud could be used for the preparation of fertiliser, wax, activated carbon, dyestuffs and distemper. Industrial and commercial uses for these bye-products of the cane sugar industry have been found in U.S.A., Australia and elsewhere. Neither the sugar industry nor the Government paid any attention to the development of these bye-products which would have gone a long way in reducing substantially the cost of production of sugar. The sugar policy of the Government of India must be changed. The people cannot be expected to go on making sacrifices for the support of an adult industry whose sole ambition seems to be to bleed its benefactors.

### *Railway Accidents*

The New Delhi Special Representative of the *Statesman* writes : (*The Statesman*, dated October 19, 1950)

"In 1949-50, 11,901 accidents occurred on Indian Railways; 851 were of relatively serious nature and involved passenger trains, Calcutta circle accounted for 5401, Bangalore circle 3516, Bombay circle for 2893 and the Jodhpur and Bikaner State Railways 91. The number of accidents involving passenger trains was 387, 252, 159 and 52 respectively. Of the 16 accidents investigated by the Government Inspectors, five were ascribed to acts of sabotage, 92 people were killed and 415 injured in the 16 accidents investigated. Removal of rails, or tampering with track are stated to have caused five accidents including Calcutta Mail disaster on March 30. Casualty figures in the accidents were 20 dead and 193 injured. "Failure of the human element on the part of station staff resulted in a head-on collision on February 2 when a train was admitted on a line on which another was standing; 3 people died and 32 injured. Negligence

and carelessness of railway staff led to 5 accidents in which 2 people died and 6 were injured. The investigators found that on several occasions there had been inadequate first aid arrangements or delay in rendering medical relief after accidents. In one case a railway employee delayed the removal of the injured for medical attention despite the fact that no first aid had been rendered. In another, a railway doctor had arrived after the injured had been removed."

This is a revealing report. 12,000 accidents in a railway system of 36,000 miles must be considered as staggering. The people have always asked—how many accidents are due to sabotage and negligence or other acts on the part of the railway staff? The report quoted above gives the answer. In reply to a question in the Parliament, the Railway Minister stated that a majority of the accidents was due to negligence on the part of the staff, the bulk of the accidents being attributable to failure of duty on the part of the staff in one form or other. The Railway Minister also announced that measures have been taken to minimise accidents which include intensive patrolling of selected lengths of railway lines in consultation and collaboration of State Governments, provision of mechanical devices in the structure of the permanent way so as to make tampering with the track difficult if not impossible, effective disciplinary action against the railway staff found responsible for accidents or connected with subversive activities, etc. We shall have to wait a year to know the results of these measures. We believe the Railway Employees' Unions can do a lot to eliminate accidents which ought to figure prominently in the list of their Union activities. This, if sincerely done, will earn them a popularity that will be the greatest asset in their fight for rights and amenities. The failure of the human element has been a greater menace to railway travel than the saboteur's hidden hand.

### *Own Your Own Telephone*

The *Commerce* publishes the correspondence of a subscriber under the "Own Your Own Telephone" scheme with the Director General of Posts and Telegraphs. When the telephone was installed at the residence of the subscriber and the standard agreement form was sent to him for his signature, he raised the following objections:

"I would state that my chief objections to this Agreement are on two grounds: (1) That it is a misnomer to call it a 'Own Your Own Telephone' system, and (2) that the conditions laid down in the Agreement are far too rigorous.

"(1) Why I call it misnomer:

"(a) The whole Agreement emphasises the fact that the telephone is being hired and that hire charges are being liquidated over a period of 20 years;

"(b) The fact that the Government collects maintenance at the rate of Rs. 2 per month on the lines;

"(c) Clause 15 provides that, on expiry of the agreement, the depositor subscriber *shall surrender* the telephone apparatus with all fixtures and accessories in as good condition as *installed* absolutely free having *no claim for any compensation or damages*;

"(d) Clause 16 vests powers that the State can remove the telephone, etc., should they consider it necessary and determine the agreement.

"The foregoing prove beyond doubt that the Government are by no means treating the telephone as the property of the subscriber. When my contention was that, so long as it was only a true agreement and there was no question of outright purchase which is clear from the terms of the agreement, it was only in the fitness of things that a representative and popular Government should not camouflage the Agreement by calling it 'Own Your Own Telephone', but treat the amount as deposit and pay interest thereon."

After trying to show at some length how the conditions imposed were unduly rigorous, the subscriber, Mr. R. Ramanujam goes on to say:

"The depositor-subscriber remains baffled at the callous way the Government treats him with the rigours of clauses contained in a Hiring Agreement, while he willingly paid the sum of Rs. 2,000 in the hope of buying the telephone (as the very name of the scheme 'Own Your Own Telephone' suggests) and incidentally is gratified at the feeling they are helping the Government in the economic field. I can only state that having regard to the circumstances, the Government have done nothing more than exploiting the crying need for telephone connections felt by the business public. For this purpose, they have evidently harnessed all the legal talent of the Government of India with a view to protecting the Government and the Government only, forgetting that the Government is a People's government. That the Government should have been advised to insert such rigorous clauses in the agreement just because a gullible public can be depended on to sign on the dotted line is bad enough. But that you should now say that the Government have considered the merits and the demerits of the scheme and still remain unabashed is a matter to be profoundly deplored. The fact that you have replied to the various points raised in my letter cryptically reflects not so much the pressure on official time as a complete disregard for the feelings of the subscriber public which negatives the spirit of popular Government and democracy under which we are supposed to be functioning."



Commenting on this letter, *Rover* says, "The only explanation that occurs to me is that Mr. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai's ideas of ownership and property—and he is supposed to be a socialist—are not quite the same as those of either Mr. Ramanujam or those of the public. But then, this is not surprising, in view of the fact that the ideas of the Ministers on so many important things are apt to differ from those of the public under a democracy. Being an Honourable Minister, as Mr. Kidwai is, he is not likely to revise his own ideas, the only thing left to the community, therefore, is to revise their own in the light of Mr. Kidwai's, or to revise the composition of the Ministry and the seeming discrepancy will immediately disappear."

We commend the last alternative.

### *Colliery Housing*

Presiding over the 25th meeting of the Coal Mines Labour Welfare Fund Advisory Committee, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, Labour Minister, Government of India, reviewed the progress made in the Fund activity. Speaking on the housing conditions, which was the most important of all activities, he said that in all coalfields they were far from satisfactory. The housing scheme to which the Advisory Committee and the Government attached so much importance, met with a sad failure and Mr. Jagjivan Ram expressed great disappointment at this. He referred to the difficulties experienced in settling down the coal-miners of West Bengal, Bihar and Vijaynagar Townships. At Bhuli Township, he pointed out, over 1600 two-room tenements had been constructed under the Welfare Fund at a cost of Rs. 56 lakhs, but only 150 houses had so far been occupied by miners. Applications were received for another 200 houses and 1250 still remained to be allotted. Only 48 houses were completed in Vijaynagar Township in West Bengal, and one of them had been occupied. This attitude on the part of miners and the absence of sufficient co-operation from mine-owners induced the authorities, maintained Mr. Jagjivan Ram, to abandon further construction under the housing scheme which envisaged a construction of 50,000 houses in all Indian coalfields. The Housing Board and the Welfare Committee have suggested that the monthly rent of Rs. 8 should be reduced Rs. 2 in order to induce collieries to keep their miners there. The officer under whose supervision the Townships were constructed, laid the blame for the failure of the housing scheme on labour union leaders. The premises consist of two rooms, a verandah, a kitchen, a bathroom and a courtyard. The rent payable by the worker is Rs. 2 while the standard rent for the house is Rs. 23.

The failure of the scheme has some solid reasons behind it. The Townships have been constructed so far away from the fields that it is difficult for the

workers to traverse the distance on foot, and the cost of the present transport is prohibitive. It is ridiculous to think that a worker will refuse to have, under normal conditions, a two-roomed well-constructed house at a monthly rent of Rs. 2. It is too much to think that the labour leaders have so much hold on the workers to prevent them from going there, unless other discouraging forces were at work. It is now apparent that Rs. 56 lakhs of the hard-earned Labour Welfare Fund have been wasted. The scheme was laudable and highly useful, but it was ill-conceived by the experts and specialists to whom its implementation was entrusted. Our experts are specialists in big matters but very often it is discovered at a high cost they are deficient in one small substance—that is, common sense. The workers will have to wait till the Bokaro Power House starts supply of cheap electricity in order to make possible the opening of a cheap tramway transport service between the Townships and the coal fields when it will be possible for them to occupy the tenements, of course, if the tenements remain erect till then.

### *Reconstitution of Punjab*

The Sikh demand for a separate Punjabi-speaking State was explained by Sardar Swarup Singh, Vice-President of the Shiromani Akali Dal of Amritsar, at a press conference held in Calcutta. He said that the Sikhs wanted Punjab (I) to be reconstituted on a linguistic and cultural basis in conformity with the principle advocated by the Congress before independence. He stated that his community had never demanded a Sikh State or a Sikh majority State. The Shiromani Akali Dal, Master Tara Singh and other leaders, he said, made this clear more than once. The Sikhistan demand has done the Sikhs much harm. It will take time to remove the distrust that has been thus created.

The proposed reconstituted State would continue to have a Hindu majority, explained Sardar Swarup Singh, although an increase in the percentage of Sikh population was visualised. A Government-appointed commission might demarcate the area of the proposed State on language basis and the Sikhs would abide by its decisions,—concluded the Akali leader. Reconstitution of provinces on a linguistic basis is being generally avoided on various pretexts, but Bengal and Punjab has a special case to claim immediate priority in this respect. A reconstitution of these provinces would solve many of the difficulties of these two afflicted provinces who sacrificed most for the attainment of freedom.

### *Assam's Trials and Tribulations*

The devastating earthquake of August 15 last that wrecked Assam's eastern half has put her on the map of world problems. It may appear to be a domestic

concern of India which, we have no doubt, will be adequately met. We can do so with success if the province's international difficulties are rightly understood in their proper perspective. The loss caused by the recent blow to Assam's economy delivered by Nature will be made up sooner than what had been her experience in 1897. Recovery would be more rapid if remedial steps are applied to what runs as a sore in her inner life.

As at present constituted Assam has a population of a little over 85 lakhs of whom about 27 lakhs are Adibasis or tribals living on hills and in the plains. Tea-garden labourers are about 10 lakhs the vast majority of them coming from Bihar, Chota Nagpur, Central Provinces and parts of Orissa and Andhra Desa. The Khasis and the Manipuris count about 7 to 8 lakhs. The rest, about 50 lakhs, are made up of Bengali-speaking and Assamese-speaking people about half and half. Assam has been called the anthropologists' paradise where representatives of the earliest and most modern peoples are to be met with.

These surface differences reflect a division in the ranks of the people that affect their thoughts and activities, each element afraid of the others—the Khasi of the Asom, the Asom of the Bengali, the tribals of the more sophisticated peoples. These differences find expression in conduct. The Khasis, the Manipuris and the Tribals, the Asoms and the Bengalis are each anxious of consolidating their position in the new set-up in the name of their particular and peculiar habits of life, otherwise known as "culture." Another new factor has entered the field to complicate matters—the Socialists of various hues and Communists. These groups of disruptors have been trying to exploit the uncertainties and discontents of the people.

Their leadership have many persons who are honest in the pursuit of their own ideologies. They swear by Marx and his modern *avatars*; they think that what is possible in Russia and China can be made possible in India, and they are prepared to pay the required price for an up-set. Burma, their near neighbour, has had a recent try made by Red Band and White Band Communists, by the Karens with their demand for a separate State, by the deserters from the army and police force. The Communists in Burma were reported to have been guided by a brain-trust headed by a Bengalee who sports the family name of Ghosal. In Assam also Bengali names have appeared among Communist leaders. The Revolutionary Party, however, appears to have a local leader in Srijut Khagen Bara Barua, who is of the soil and had been a Congress worker of some note. He was connected with the 1942 movement, and suffered imprisonment therefor. He commands the allegiance of a

section of the Asom people, acquired by his "social" service to the needy. The report by a correspondent of *Ananda Bazar Patrika* says that differences amongst this particular people have been seed-plots used by Communist trouble-makers.

We know of one—that which is being exploited by Srijut Ambikagiri Ray, whose *jehad* in the name of Asom culture has attained some sort of notoriety. His quarrel is ostensibly with the Bengalees, native to Assam or resident therein for generations who are equally proud of their own culture. This is no peculiar phenomenon to Assam only. Bihar has shown how in the name of Hindi feelings can be stirred endangering social cohesion and embittering neighbourly relations. But in Assam there are characteristic features that made her case specially important to India's security. Being a frontier province is one of these; the rivalry between Bengali-speaking and Assamese-speaking people is another.

Of the latter Muslims appear to be in the majority who as emigrants hungry for land had been swarming into Assam for about 30 years. They have naturally fallen victims to the Pakistani heresy, and have been used by Muslim League leadership for its own purposes. The evil has not ceased with partition, and a special Bill had to be passed in the Indian Legislature to control and regulate the activities of these Pakistani cohorts. The late Premier of Assam, Gopinath Bardoloi, referred to this danger; members of the Assam Assembly representing the Bengali-speaking district of Cachar demanded in course of a joint Memorandum to the Premier "the immediate removal of Janab Abdul Matlib Mazumdar, Local Self-Government Minister of Assam, against whom the Assam Provincial Congress Committee made allegations of anti-national activities following an enquiry."

### *Israel's Difficulties*

The Government of Ben Gurion which has been the wet-nurse of Israel since its foundation, has resigned its commission to President Weizman; and the latest report from Palestine shows that no other Jewish public man has succeeded in forming a new Government. We do not understand the nature of the political and financial causes that brought down the Ben Gurion Government. But the following appreciation of the Palestine situation published in the Birla group of daily papers throws some light on them. We print it below:

"There remain the many internal disputes. The most important of these between the Mapai (Labour Party under Ben Gurion which dominated the Government) and the Mapam, can only be aggravated by the one financial measure which would save the country from inflation and bankruptcy. But Mapam is not simply an

irresponsible left-wing party, slavishly following instructions from Moscow. It is hard to believe that the Mapam leaders would take action which might strongly threaten the existence of that State which Mapam has itself done so much to create. Zionism is not a spent force, and Israel is one of the most fanatically patriotic countries in the world. At the moment, even in the present dangerous situation, party and group differences are still clamorous. But just as the war against the Arabs united Israel before, and would at once unite her again, so the economic peril must in the end do so too."

### *American Capital for India*

The Institute of International Finance of the New York University has issued a bulletin, *Economic Position of India*, which says that it is hardly likely that India could muster resources to give effect to economic development without assistance from abroad. According to the bulletin, reliance would have to be placed on the inflow of private capital, particularly from America. The achievement of this goal, the bulletin argues, will require a considerable overhauling of the policies concerning the treatment of foreign capital to give greater confidence to prospective investors.

In this connection we may recall what Mr. Capus M. Waynick, Acting Administrator of the U.S. State Department's Office for Technical Co-operation and Administration, said, when replying to the view of a section of American investors that, unless special privileges are accorded to American private investors, one may not expect any large-scale outflow of capital. The New York University bulletin admits that the Indian Government has made a number of pronouncements according fair treatment to foreign capital, but it adds that these assurances have not had much effect in attracting foreign investments to India. It refers in this connection to the Government of India's official policy of liberalising the rules governing the repatriation of foreign capital invested in India before January 1950 announced early in June last. Voicing the opinion of the American businessmen that the regulations are inadequate, the bulletin makes a grievance of the fact that they fail to provide for transfer of profits earned on approved investments and for repatriation of capital invested before January 1, 1950, except for the sterling and Scandinavian countries. The Americans lose sight of the fact that this discrimination had been necessitated only on consideration of our foreign exchange position and the need for controlling transactions in dollar and other hard currency areas.

The bulletin next points out the objection raised against the arrangements for compensation in the event of nationalisation of foreign properties, which, it stresses, cannot at present be adjudicated upon by the Indian Law Courts but must be determined only

by the Legislatures. This apprehension is groundless because the Government of India have stated on many occasions that in the event of its taking over any property fair compensation will be paid.

The requirements regarding controlling interests by Indian nationals and the burden of double taxation are also considered as stumbling blocks to large-scale American investment. These requirements are also capable of adjustment. The provision regarding control of enterprises by Indian nationals is not expected to lead to any deterioration of American standards of business management. Some well-known Indian firms are already working well under similar arrangements with their foreign partners and there is no reason why the rules or practices should be more stringent in the case of Americans. The second difficulty may easily be eliminated by negotiating an Indo-U.S. double taxation avoidance agreement. It may also form part of the proposed comprehensive Indo-American Trade Agreement. It would be wise for our Embassy at Washington to study American opinion on this subject and to circulate adequate literature there showing the actual working of foreign capital in this country. The unfounded fear of losing their money should be allayed first of all before we can expect large-scale American investments in India.

### *Jute-Spinning Paddle Wheel*

We have received a 16-page pamphlet entitled "The Jute-Spinning Paddle Wheel" describing the working of this *Charkha*, driven by foot-power. Published by the Khadi Pratisthan, Calcutta for free distribution, it appears to have been a product of Shree Satish Chandra Das-Gupta's unremitting toil since 1922 to solve the problem of "enforced idleness in the land." True to the Gandhi idea of finding work for the millions and hundreds of millions in India's 7 lakh villages, this *Charkha* invented by the power behind the Khadi Pratisthan is just an extension of the Khadi programme; it just transfers or extends its use from cotton to jute. The Governments of the two Bengals—West and East—have here a machine which can supply work to their citizens forced to pass about more than 90 days in the year in idleness. We understand that Satish Babu was nominated chairman of the Home Industries Board in East Bengal by her Government.

### *After-Care of Trees*

The Government of India in the Ministry of Agriculture have pointed out that the enthusiasm generated throughout the Union on the occasion of the celebration of the *Vana-Mahotsava* needs to be directed now towards the tending and protection of trees planted during the festival. Nothing is easier than to plant a seedling; what is difficult indeed is to nurse and save it from extinction during its early stages. Exposed to the vagaries of weather and



voracity of domestic animals, the chances for the seedling to get established on its own are exceedingly remote. Failure to afford the necessary protection and to secure favourable conditions of growth for the plants put out, is apt to nullify the stupendous effort made by the country on this occasion. Experience gained in the past has been none too happy and not unoften one witnessed the spectacle of young plants perishing even before the week was out.

Attention, has, therefore, to be paid in the first instance to the protection of young plants from cattle, sheep and goats. In the case of a row of plants, e.g., on roadsides, canal banks or that surrounding compounds, gabions, should be erected with split bamboos, thorny branches of babul, split oil-drums or even of bricks where other materials are not readily available. Where an entire plot of area is planted up it should be fenced with split or woven bamboos, or barbed wire all round. The planting pits should be so filled up at the time of planting the seedlings that the earth is gradually raised towards the centre. This is necessary to drain off the excess water during heavy rains.

No watering would generally be required, except in very dry regions for the next few months. While forest species, such as Sissoo, Teak, Babul, Mahogany, Jamun, etc., can fend for themselves without water through the summer, fruit trees must be watered during May and June. The elimination of weeds and grasses is as important as the exclusion of cattle. In the early stages it is advisable to reduce the number of shoots to one and nurse the shoot so selected carefully.

The success or otherwise of the *Vana Mahotsava* will be judged by the number of plants helped to develop into sturdy saplings, able to hold their own against adverse conditions, and not merely by the number of trees planted. The award of prizes announced is, therefore, to be made to those persons only who have the greatest number of surviving plants to their credit.

### *Maharaja Sardul Singh*

The death of Maharaja Sardul Singh of Bikaner at the age of 48 years cuts untimely a life that played a significant part during the last years of British rule in India. When the Cabinet Mission came to India (March-July, 1946), they presented in secret a Memorandum of the relapse of "Paramountcy", the control of the British crown over the Indian States, to the Nawab of Bhopal as Chancellor of the Princes' Chamber, it would have the consequence of transforming the more than 600 States, Principalities and Jagirdars of India into independent States. The

Nawab of Bhopal, a supporter of the Pakistan idea, was more than eager to have this Balkanization, and the British would have gained the credit of being upholders of the principle of self-determination.

There were Princes and their advisers, who had been looking forward to the return of their irresponsible authority on the retirement of British power from India. The Nawab of Bhopal and his political Secretary, Suaib Quereshi, one-time nationalist Muslim, at present Pakistan ambassador to the Soviet Union, belonged to this group, because it would be advancing the Pakistan cause thereby. But the vast majority of the Princely Order had, however, sense enough in detecting this Trojan gift. At their head were Maharaja of Bikaner, the Gaekwar of Baroda, the Maharaja of Patiala. And their Chief adviser was the late Brojendra Lal Mittra who was then Prime Minister of Baroda. Their opposition upset the Anglo-Muslim apple-cart.

### *Kumud Sankar Roy*

The untimely death of Dr. Kumud Sankar Roy removes a leader of the healing art from Bengal, even from India. As one of the organizers of the Jadavpur T. B. Hospital, Dr. Roy has shown by his last act on earth that no sacrifice was too great for him if he could learn thereby a new method of treating this fell disease.

Service to suffering humanity was Kumud Sankar's motto in life—indeed unto his last breath. We know of very, very few indeed who lived up to his ideals as did this deeply mourned friend of ours.

Born in a rich family he had no call to face endless trouble, strife and financial stress, in the long-drawn struggle for the establishment of the Jadavpur Tuberculosis hospital. But the hopeless misery of the indigent tuberculosis patient moved him deeply and he took upon himself the cause of the suffering poor. He brought hope in the hearts of thousands through his ceaseless toil in fighting this fell disease.

He was one of the Secretaries of the National Medical Institute of Gora Chand Road, the other being Dr. Satish Sen who with Dr. Sundari Mohan Das as Rector had helped the foundation of a more popular system of Medical Education in eastern India. This was during the Non-co-operation Movement and after when the Calcutta Corporation under Deshabandhu Chittaranjan Das opened out new prospects for the amenities of our city.

Dr. Kumud Sankar has since then been at his post of duty—the duty of extending medical facilities over India. He had been upholding the traditions of service built up by such men as Nilratan Sircar, Radha Gobinda Kar, and other pioneers of modern medical education in Bengal.

To his wife and to his only son, Dr. Karuna Sankar Roy, we extend our deep sympathy, and offer to his memory the homage of our heart.

## WAYS TO PEACE

By PROF. TAN YUN-SHAN,

Director, Cheena-Bhavana, Visva-Bharati

EVERYBODY wants peace and is clamouring for peace; but peace does not come easily or even if it comes it does not remain for long. There is nobody who likes war and does not condemn war; but war occurs very often and usually lasts for years. Is it true that human society cannot live without fighting and that life itself cannot exist without struggle? I say "Yes," but also "No." Why? Because if I only say "Yes," how is it that people are always clamouring for peace and condemning war; and if I only say "No," how has there been more often war than peace in the world? The truth is that human society cannot live without fighting, but fighting is only necessary for progress or evolution and should not be for power or exploitation or domination. Life also cannot exist without struggle but struggle is only needful for development and elevation, not for striking and killing each other. And there should be no contradiction in this need for fighting and struggling among one another. It is unfortunate that this truth has always been ignored and neglected by people, and that ignorance and neglect have created all kinds of confusion and chaos. This is the tragedy of human society. This is also the tragedy of life.

All the great religions of the world preach the gospel of peace. Jesus Christ said in his Sermon on the Mount, "Blessed are the peacemakers: for they shall see God." And:

"Whosoever is angry with his brother without cause shall be in danger of the judgment: and whosoever shall say to his brother, Raca, shall be in danger of the Council: but whosoever shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell-fire. Therefore if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath aught against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way; first be reconciled to thy brother and then come and offer thy gift."—St. Matthew. Ch. 5.

The Holy Prophet Muhammad said in his Holy Quran: "Surely the religion with Allah is Islam." According to Maulvi Muhammad Ali, the primary significance of the name Islam is the "making of peace" and the idea of peace is the dominant idea in Islam. A Muslim, according to the Holy Quran, is he who has made his peace with God and man, with the Creator as well as His creatures. (Maulvi Muhammad Ali: *The Holy Quran*: Preface: Significance of the Name.)

The Hindus conclude all their prayers with "Shanti, Shanti, Shanti", meaning "Peace, Peace, Peace!" The goal of both the Buddhists and the Jains is Nirvana. The ultimate signification of Nirvana, according to Mahayana Buddhism, is absolute peace and bliss; peace and bliss not only for oneself, but for all others; peace and bliss not only for human beings, but for all creatures; peace and bliss not only on the globe, but in the whole universe; peace and bliss not only in the present world, but also in all the past and future worlds; and so on and so forth.

With the Chinese, peace is the essence of their life, their spirit, their culture and their religion. The oldest and the most important Chinese scripture, *Yi-Ching*, the Book of Change, begins with the Chien Diagram, on which the commentary says:

"The Chien maintains universal union and harmony, and thus all progress is advanced and perfected."

Here universal union and harmony means universal peace (*Yi-Ching*: Chien-Kua). In the first chapter of the second oldest and important Chinese scripture, *Shu-Ching*, the Book of History, it is said:

"To cultivate and illuminate the great virtue in order to endear and fraternize the nine clan relations. While the nine clan relations were endeared and fraternized, all the people would be pacified and enlightened. While all the people were pacified and enlightened, all the states in the world would be harmonized and united, and peace and tranquillity would be maintained."—*Shu-Ching*: Yao-Dien.

In another important Chinese classic, *Li-Chi*, the Records of Rites, it is said:

"The Ancients who wished to brighten the illustrious virtue in the world, first ordered well their states. Wishing to order well their States, they first regulated their families; wishing to regulate their families, they first cultivated their persons; wishing to cultivate their persons, they first rectified their minds; wishing to rectify their minds, they first purified their volitions; wishing to purify their volitions they first extended their knowledge. Such extension of knowledge depended upon the study of things. Things having been studied, knowledge became perfect; knowledge being perfect, their volitions were then purified;

their volitions being purified, their minds were then rectified; their minds being rectified, their persons were then cultivated; their persons being cultivated, their families were then regulated; their families being regulated, their States were then well ordered; their States being well ordered, the whole world could then be maintained in perfect peace and tranquillity."—*Li-Chi: Ta-Hsia*.

Such passages in the Chinese scriptures and classics are rather too numerous to be quoted one by one.

In spite of all these noble teachings and gospels of love, compassion and peace of all the great religions and faith, the world has not been tranquil and the history of human society has been a history more of struggling and fighting than peace. The so-called Second World War has just been over for only little more than five years but war-clouds are gathering again everywhere. The sky is dark, the atmosphere is stuffy, and the human mind is still being continually perplexed by all kinds of uncertainties and anxieties. In fact, fighting and struggling have never totally ceased. Immediately after the Hot war, came the Cold war. Besides this, there has been the guerilla war in Greece, which although ostensibly stopped at present has really not yet been terminated and which may break out again at any moment. Then there are the Police Action in Malaya and the undeclared war between the French and the Vietnamese in Indo-China, both of which are gathering momentum day by day. Now the spark has already been struck and the War Lord has unleashed its rein in Korea. What will happen tomorrow? Nobody can say.

After the so-called First World War, H. G. Wells wrote :

"The world of the Western European civilization in the years following the Great War was like a man, who has had some very vital surgical operation, very roughly performed, and who is not yet sure whether he can now go on living or whether he has not been so profoundly shocked and injured that he will presently fall down and die. It was a world dazed and stunned. Militarist imperialism had been defeated, but at an overwhelming cost. It had come very near to victory. Everything went on, now that the strain of conflict had ceased, rather laxly, rather weakly, and with a gusty and uncertain temper. There was a universal hunger for peace, and universal desire for the lost liberty and prosperity of pre-war times, without any power of will to achieve and secure these things. In many respects there had been great deterioration."—*Outline of History: Ch. XXXIX*.

What a sad picture painted by him of those days after the First Great War! But the picture of the present world situation is even worse. The present

world is like an injured gigantic animal lying in travail with pains and groanings. Its body is fully covered with wounds, bruises and contusions, which have not only not been cured but are continually made worse by new ones. And yet it is still threatened with guns, pistols, swords, spears and all kinds of other weapons, all of which may attack and kill it at any moment.

What are the causes and reasons for all these failures and frustrations? It is indeed a serious and grave problem for us to contemplate and meditate on, to expound and resolve now. Many great teachers, philosophers and scientists had probed, diagnosed and analysed it, but the results were not always very satisfactory. According to Lord Buddha, three things which are called the "Three Poisons" are the source or root of all the evils, miseries, tragedies, misfortunes and calamities in human life, as well as in the world at large. What are these "Three Poisons"? They are : (1) The poison of desire and greed, (*Tan-Tu* in Chinese, *Raga* in Sanskrit); (2) The poison of anger and hatred (*Chen-Tu* in Chinese, *dvesa* in Sanskrit); and (3) The poison of ignorance and stupidity (*Chih-Tu* in Chinese, *moha* in Sanskrit). The last one is again the spring of the first two. As it is said in one Buddhist scripture:

"People always cherish desire and greed for benefit and advantage; harbour anger and hatred for disadvantage and disappointment. These passions come out not from wisdom but from false and wrong views. They are therefore called ignorance and stupidity. These three poisons are the roots of all distresses and troubles."—*The Commentary on the Prajna-paramita Sutra*, Ch. 31 in Chinese.

So far as I know this is the best diagnosis and analysis of the world disease, but it could be further amplified and supplemented. I think, besides these, the prime causes of having war and not peace are the following:

- (1) The evil spirit of individual and racial superiority;
- (2) The evil spirit of private and national self-interest;
- (3) The wanton ambition for social and political power;
- (4) The wanton ambition for personal and state vainglory;
- (5) The stupid fears and suspicions of others;
- (6) The stupid jealousy and envy towards others.

After having diagnosed the disease, we must find out the remedy. Again many great teachers, philosophers, sages and saints have suggested and provided many prescriptions for saving humanity from



degeneration and the world from destruction. The Ten Commandments of Moses (The Holy Bible: Deuteronomy, 5) and the Sermon on the Mount of Jesus Christ (New Testament: St. Matthew, 5, 6, 7) are well-known. The Holy Prophet Muhammad prescribed for his followers five principal duties or ordinances: (1) Tashahhud, recital of the Kalima or Confession of Faith; (2) Salat, recital of Prayers; (3) Saum, fasting; (4) Zakat, almsgiving; and (5) Hajj, the Pilgrimage. The most important of these ordinances for world salvation are (3) fasting and (4) almsgiving; for fasting is to purify oneself, almsgiving is to benefit others, both of which will lead humanity to peace. Besides these, there are a number of duties of lesser importance, which are said to be necessary, without being obligatory. Further, in a descending scale of necessity, there are many exercises which are voluntary, these are works of merit and supererogation. (C. R. North: *An Outline of Islam*).

Lord Mahavira prescribed the Twelve Lay Vows and the Eleven Pratima for laymen, the Five Great Vows for the ascetics, and the Three Jewels for all. All of these are ways leading to perfect peace and *moksha* or salvation. Here we may mention only the Three Jewels and the Five Great Vows. The three jewels are: (1) *Samyak jnana*, right knowledge; (2) *Samyak darshana*, right faith, and (3) *Samyak charitrya*, right conduct. The five great vows are: (1) *Ahimsa*, non-killing; (2) *Asatya-tyaga*, speaking the truth, (3) *Asleaya-vrata*, non-stealing; (4) *Brahmacharya*, observing chastity, and (5) *Aparigraha-vrata*, non-possession (Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson: *The Heart of Jainism*). According to the *Guru Granth*, the Bible of the Sikhs, salvation is attained by serving God through serving His Creation. The first step on the path begins in the service of the family; it extends to that of friends and others till it broadens into continuous unselfish service for all. The disciple on the path must set in motion the five-fold process of purification: First, he must refrain from sin; secondly, he must learn the meaning of duty; thirdly, he must lose the sense of "I-amness" by serving others; fourthly, he must learn to control the mind; fifthly, he must draw near to God by repeating His name. (Raja Sir Daljit Singh: *Introduction to Sikh Ceremonies by Sirdar Sir Jogendra Singh*).

Lord Buddha was called "the King of Medicine," who cures all kinds of diseases, physical, mental and spiritual, human and non-human, of the world. The Buddhist list of creeds, precepts and rules regulating human life, such as the "Four Noble Truths," the "Eight-fold Right Path," the "Five Commandments," the "Ten Good Deeds," the "Thirty-seven

Ways," the "Five Hundred Rules," etc., is perhaps the longest among those of all the great religions. It was said that Lord Buddha did prescribe 84,000 methods to cure the 84,000 mortal distresses of humanity. But the most general and important teachings of Lord Buddha for the liberation of human society as well as for creating and maintaining peace in the world are embodied in the "Six Paramitas," the "Four All-embracing Virtues," and the "Four Boundless Compassions." The six Paramitas are: (1) *Dana*, or charity; (2) *Sila*, or moral conduct; (3) *Kshanti*, or patience; (4) *Virya*, or devotion; (5) *Dhyana*, or contemplation and (6) *Prajna*, or wisdom. (The Six-Paramitas-Sutra, Lu-Tu-Ching in Chinese). The Four All-embracing Virtues are: (1) *Dana*, or giving what others like, (2) *Priyavachana*, or affectionate speech; (3) *Arthakritiya*, or conduct profitable to others and (4) *Samanarhata*, or co-operation with and adaptation of oneself to others. (A Sutra taught by Buddha to A Benevolent King, Jen-Wang-Ching in Chinese.) The Four Boundless Compassions are: (1) *Maitri*, boundless kindness, or bestowing of joy or happiness to all; (2) *Karuna*, boundless pity, or to save all from suffering, (3) *Mudita*, boundless joy on others' happiness and (4) *Upeksha*, boundless indifference, i.e., rising above emotions, or giving up all things, e.g., distinctions of friends and enemy, love and hate, etc. (*Abhidharma-Kosha-Shastra*, Ch. 29.)

The numerous Hindu Shastras prescribed numerous rules and laws called *dharma* to govern Hindu life and conduct such as those Manu taught: "Harmlessness (1); Truth-speaking (2); Refraining from theft (3); and Control of senses (4); these are the essence of *dharma*." And the Chhandogya Upanishad also said in allegory: "Austerity (1); Almsgiving (2); Uprightness (3); Harmlessness (4); Truthfulness (5); these are one's gifts for the priests." The Rishis classified the Vedas into two sections: (1) the *Karma-Kanda*, dealing with ceremonies; and (2) the *Jnana-Kanda*, dealing with knowledge. These were later on more systematically developed into and carried forward by the different systems of Yogas, such as (1) the *Raja-Yoga*; (2) *Jnana-Yoga*; (3) *Bhakti-Yoga*; (4) *Karma-Yoga*, etc. The foundation of the Yogas are *Yama* and *Niyama*, each numbering five. The five items of *Yama* in the words of Patanjali are:

(1) "Abstinence from non-injuring and killing, being established, all hostilities are given up by the individual practitioners."

(2) "Truthfulness, when established, leads to the bestowal of fruits for actions."

(3) "Non-stealing, when established, all kinds of wealth approach (the Yogi)."

(4) "Celebacy, being established, vigour is obtained."

(5) "Abstinence from greed, being established, comes the knowledge of the how of existence or births."

The five items of *Niyama*, also in the words of Patanjali, are:

(1) "By purification comes disgust for one's own body and cessation of contact with others. On the purity of *Sattwa*, arise cheerfulness of mind, one-pointedness of mind, conquest of the senses, and fitness for the realisation of *Atma*."

(2) "By contentment, supreme happiness is obtained."

(3) "Through mortification, due to the destruction of impurities, arise psychic powers in the body and senses."

(4) "By study of the scriptures comes the communion with the tutelary deity."

(5) "By self-surrender comes the attainment of the superconscious state."

All of these lead humanity to freedom and the world to peace.—Patanjali: *Yoga Sutra*; and Sri Ewami Sivananda Saraswati: *Raja Yoga*.

The Chinese sages and saints also preached a great number of moral codes in order to bring human life happiness, society harmony, and the world tranquillity. The most well-known and important of those are: the "San-Ta-Teh" or three great virtues of the world, the "Wu-Chang" or five ethical laws of the Society, and the "Zsu-Wei" or four moral pillars of the nation. The three great virtues of the world are: (1) "Chi" or perfect knowledge, (2) "Jen" or pure benevolence and (3) "Yun" or dauntless courage. (Chung-Yang: *The Doctrine of the Mean*). The five ethical laws of society are: (1) "Jen" or benevolence, (2) "Yi" or righteousness, (3) "Li" or propriety, (4) "Chih" or wisdom, and (5) "Hsin" or faithfulness. (Book of Pei Hu Tung). The four moral pillars of the nation are: (1) "Li" or ceremony, (2) "Yi" or justice, (3) "Lien" or frugality, and (4) "Chih" or sense of shame. (Book of Kuan-Tsu). The late Dr. Sun Yat-sen, father of Modern China, in a revolutionary way, combined and summed up all the moral creeds preached by the ancient Chinese sages and saints into eight items, namely: (1) "Chung," loyalty; (2) "Hsia," piety; (3) "Jen," benevolence; (4) "Ai," love; (5) "Hsin," faithfulness; (6) "Yi," justice; (7) "Ho," peace; and (8) "Pin," equality.—Dr. Sun Yat-sen: *San Min-Chu-I, The Three Principles of the People*.

If all these lofty ideals and noble teachings of the sages and saints of the different religions of the world as narrated above were followed and carried out by all people, there would be no agony and suffering of war or struggle or conflict of any kind anywhere but happiness and the bliss of peace and tranquillity everywhere in the world. But unfortunately, as I said at the beginning, despite all these lofty ideals and noble teachings of the sages and saints of the different

religions of the world, there were and still are wars of all kinds, struggles of all kinds, conflicts of all kinds, agonies of all kinds, sufferings of all kinds. Shall we doubt all these teachings of all the religions? No. There was no fault with any of these teachings of the religions. The fault must be with something, somewhere else. We must realise that if there were not these lofty ideals and noble teachings of the sages and saints of the different religions in the world, there would be ever more wars, struggles, conflicts, chaos, calamities, tortures, turmoil, sufferings and what not. However, all these teachings are general doctrines and principles. Although they all have permanent and lasting value, they are not panacea for all the diseases of all people at all times. Human life, society, and the world, all are complex and diverse, changeable and inconsistent. When they are going on, their phases and conditions are always being changed and new things and phenomena are always being added. When conditions and circumstances are changed, principles, doctrines, laws, creeds, etc., should be also modified accordingly.

All things have two sides of values; the unchangeable and the changeable or the consistent and the inconsistent. The unchangeable or consistent side is the reality and truth of everything; the changeable or inconsistent side, its manifestation and modification. Reality and truth are always the same and that cannot and should not be altered under any circumstances; but its manifestations and modifications are different and these must be modified by and adjusted and adapted to changing circumstances. We, therefore, must find out new remedies and new ways besides those prescriptions and teachings of our ancient sages and saints for curing the diseases of the present world under present circumstances and conditions and lead it from darkness to light, from sorrow to joy, from suffering to happiness, from turmoil to tranquillity and from chaos to peace.

For several years past in my humble way I have very often been pondering over and meditating on this problem. I have thought of a twelve-point programme for solving the world problem of war and for bringing the world to peace. I spoke of this many times to people and friends in private discussions as well as in public meetings in the two countries of India and China. Almost all friends and people to whom I had spoken did approve and share my humble views. In China, there is a free organisation of friends believing in world unity and peace called the "World Fraternity Society" which has adopted this twelve-point programme as its creed. I venture to take this opportunity to offer the same to the World Convention of Religions on the Foundation of Peace to be held in London from 18th to 29th August, 1950, for

friendly and fraternal discussion and approval. The programme is as below:

#### A TWELVE-POINT PROGRAMME FOR WORLD PEACE

1. Pu-Ai—Universal love;
2. Pin-Teng—All-equality;
3. Tsu-You—Complete-freedom;
4. Ho-Tso—Voluntary-co-operation;
5. Hu-Chu—Reciprocal-help;
6. Yung-Jen—Enduring-tolerance;
7. Wu-Kou-Chiai—No-state-distinction;
8. Wu-Chung-Chiai—No-racial-distinction;
9. Wu-Chiai-Chi—No-class-distinction;
10. Fei-Po-Sio—Non-exploitation;
11. Fei-Tsin-Lio—Non-aggression;
12. Fei-Tsan-Pao—Non-violence.

*First, universal love means love of all and love for all.* We must love not only our own kith and kin, but also all other people. We must not love our own country only, but all other countries too. We must not only love human beings, but also all other living beings. According to the Chinese, Indian, Buddhist and Jaina philosophies, all living beings should be treated as the same. We therefore should love all. Jesus Christ said: "Love your enemies." But the Chinese Sage Mencius said: "The man of Jen has no enemy." Again he said: "Within the four seas, all are brothers." Another Chinese Sage, Chang-Tsai, said: "All people are our brethren and all things are our fellows." Then, how to distinguish one's kith and kin from other people? And how to differentiate human beings from other living beings? Well, in fundamental principle and spirit, there should be no distinction or differentiation between one's kith and kin and other people, between human beings and other living beings. But in fact and practice, it is very natural that love always starts from near to far, from one's kith and kin to other people, and from human beings to other living beings. Again the Chinese sage Mencius said: "From endearing our kith and kin to endear other people; from loving people to love other living beings." Moreover, the opposite term of love is hatred and malice. By universal love, it also means that we should not have any hatred or malice against anybody and anything.

*Secondly, all equality does not mean that all people must live the same life, have the same capacity and do the same work.* This is not possible and is unnecessary too. For this is not Nature's law. Men are born with diverse capacities, in diverse stations, and they have to work in different fields and walks of life. All equality means that all people must be equal in dignity, in privilege and in power. For all people

are creatures of the same Creator. They all live on the same earth. They, therefore, must have the same footing and the same position. All must have equal chance to live and to do whatever work they like and are fit for. Some may work as heads of states, some may work as scavengers of society. But they must be regarded as equal in dignity, in privilege and in power. There should be no special favour for anybody, no superiority of any man or any work in social standing. Some may do more and bigger jobs. Some may do less and smaller jobs. But all jobs must be regarded as of equal service of humanity as a whole and must have the same merit. Therefore, the President of the U.S.A. is called the servant of the State. And all officers, big or small, high or low, of modern countries subscribe themselves to any and everybody as "your most obedient servant." People used to say that before law, all are equal. But we must say that all are equal before all. As all equality is for all individual peoples in all the countries it is also for all the states and countries in the world.

*Thirdly, complete freedom means freedom of all and for all.* Almost all the Constitutions and laws of all the modern countries have provided for their people freedom of residence, freedom of profession, freedom of belief, freedom of speech, freedom of press. But these are not enough, still not complete freedom. The late President Franklin D. Roosevelt of U.S.A., during the last war, proclaimed to the world the so-called four freedoms: (1) freedom of speech, (2) freedom of worship, (3) freedom from want, and (4) freedom from fear. These are also not sufficient and are rather vague in terms. Besides these, we must have freedom for all people to enter into any country, to live in any country, to move in any country, to make association with anybody in any country, to marry anybody in any country, etc. Above all, all must have freedom of will and freedom of action anywhere and everywhere. As all people in all countries must have complete freedom in their individual life, so also all countries in the world must have complete freedom in their state affairs. But it must be made clear here that freedom should not be misunderstood and misused by anybody or any country. Freedom has its own limit, sphere and jurisdiction. Freedom always carries with it certain duties and responsibilities along with its rights. The law of freedom is not to interfere with other's freedom, either individually or collectively. Many people and countries had and have abused freedom. They thought that they could do anything and everything, good or evil, within their power just as they like. They freed or liberated themselves by breaking all external bounds and bindings, laws and rules, moralities and decencies. But they did not know that they themselves were slaves



to their own desires and passions, not to mention the harms and injuries done to others. This is slavery, not freedom, still not complete freedom.

*Fourthly, voluntary co-operation.* The life of humanity is one of harmonious collectivity, not a life of exclusive individuality. The ultimate aim of humanity must be to achieve the well-being and salvation of all mankind. Neither the individual, nor the race, nor the State is to be the end of life. As such, co-operation is absolutely necessary for society as well as for the world. All people should co-operate with one another in their private and public works and life. All nations and countries should also co-operate with one another in their individual and common state affairs. But co-operation must come voluntarily and freely and heartily. There should be not only no compulsion or force of any kind, but also no reluctance and unwillingness in any party to the co-operation.

*Fifthly, reciprocal help.* The reason advocated for voluntary co-operation also holds good for reciprocal help. Reciprocal help is similar to Kropotkin's "Mutual Aid." The theory of "Struggle for Existence" in Darwin's Evolutionism saw only one factor, not even one side, and that a black spot, of the biological world. This Evolutionism had been later on very much exploited by the so-called individualists for their wanton ambition and fanatic zeal to suppress and dominate the life of others. The worst type of this Evolutionism culminated in Nietzsche's *Uebermensch*. It was nothing but a kind of misapprehension and misinterpretation of the divine life of humanity and the sacred will and law of Nature. Peter Alexeith Kropotkin was perfectly right to say that only mutual aid can give individuals as well as the whole of humanity the greatest safety, and that it is the most real and the surest method which provides security to a progressive intellectual and moral life. But when we say "reciprocal help," we mean that all help must be unconditional. Of course, we must always reciprocate others' help but we should not expect any return to our help from others. A Chinese proverb says: "Whenever we give help to others, we should never remember it; whenever we receive help from others, we should never forget it." This may serve as a rule of reciprocal help. Yet the highest point of reciprocal help is altruism.

*Sixthly, enduring tolerance.* This is the reflection as well as the reflector of the other points. According to Buddhism, tolerance is the mother of morality. As the present world is in a miserable condition, we have to endure all kinds of hardships and sufferings. As mankind at the present stage has not yet been fully enlightened, we have to tolerate all kinds of mischiefs and insults. We endure and tolerate all these things not with any grudge or disgust or even murmur-

ing, but with light heart and good spirit. Jesus Christ said: "Who-so-ever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also. And if any man sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also." When Christ was put to death on the Cross, he still said: "*Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani?*" —My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" Recently when Mahatma Gandhi was shot to death he folded his hands and said: "Ram, Ram, Ram!" Lord Buddha said that when he was, in his past life, dismembered by a king, he did not have any anger and hatred at the moment. These are excellent examples of enduring tolerance. The grossest mistake with humanity is that some people often think that their interests, their power, their position, their fame, their ideas, their faith, their tradition, their custom, their way of living, etc., all are conflicting with others. They, therefore, always dislike these things of others, hate and envy everything of others and try to sacrifice these things of others for their own. This is entirely wrong. By so doing they will never gain anything but will lose everything. In reality and truth there would be no conflict between the things of one man or one country and those of another man or another country. The Chinese scripture says: "All things are nourished together without their injuring one another. The courses of the seasons, and of the sun and moon, are preserved without any collision among them." All conflicts are due to the ignorance of people. The only remedy for this is enduring tolerance.

*Seventhly, no state distinction.* The establishments of all states or countries are only for the convenience of administration of public affairs, for the maintenance of law and order, for the security of public interest and benefit, for the promotion of public good and welfare, and so on and so forth. There should be no distinctions among the different states or countries. We should regard all the states and countries as the same and as our own. The different names of different states and countries should be only considered as regional and geographical terms. The different territories of all the states and countries should be only recognised as administrative units, not barriers. The existing boundaries and jurisdictions of existing states and countries should be re-distributed and re-adjusted. All states and countries should be based and founded on geographical and regional reasons, not on racial, or linguistic, or cultural, or religious, or any other reasons. People should be able to go to any country and settle in any country as they like. They can speak any language in any country as they like. When they come and settle in any country, they should become citizens of that country. There should be no restriction of the so-called emigration and immigration. Cultures and religions have no boundary. Above the states and

countries, there may be bigger units, such as Unions of the different continents. These also must be founded on merely regional and geographical basis. Above all, there must be an organisation of the whole world to be called the Great World Union, but that should be neither like the last League of Nations nor like the present U.N.O. The League of Nations is dead; the U.N.O. has become an organ of quarrelling and abuse.

*Eighthly, no racial distinction.* One of the greatest barriers to world peace has been the racial distinction, or racial antipathy, or "idols of the tribe" as Francis Bacon put it. This is also one of the greatest prejudices of the human mind. Even today, just in the middle of the twentieth century, when people call themselves civilized, this prejudice still remains strong. In that great country the U.S.A. which is regarded as the most advanced and progressive, and most democratic country, there is a great prejudice against the Negroes even now. The great civil war led by Abraham Lincoln did not succeed in rooting out this evil in that country. There is no need to mention the racial distinction existing in South Africa and other countries which has become a very acute problem today. Therefore, if we want to attain world peace, we must get rid of this evil prejudice of the "idols of the tribe," and promote non-racialism. The different races of the world are just like different branches of a tree. They come from the same root; they belong to the same origin. They may have different colours and different shades of hairs; they may have varied sizes of figures and varied degrees of intellect. But they all have the same human bodies and the same human life. Some may be better developed and more advanced; some may be lagging behind and backward. Some may be stronger and richer; some may be weaker and poorer. But the better developed, the more advanced, the stronger and the richer must help those who lag behind, the backward, the weaker and the poorer. The most practicable and effective method to break the racial prejudice is inter-communication, inter-association and inter-marriage.

*Ninthly, no class distinction.* The most sinful cruelty of human society and the most disgraceful page of human history is that of class distinction. It is also called the caste system in India. The culmination of this caste system is segregation of the out-castes or the untouchables. This is indeed an unhappy feature of this great and glorious country. This is also a black spot, as Gandhi and Tagore often characterised it, of the noble religion of Hinduism. The origin of this class distinction or caste system was the division of works and professions. It unfortunately developed into its present shape and colour. Divisions of works and professions are necessary for several reasons which need no explanation. But there should be no distinc-

tion of nobility or meanness, high or low, honour or dishonour, good or bad, of any of them. As I have already said before that all kinds of works or professions should be considered as the same service to humanity and having the same merit. And all workers, whether the head of a state or a scavenger, should be regarded as equals and having the same status in the society. In fact, we should even honour a scavenger more than a state head because he is doing the most difficult and unpleasant job. That is why Mahatma Gandhi called the so-called untouchables "Harijans," the children of God. But unfortunately these children of God have been suppressed and depressed by the so-called upper-class people from time immemorial, and have suffered the most sinful and cruel treatment of humanity. We, therefore, must abolish this class distinction totally and thoroughly and advocate no-class-distinction. Happily this age-old injustice is being removed in India through the efforts of great reformer like Mahatma Gandhi and through State legislation.

*Tenthly, non-exploitation.* Exploitation gives rise to hatred and causes much trouble. No man should exploit another man, no nation should exploit another nation, and no country should exploit another country.

*"I rise when the sun rises  
And rest when the sun sets;  
I dig a well to drink  
And plough the land for good;  
The power of 'Ti, let it be,  
But what has it got to do with me?"*

This is one of the oldest Chinese folk-songs of the ancient Emperor Yao's time (about 2300-2200 B.C.). I think even today we would recite, remember and follow this. Why should people or countries utilise others' labour and merits for their own selfish benefits and cause suffering to others and trouble to all? This is also usurpation, misappropriation and thievery. Exploitation makes people and countries unequal in wealth and power. And this inequality has been utilised by some people as a pretence to do all kinds of mischiefs and create a lot of trouble in the world. They say that all wealth should be equally distributed, there should be no "poor and rich" and no "haves and have-nots;" they therefore lay their hands on everybody's property by all ways and by all means. But in fact this is also a kind, perhaps the worst kind, of exploitation. All people should try their best to produce as much as possible, but to utilise and enjoy as little as is necessary. A Chinese scripture called *Li-Yun* said :

*"Natural resources should be drawn out of the earth and utilised, but not necessarily for private property; personal abilities should be exerted from the body and mind and exercised, but not necessarily for selfish purposes."*

This may serve as a golden law of non-exploitation.

*Eleventhly, non-aggression.* Aggression usually starts and is organised and led by a few people who have peculiar minds of ambition which can hardly be understood for their wanton and mad adventures and enterprises. They misuse all kinds of good names as pretended for their evil actions. They distort all kinds of principles or "isms" to suit their selfish and harmful purposes. These people may be called Satans of humanity. Their heroism lies in the sacrifice of human lives. Their crowns and altars are made of human blood and flesh. Their palaces and thrones are built on hills of human skulls and skeletons. They are indeed the worst enemies of peace and the greatest criminals of the world. It is also very difficult to correct and rectify them. They are said to have iron wills and diamond disciplines. They do not like to trouble themselves to think and to know that by aggression, they will not only destroy and ruin other countries and people but ultimately will destroy and ruin their own countries and themselves. We, therefore, have to enlighten the masses of people of the world on this truth. The proper way of living together is that all peoples and countries should try to put their own houses in order first and then contribute together each others' share to maintain world peace and tranquillity. Nobody should interfere in other countries and people's lives and affairs except to render necessary help. Such help when necessary must be very real and genuine and not rendered with any adulterated, selfish motives.

*Twelfthly, non-violence.* Violence in its general sense is brutal force. It is a shame to humanity that even today people cannot live without brutal force. Only beasts and savages regard killing as bravery and heroism. This kind of bravery and heroism should have been dead long ago. The twentieth century should be the century of non-violence if we claim ourselves to

be civilized and cultured. The great killing force demonstrated in the last war was not a glory but a disgrace to humanity. It was not civilization and culture, but brutality and savagery. I do not think anybody wants this kind of brutality and savagery any more. Let us now have non-violence and declare our time to be the Age of Non-violence. Non-violence was perhaps first used by the Indian Bapu, the Father of India, Mahatma Gandhi. It is an equivalent to the Sanskrit word *ahimsa*. *Ahimsa*, according to Gandhiji, is also truth, love, charity, bravery, fearlessness, forgiveness and selflessness. He said :

"*Ahimsa* and truth are so intertwined that it is practically impossible to disentangle and separate them."

And :

"In its positive form, *ahimsa* means the largest love, greatest charity."

And :

"*Ahimsa* is the extreme of forgiveness. But forgiveness is the quality of the brave. *Ahimsa* is impossible without fearlessness."

Again :

"Let us now examine the root of *ahimsa*. It is uttermost selflessness."

And so on and so forth. Here I should add that non-violence is the key to peace. With this magic key we shall open all deadlocks of all problems which stand in the way and obstruct the path of peace. It is also the foundation as well as the instrument of peace. Let us build our peace on non-violence and by non-violence.

*Om, Shanti, Shanti, Shanti !*

—O, Peace, Peace, Peace\*!

\* An address delivered at the World Convention of Religions on the Foundation of Peace, in London, on the 22nd August, 1950.





# GANDHIJI'S FIRST STRUGGLE IN INDIA

By P. C. ROY CHOUDHURY, M.A., B.L.

## EUROPEAN INDIGO CONCERNS IN BIHAR

ONE of the requests that Gandhiji received soon after his coming to India from South Africa was to visit Champaran in Bihar and redress the grievances of the cultivators against forced Indigo plantation. Indigo was being cultivated in North Bihar even before the advent of the British. The indigo concerns of North Bihar familiarly known as *Nil Kothis* came into existence in the 18th century and by the end of the 18th century there were nine big indigo concerns in North Bihar under non-official Europeans. In the first quarter of the 19th century the number of factories had gone up to more than 25 and like an octopus the tentacles of the Indigo Kothis had entwined into the body economic and the body social of the cultivators of North Bihar. There was a time when even the British Government allowed the European planters credit at the public treasury as the Government were enamoured of the indigo plantations and thought cultivators immensely profited from it.

## INDIGO PLANTERS OPPRESS

But down in the hearts of the poor cultivators even in the third quarter of the 19th century there was a deep-seated dissatisfaction and the cultivators wanted to have at least more price for their indigo. They knew that enormous profits were made from indigo and they had a natural desire to have a higher price. The *amlas* or the subordinate personnel who were in real touch with the cultivators exacted a number of illegal levies under the general name of *dasturi*. Slowly the proprietor-planters were substituted by the European managers who had less sympathy and less touch with the *ryots*. Forcible cultivation of indigo was given legal sanctity by several Court rulings upholding the *Tinkathia* system by which the cultivator was obliged to grow indigo on the best part of his land and the *Sarabeshi* system under which Indigo plantation could be commuted by an agreement to pay a much higher rent.

## PERMANENT LEASES TO EUROPEAN CONCERNS

The Bettiah Estate in Champaran had a very prominent part in sustaining this indigo plantation. The feelings of the *ryots* against the forcible cultivation of indigo were much more acute in Bettiah Estate. The management of Bettiah Estate was in the hands of the Europeans. The manager gave lavishly temporary leases to the European planters. Unfortunately the extravagance of the Maharaja and the mismanagement of his employees put Bettiah Raj into heavy debts and Mr. T. Gibbon who was appointed Manager in 1876 was specially commissioned to extricate the Raj from the debt. The manager thought of a plan and the Guilliland House consented

to float a sterling loan of nearly 95 lacs on the sole condition of substantial European security. To cover the interest on the loan and to give a substantial security permanent leases of villages were given to the European indigo planters in the place of temporary leases. By this method the cultivation of indigo was very widely extended in North Bihar and by the end of the 19th century about a lac of acres of the best land in Champaran were under indigo cultivation and at the mercy of the European planters.

From the beginning of the 20th century the acute feelings of the *ryots* of Champaran against the forced indigo cultivation found shape in concrete outburst from time to time. Even before Gandhiji was requested to come to Champaran and was prevailed upon to take up the cause of the *ryots* against the oppressions of the European planters there was an effective opposition a few years before.

## ABWABS REALISED

The provincial administration in North Bihar at the beginning of the 20th century was practically controlled by the European indigo planters and Champaran had to bear the fullest brunt of it. Within almost every 10 miles there was a planter's indigo concern. The poor tenants were forced to part with their lands so that the planters could have a consolidated block. The best of their lands had to grow indigo whether he wants it or not and the planters' *Jamadars* were a constant nightmare. These concerns levied *Abwab* under various names. The amounts of the *Abwabs* varied in practice between 30 per cent and 120 per cent of the local *ryoti* rental. Strangely enough the first payment made by a *ryot* used to be credited to the *Abwab* account and the arrangement was that the rent-receipts were granted only when all the demands, legal and illegal, were paid. *Ryots* used to be sued for arrears of rent in the Northern *Thikadari* areas of the Bettiah and Ramnagar Estates even after they have paid their rent. *Abwabs* the number of which was very large used to be justified on the grounds that the *Abwabs* were voluntarily paid, that they were customary, that the rents were low and that the *Thikadar* holds on uneconomic conditions so far as the legal assets of the leases are concerned.

## PLANTERS ASSOCIATION AND LIGHT HORSE : RYOTS

### REVOLT

The Bihar Planters Association and the Bihar Light Horse, a volunteer defence corps, practically guided the administration. Mr. Filgate, the Secretary of the Bihar Planters Association, was also the officer commanding the Bihar Light Horse, a volunteer defence corps. Although he controlled the interest of the planters with an iron hand he took the precaution

of setting up defensive posts under the wings of Bihar Light Horse throughout North Bihar for the protection of the Europeans and Anglo-Indians in case there was an uprising. The set-up of the tenancy in Champaran was such that a tenant could not talk with an umbrella opened within a mile of the Kothi of the European planter. But it is this oppression which brought out several martyrs who moved from village to village in 1907-1908 and a secret organisation was set up to fight the tyranny of the planters. The meek tenant, who was born and brought up in the environs of *Tinkathia* and *Sarabeshi* system, according to which he had to raise indigo in the best portion of his land and if he would not, he would pay more rent and give innumerable *Abwabs*, revolted. One *Seikh Gulab* was the prime mover and he raised a common fund for contesting cases and within a very short time the movement against the Planters' Raj caught the whole of Bettiah Sub-division. The *ryots*, at the instance of *Seikh Gulab*, *Sital Ray* and others, refused to grow indigo and they started sowing their own crops in the *Tinkathia* portion of the field.

#### MORE OPPRESSION

The planters were bewildered, but the iron grip on the tenants tightened quickly and *Seikh Gulab* and others soon found themselves made into special constables. It is difficult to realise today the pointedness of the feelings of the tenants at that time and history was made in Bettiah Sub-division in Champaran in 1908 when *Seikh Gulab* and others refused to work as special constables. They were convicted under the Police Act but the Calcutta High Court set aside the conviction in March 1908.

#### BOMB AT MUZAFFARPUR : AGITATION

##### INTENSIFIES

A month later India was shaken by the bomb thrown as a protest against British bureaucracy and oppression in Muzaffarpur on 30th April, 1908, by the two young Bengali boys *Khudiram Bose* and *Prafulla Chaki*—both of whom had to die a martyrs' death. This bomb outrage stiffened the administration. But the movement started by *Seikh Gulab* was all the more energised by the lesson of the bomb that was thrown in Muzaffarpur. Although the District Gazetteer of Champaran by *O'Malley* published at this time mentions that the *ryots* did not possess any active sentiments on indigo cultivation even if they do not like it the fact remains that every planters' house and every tenants' hut had pointed feelings poles asunder regarding this. While the planters considered indigo cultivation as a divine right the cultivator took it as an outrage.

#### ADMINISTRATION HITS BACK

Throughout 1908 Champaran District was the butt-end of this agitation, Notices under Section 144

Cr. Pr. Code used to be served in the morning and arrests were made in the evening on the grounds that the tenants had disobeyed the orders of Government. About 200 respectable men of Bettiah were made special constables. About 300 warrants were issued against the men who had run away to Calcutta and other places. Bengalis were paid special attention and any Bengali stranger coming by train to any part of Champaran was always hounded by the police. Bengal was at this time torn with the great *Swadeshi* agitation and the villages in Bihar used to get papers like *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, *Beharee*, *Bengali*, explained to them as the vernacular press was not forceful.

#### LEADERS PERSECUTED

The three leaders *Seikh Gulab*, *Sital Ray* and *Radhemal* were singled out by the administration. *Sital Ray*, a respectable resident of Mathia village, had his house surrounded by Policemen under Mr. Knight, Reserve Inspector; arrested and handcuffed *Sital Ray* was taken to the house of the S.D.O. when he was having his tea with Mr. *Lekis*, Manager, Bettiah Raj. As *Radhemal*, a Banker of Bettiah, was not found, his *Munim*, *Ram Swarath Lal*, was arrested. They were all prosecuted.

#### HUNDREDS CONVICTED

The ball had been set in motion and the planters were furious and saw that prosecution was sanctioned. Mr. P. C. Manuk, Bar-at-Law, and Mr. Binode Bihari Mazumdar, pleader of Patna, who had led the prosecution of *Khudiram Bose* for the bomb outrage in Muzaffarpur were engaged by Government to prosecute *Sital Ray*, *Radhemal* and others. A special Magistrate, Mr. Goode, was deputed to try these cases. No local lawyer was available to defend the accused persons, Mr. *Govinda Chandra Ray* and Mr. *Kalidas Bose* of Muzaffarpur along with Mr. *Donough*, Bar-at-Law, of Calcutta, defended and the accused were all convicted.

#### PRESS HELPS RYOTS

Messrs *Maheswari Prasad*, Editor of *Beharee*, Patna, *Motilal Ghose*, Editor, *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, *Surendranath Banerjee*, Editor, *Bengalee*, published a series of articles taking up the cause of the *ryots* and pointed the mischief that had already been done and wanted that an open inquiry should be made as to why the people were revolting against the indigo cultivation.

#### PLANTERS MOVE FOR FIRE AND BLOOD

The indigo planters held a hisotric meeting on 15th October, 1908, at the house of the Manager of Bettiah Raj followed by the District meeting in Motihari in October, 1908. Mr. *Barclay*, the District Secretary, circulated an urgent letter that a concerted action was indicated because a general boycott had taken place in certain concerns. All the 22 indigo concerns of Champaran district were represented in

the meeting which was also attended by Mr. Garrett, District Magistrate, Champaran, Mr. Tanner, S.D.O., Bettiah and Mr. Kelso, S.P., Champaran. The meeting called for fire and blood and suggested that the situation was so serious because of 'outside influence.' They wanted a formidable Punitive Police force to be disbursed throughout the district and also that Act VI of 1907 should be made applicable for the entire district of Champaran.

#### GOURLEY'S ENQUIRY REPORT SUPPRESSED

A Punitive Police force under European officers was distributed throughout the district and a veritable reign of terror was sought to be established. About 350 persons were convicted and put into prison. But the Calcutta Press including even the *Statesman* had taken up the cause of the Champaran ryots. The *Statesman* reviewed the situation in an editorial on 2nd December, 1908, and exposed the hollowness of the theory that outside influence were at the bottom of all the trouble. In spite of the general opposition from the planters and the local officials, the Government saw through the matter and appointed Mr. Gourley, who was both once the S.D.O. of Bettiah and the Collector of Champaran, to enquire into the reasons of the outburst. Gourley was then the Director of Agriculture and he toured in the area and completed his inquiry in December, 1908. Gourley's report was never published or discussed in the Council although the copy was made available to the Planters' Association. Gourley's report was discussed in a meeting of the Planters' Association who sent a reply to Gourley's report. This will indicate while the press and the public or the Council were not taken into confidence, the planters were. A memorandum of the Planters' association published in June 1910 took account of some of Gourley's suggestions and indicated some amendments of the bye-laws, and the rate payable for Java and for Suantrana indigo was raised per acre. The planters also decided that no *farmaish* shall be levied from any tenants and no land whatsoever shall be taken for *zirat* without a written agreement.

These solemn promises were not fully ratified. It was indeed painful to read in the memorandum of the Planters' Association that the Lt.-Governor of Bengal bringing the deliberations of the planters to a close at a conference in Darjeeling in 1910 showered the choicest praise on the planters and said that "confidence has been reposed in the planters on the present occasion because they had always respected every confidence reposed in them in the past."

#### GANDHIJI'S VISIT—1917 : NOTICE TO QUIT

The next phase is seen when Gandhiji was brought by Raj Kumar Sukla of Bettiah and others to Champaran. Gandhiji refused to move the resolution regarding the indigo plantation in Bihar in the session,

of the Indian National Congress of 1916 because he had no personal knowledge of the matter. But he gave his word that he would visit Champaran and in pursuance of that promise he arrived at Muzaffarpur on 10th April 1917 and saw the Commissioner. Mr. Macpherson was the Chief Secretary at that time. Gandhiji intimated to the Commissioner that he would visit Motihari and Bettiah to look into the grievances and the Commissioner told him that the matter was receiving the attention of the Government and he need not go to Motihari. But nothing could stop him and he went to Motihari. He had already collected round him a band of ardent followers. Gandhiji had an intuition that he might be arrested and the notice under Cr. Pr. Code served by the S.D.O., Champaran, on him to quit Champaran did not come as a surprise. The whole of the night preceding the day when the case would come up was spent in work by Gandhiji and he gave very clear instructions to his followers as to what they would have to do. The court-room of Mr. George Chandra was packed and thousands of people were waiting outside. Mr. Heycock, the Superintendent of Police and the other officers of the district of Champaran, were bewildered as to what Gandhiji would do. In very clear and unequivocal words he read out the statement that he was going to fulfil his mission and he had no intention to leave Champaran.

#### HIS STATEMENT : REFUSES TO QUIT

Gandhiji had already written when the notice under Cr. Pr. Code was served on him as follows :

"With reference to the order under Section 144 Cr. Pr. Code just served upon me I beg to state that I am sorry that you have felt called upon to issue it and I am sorry too that the Commissioner of the Division has totally misinterpreted my position. Out of a sense of public responsibility I feel it to be my duty to say that I am unable to leave this district but if it so pleases the authorities I shall submit to the order by suffering from penalty of disobedience.

"I most emphatically repudiate the Commissioner's suggestion that 'my object is likely to be agitation'. My desire is purely and simply for a 'genuine search for knowledge' and this I shall continue to satisfy so long as I am left free".

#### A UNIQUE STATEMENT : FIRST IN BRITISH INDIA

Mr. Gandhi appeared before the Magistrate on 18th April and read the following statement before the court :

"With the permission of the Court I would like to make a brief statement showing I have taken very serious steps of seemingly disobeying the order made under Section 144 of the Cr. Pr. Code. In my humble opinion it is a question of difference of opinion between the local administration and myself. I have entered the country with motives of rendering humanitarian and national service. I have done so in response to a pressing invitation.



to come and help the Ryots who urge they are not being fairly treated by the Indigo planters. I could not render any help without studying the problem. I have therefore come to study it with the assistance if possible of the administration and the planters. I have no other motive and I can not believe that my coming here can in any way disturb public peace or cause loss of life. I claim to have considerable experience in such matters. The administration have however thought differently. I fully appreciate their difficulty and I admit too that they can only proceed upon the information they receive. As a law-abiding citizen my first instinct would, as it was, to obey the order served upon me. I could not do so without doing violence to my sense of duty to those for whom I came. I feel that I could just now serve them only by remaining in their midst. I could not therefore voluntarily retire. Amid this conflict of duty I could only throw the responsibility of removing me from them on the administration. I am fully conscious of the fact that a person holding in the public life of India a position such as I do, has to be most careful in setting examples. It is my firm belief that in the complex constitution under which we are living the safe and honourable course for a self-respecting man is in the circumstances such as face me, to do what I have decided to do, that is, to submit without protest to the penalty of disobedience. I have ventured to make this statement not in any way in extenuation of the penalty to be awarded against me but to show that I have disregarded the order served upon me, not for want of respect for lawful authority, but in obedience to the higher law of our being, the voice of conscience."

#### CASE WITHDRAWN: ENQUIRY PROCEEDS

The case was adjourned and was withdrawn the next day. The Empire was shaken, the force of truth was realised.

#### ADMINISTRATION STOOFS

Gandhiji continued his work in hearing the ryots. The little hopes that were entertained that Gandhiji would send away his lawyer friends in his work were shattered when Gandhiji wrote his historic letter on the 13th May 1917, on the request of the Chief Secretary that he should give them up, that it was a point of honour with him not to dispense with their help. By this time Gandhiji's co-workers had swelled and some of them were Rajendra Prasad, Shambhu Saran, Brij Kishore Prasad, Ram Navami Prasad, Kripalani, Mazrul Haq, Mahadev Desai, Dharanidhar, Anugraha Narain Sinha and others. Hundreds of villagers would pour in and their statements regarding the oppressions by the planters were recorded. The gears of Government were completely upset. Mr. Maude, the Chief Secretary, requested Gandhiji for a summary of his conclusions of the preliminary inquiry into the agrarian conditions of the Champaran ryots. This letter of Gandhiji dated 19th May 1917 is a masterpiece and he summarises the position and points out

that when the ryots were groaning under the weight of oppressions Government should not await the Settlement Officer's report on the matter. The S.D.O., Bettiah, the District Officer, Champaran, the Commissioner, Tirhut Division and the Settlement Officer, all had to report on this letter. As a result of all this Government was obliged to appoint a Committee to go into the matter.

#### AGRARIAN COMMITTEE APPOINTED

The Champaran Agrarian Inquiry Committee was appointed on 10th June, 1917, with an apologia as to its necessity and "M. K. Gandhi, Esq." was mentioned as the 5th and the last member of the Committee. The report was signed on 3rd October, 1917, and gave clear indications as to what need be done and wanted that orders that may be passed should be circulated in vernacular to the ryots by as wide publication as possible. The President of the Committee was Mr. F. G. Sly, Commissioner, C.P., and the other members besides Gandhiji were Messrs L. C. Adamy, D. J. Reid, G. Rainy and Raja of Amawa (later substituted by Raja Krityanand Singh of Baneli). The Government resolution was signed on 18th October, 1917, accepting the Committee's recommendations that the *Tinkathia* system should entirely be abolished and that any contract to grow indigo must be voluntary and for short terms only. Government came also to certain conclusions regarding commutation, *Tawan*, *Abwab*, *Thikadari* system, pasture grounds, scale of minimum wages, etc. Government agreed to bring in the necessary legislation to give effect to the Committee's recommendations. This promise was quickly implemented and the first mission of Gandhiji was a success in India.

#### HIS OWN REVIEW

It will be interesting to know how Gandhiji personally referred to his work in Champaran when he addressed a letter to the Viceroy soon after the Delhi War Conference. He wrote :

"In Champaran by resisting an age-long tyranny I have shown the ultimate sovereignty of British justice. In Kaira, a population that was cursing Government now feel that it, and not Government, is the power when it is prepared to suffer for the truth it represents. It is therefore losing its bitterness and is saying to itself that the Government must be a Government for people, for it tolerates orderly and respectful disobedience where injustice is felt. Thus Champaran and Kaira affairs are my direct, definite and special contribution to the War. Ask me to suspend my activities in that direction and you ask me to suspend my life. If I could popularise the use of soul-force which is but another name for love-force in place of brute force I know that I could present you with an India that could defy the whole world to do its worst. In season and out of season therefore I shall discipline myself to express in my life this eternal law of suffering and present it for acceptance to those who

care and if I take part in any other activity the motive is to show the matchless superiority of that law."

#### HIS DRESS: INTERESTING CORRESPONDENCE

Gandhiji's dress in those days consisted of entirely hand-woven and hand-sewn cloth and was made by him or his fellow-workers. Mr. Irwin of Motihari Sugar Factory was a great critic and wrote a number of letters in the *Pioneer* and the *Statesman*. It is rarely that Gandhiji even wrote to the press other than what was his own and the following reply of Gandhiji in reply to Irwin's criticism of dress in the *Pioneer* during the Champaran Inquiry will be read with interest :

"I have hitherto successfully resisted the temptation of either answering your or Mr. Irwin's criticism of the humble work I am doing in Champaran. Nor I am going to succumb now except with regard to a matter which Mr. Irwin has thought fit to dwell upon and about which he has not even taken the trouble of being correctly informed. I refer to his remarks on my manner of dressing.

"My familiarity with the minor amenities of Western civilisation has taught to respect my national costume and it may interest Mr. Irwin to know that the dress I wear in Champaran is the dress I have always worn in India except that for a very short period in India I fell an easy prey in common with the rest of any countrymen to the wearing of the semi-European dress in the courts and elsewhere outside Kathiawar. I appeared before the Kathiawar Courts now 21 years ago in precisely the dress I wear in Champaran.

#### NATIONAL DRESS

"One charge I have made and it is that having taken to the occupation of weaving and agriculture and having taken the vow of Swadeshi my clothing is now entirely hand-woven and hand-sewn and made by me or my fellow-workers. Mr. Irwin's letter suggests that I appear before the ryots in a dress I have temporarily and specially adopted in Champaran to produce an effect. The fact is that I wear the national dress because it is the most natural and the most becoming for an Indian. I believe that our copying of the European dress is a sign of our degradation, humiliation and our weakness and that we are committing a national sin in discarding a dress which is best suited to the Indian climate and which for its simplicity, art and cheapness is not to be beaten on the face of the earth and which answers hygienic requirements. Had it not been for a false pride and equally false notions of prestige, Englishmen here would have long ago adopted the Indian costume. I may mention incidentally that I do not go about Champaran bare-footed. I do avoid shoes for sacred reasons. But I find too that it is more natural and healthier to avoid them whenever possible.

#### HOW HE REFERS TO TROUSERS

"I am sorry to inform Mr. Irwin and your readers that my esteemed friend Babu Brij Kishore Prasad, "The Ex-Hon. Member of Council" still remains unregenerate and retains the provincial cap and never walks barefooted and

'kicks up' a terrible noise even in the house we are living in by wearing wooden sandals. He has still not the courage in spite of most admirable contact with me to discard his semi-Anglicised dress and whenever he goes to see his officials he put his legs into the bifurcated garments and on his own admission tortures himself by cramping his feet in elastic shoes. I cannot induce him to believe that his clients would not desert him and the courts would not punish him if he wore his more becoming and less expensive *dhoti*. I invite you and Mr. Irwin not to believe the "stories" that the latter hears about me and my friends, but to join me in the crusade against educated Indians abandoning their manners, habits and customs which are not proved to be bad or harmful. Finally, I venture you and Mr. Irwin that you and he will ill-serve the cause both of you consider is in danger by reason of my presence in Champaran if you continue, as you have done, to base your strictures on unproved facts. I ask you to accept my assurance that I should deem myself unworthy of the friendship and confidence of hundreds of my English friends and associates, not all of them fellow-cranks, if in similar circumstances I acted towards them differently from my own countrymen."

#### HIS TECHNIQUE OF FIGHT : LABORATORY TEST IN CHAMPARAN

Thus ended Gandhiji's first struggle in India. One is struck with the familiarity of the method of work throughout his later career fully revealed in Champaran. Not only he fulfilled his political mission and shook the entire British Empire politically but he also started a great social mission in Champaran. With the help of Kasturba, Abantikabai Gokhale and other ladies the kitchen at Bettiah was run on non-communal lines. His followers had to send away their personal servants slowly. He started a number of schools where he would himself go and teach. Sabarmati Ashram was really in being in Bettiah in 1917. Harijan work was started in the course of his work in Bettiah. The educational principles he followed were worked in Champaran. Hindi as *Rashtra-bhasa* was born in Bettiah camp as while here Gandhiji decided to learn Hindi and learnt it. In fact, the technique of Gandhiji's work in all the spheres was really tested and made almost perfect in Champaran.

He had vision and God's inspiration when he told the S.D.O., Champaran, that "I had entered the country with motives of rendering humanitarian and national services and my desire is purely and simply for a genuine search for knowledge and this I shall continue to satisfy so long as I am left free." It can very well be said that in his very first struggle in India Gandhiji tested his technique in a most backward and oppressed tract and fully satisfied himself with the force of his methods and the capability of the people to follow them. Bihar was his first laboratory and remained his favourite till the last.

## THE TWO WORLDS

BY PRINCIPAL S. N. AGARWAL

DURING the last War, Wendell Willkie undertook a flight round the globe and passionately pleaded for 'One World' in which 'there shall be an equality of opportunity for every race and every nation.' At that time, the United States of America and the Soviet Union were Allies and had pooled their vast and powerful resources to crush Hitlerism. The United Nations succeeded in winning the war, but miserably failed to win peace. Even before they had the opportunity of meeting round the peace table, the world witnessed the beginning of a 'cold war' between the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. The so-called 'cold war' threatened to turn into a 'hot war' at the time of the Berlin blockade and the subsequent Airlift. Somehow, good-sense prevailed and the tragedy was averted for the time being. But the tension has been growing in intensity and might any day burst into flames. The Americans sincerely feel that Russia is bent upon precipitating war for destroying the United States and gaining mastery over the entire globe. The Soviet Union declares that she has absolutely no intentions of waging a war; on the other hand, she feels convinced that America is determined to force war on Russia in order to annihilate Communism at the very source. Both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R. proclaim from the house-tops that they desire to outlaw war and establish lasting peace on earth. But both are engaged in making frantic efforts to manufacture more Atom and Hydrogen bombs in the mad race of piling up deadly and disastrous weapons of war. Speaking about this armaments race, Prof. Albert Einstein recently observed :

"The successful radioactive poisoning of the atmosphere, and hence the annihilation of life on earth, has been brought within the range of technical possibility. . . . The idea of achieving security through national armament is at the present state of military technique a disastrous illusion. The armaments race between the U.S. and the U. S. S. R., originally supposed to be a defensive measure, assumes a hysterical character."

The Professor, therefore, pleaded for the solemn renunciation of violence and the promotion of mutual trust. But the whole situation seems to have passed beyond the control of any one nation and the 'two worlds' of America and Russia threaten to destroy each other in an atomic war in which victory and defeat are almost equally disastrous.

This is not a clash between two countries or races; it is an inherent conflict of two ideologies. Although geographically the world could be still called one, there are definitely two worlds of ideological nature—one dominated by Capitalism and the other ruled by

Communism. Both of these worlds lie cheek by jowl in each country today; in some countries the one predominates, and in the other the second prevails. The Titanic struggle between the two goes on unabated; in each country it is this ideological conflict that permeates the social, economic, educational and political domains of national life. We could get vivid glimpses of both these worlds throughout the tour and I, therefore, sincerely feel that the idea of 'One World' under the existing circumstances is a myth. We have to face the fact squarely that at present there are two worlds, although the hope of humanity ultimately lies in welding both of these into one.

The world of Capitalism is led by the United States of America which provides the largest scope for private enterprise and firmly believes in its immense potentialities for economic prosperity and welfare. In America, the railways, the bus transport, telegraph and telephones, radio and the press are all controlled and managed by private companies. It must be said to their credit that all these public utility services are run very efficiently. The Post Office is the only State concern, and unfortunately, it is the most inefficient. The people of the United States, therefore, claim that the *laissez faire* system of economy is, by far, the best. To them the maintenance of this system is the essence of democracy; any state that undermines or even restricts private enterprise is totalitarian and dictatorial. The world of Communism is led by the Soviet Union which believes in the 'dictatorship of the proletariat' for undoing the wrongs of the capitalistic order. Russia is hostile to private enterprise and the profit motive and desires to collectivize or nationalize agriculture, industry and public utility services. In fact, the idea of national economic planning originated in Russia where nothing is left to chance and the vagaries of private capitalists; all sectors of economy have to be effectively controlled, managed and planned by the State for the welfare of the masses. The Americans claim that their system of national economy is the best because it has enabled the United States to grow into the richest country of the world. The Russians describe the American capitalistic system as 'barbaric,' unjust and immoral. They, therefore, desire to uproot the bourgeois order, while the Americans want to keep their *laissez faire* system intact at all costs and dread any attempt on the part of the Soviet Union to extend her sphere of influence over Western Europe and Asia.

Frankly speaking, there is not much to choose between these two systems of Capitalism and Communism. Undiluted capitalistic order in which a few



Industrialists and financiers dominate national life is, certainly, a monstrosity for which I could never harbour any love or sympathy. The very system of free trade and private enterprise which has made America the wealthiest country in the world today has also caused untold hardships to many an underdeveloped nation; even within the United States the political power that the rich people exercise unscrupulously is a tragic mockery of all concepts of democracy. On the other hand, Communism is fast growing into a powerful monster that shamelessly crushes every opposition and reduces man into an automaton with no scope for the development of his personality. Communism forgets that Man does not live by bread alone; while assuring employment and a basic standard of living, it deprives humanity of that freedom and initiative which constitute the very essence of life. From my standpoint, both America and Russia are totalitarian; the one upholds 'totalitarian man' and the other creates 'totalitarian State.' These two totalitarian systems of man and society give birth to Total Wars which result in the total destruction of all those values which impart meaning to human life.

How to resolve this deep-rooted conflict and clash of ideologies? After the First World War, the League of Nations attempted to perform this difficult task, but it failed. After the Second World War, the United Nations Organization is trying to make the world safe for peace and democracy. But it is yet to be seen whether Lake Success will not turn into Lake Failure. My visit to Lake Success was not a source of inspiration. The U.N.O. buildings are located in a portion of an armament factory which is still active in turning out ferocious weapons of war night and day. In one part of the building, peace is talked and in the other, war is planned; this is the basic tragedy of modern life which is the greatest menace to the success of the United Nations.

The man-in-the-street has a commonsense solution to this stupendous problem of conflict and war. While talking to a guard in the British Museum, my wife asked as to what the common man thought about the next war. "We do not want any war!" came the prompt reply. He added:

"If Truman and Stalin are itching for a war, let them fight each other and decide who is stronger. But why should all of us be dragged into this quarrel?"

This remark was very amusing, indeed; it reminded us of the duels that the ancient kings in India used to arrange in deciding the strength of various kingdoms. It was, surely, a very good system because the extent of violence was very much restricted and restrained. But in these days of total war nothing is spared from the scope of inhuman violence. So the

common man's commonsense solution remains a dream and a pious wish. We have to recognize the naked fact that the conflict is ideological in nature and cannot be resolved by either duels or global holocausts.

The question, therefore, arises: "Is there any other economic ideology which eschews the evils of both Capitalism and Communism and combines the good points of the two?" Upon the answer to this crucial question depends the hope of humanity for generations to come. Fortunately for us, a great leader and prophet was born in India to show a new way of life based on love, non-violence, resistance to evil and constructive approach to good. He proved by his life and work that Soul force was a stronger power than violence; even the atom bomb could not conquer the undaunted Spirit of Man. He also told us that non-violence must permeate every aspect of our national life. If war has to be abolished root and branch, the social, economic, political, educational and moral organization of a country should be non-violent in character. In other words, the roots of violence have to be traced and eradicated in all directions. Attempts to build peace on the foundation of social and economic violence are foredoomed to failure. In order to win lasting peace, we have, therefore, to set our own house in order. This was the message of that glorious leader and saint.

The Gandhian way of life presupposes the fundamental values of Simplicity and Dignity of Labour. Both Capitalism and Communism are based on the materialistic values; they attach importance to the standard of living, while Gandhiji was anxious to raise the 'standard of life,' which connotes the development of the whole personality of man. Mahatma Gandhi told us that true happiness and prosperity consisted not in the multiplication of wants but in their control and discrimination. Modern civilization has, like the Greek young man Narcissus, fallen in love with itself and bids fair to pine away and perish. The world is, indeed, too much with us and the mad race after earthly pleasures and material wealth throws it into the whirlpool of economic exploitation, regimentation of the masses and violent socio-political organization. We have to learn a timely lesson from the story of King Midas who hankered after gold, and if we persist in this senseless craze we will, like him, convert all human values into gold and thereby bring about the spiritual death of Man. "Of what avail is it to add and add and add?" asks Poet Tagore. "By going on increasing the volume or pitch of sound we can get nothing but a shriek; we can get music only by restraining the sound and giving it the melody of the rhythm of perfection." Without this self-restraint, the establishment of a non-violent socio-economic organization is an impossibility.

In the social sphere, the Gandhian way implies equal treatment for all human beings irrespective of any distinctions relating to race, colour, sex, religion, or social position. In a society where the coloured people are treated as inferior to the white population, any talk of peace and non-violence becomes a hypocrisy of the meanest kind. In the economic domain, Gandhian ideology means economic equality and a very large measure of industrial decentralization in the form of Co-operatives. Excepting the key industries which should be nationalized and, if necessary, run on a large scale, all the consumer-goods industries ought to be organized on a small-scale basis in the village cottage. Such economic decentralisation would be able to provide full employment, eliminate labour-capital friction because the workers themselves will be the owners of Industrial Co-operatives, and make the country fool-proof against modern warfare of aerial bombardment. The planning of fields, factories and workshops would enable people to live a healthy life in the open air and would promote art and culture in natural surroundings. A decentralized economy discourages concentration of power in the hands of the State or a few individuals and will, consequently, be non-explosive and non-violent in nature. Centralized economy, on the contrary, is bound to be explosive and violent. To build international peace on the foundations of centralized economic organization is to build on sands.

In the educational field, Gandhian thought emphasizes the correlation of hand-culture with mind-culture or the integration of handicrafts with academic subjects. The Gandhian plan of 'New Education' consists in teaching through the medium of productive activity, so that as a child works and earns in plying his crafts he obtains the essential knowledge of different subjects also. Instead of becoming a burden on society, he actively participates in the production of wealth. In the political sphere, Gandhi's main contribution was the stress on decentralized democracy in the form of rural communities with a large measure of local self-government. Centralized democracy as practised in most of the countries today is a failure because the masses do not feel the glow of freedom and responsibility. According to Mahatma Gandhi, decentralized democratic organization alone can promote peace and non-exploitation. Centralization in political democracy inevitably results either in Fascism or 'dictatorship of the proletariat.'

Morally, the Gandhian way of life implies insis-

tence on the purity of the means as that of the end. It has to be understood once and for all that pure aims can never be achieved with impure means. Spiritually, Gandhi believed in the Oneness of Life and he desired to realize God by identifying himself with the meanest of creatures. It is only through self-purification and selfless service that one can attune oneself to the Infinite. Gandhi went a step farther than Internationalism; he believed in 'Universalism' in the sense that all life was one not only on this planet but in the whole Universe. But this does not mean that we should depend for our daily necessities of life on distant lands. The ideals of local self-sufficiency and Universalism could be followed simultaneously without any question of contradiction or inconsistency.

Gandhism thus points out the middle way between the two worlds of today; it is capable of fusing the two conflicting ideologies into one without any confusion. It is not medieval and irrational. On the contrary, I claim that the Gandhian way is the only scientific and practical solution of almost all the ills that plague mankind in the modern world. Instead of being behind the times, Gandhi was, perhaps, a few decades or even a century ahead of us. If we do not comprehend the imperative need for decentralization of economic and political power, time would compel us to do so. The nemesis of over-centralization and excessive mechanization would be the organization of decentralized rural units of administration and economic planning. America is already tasting the fruits of modern science and large-scale centralized industrialization, so much so that politicians of the United States are seriously thinking of constructing an underground Capital as a measure of safety against atomic warfare. They are actively planning to decentralize their giant factories into the countryside as a means of effective self-defence. I will, therefore, not be surprised if America is obliged to follow Gandhi much earlier as a necessity than does India adopt the Gandhian way of life as a matter of duty.

Gandhi is no longer a symbol of mere passive resistance; he is a dynamic and revolutionary urge for a new way of life. The two worlds of Capitalism and Communism are at loggerheads; they are engaged in a quarrel of life and death. The Gandhian way points out an alternative in which both of these ideologies can pool together their best qualities for the happiness and welfare of mankind.\*

\* This is the last chapter of Principal Agarwal's forthcoming book *The Two Worlds* to be published by the Hind Kitabs, Bombay.





## AVIGNON

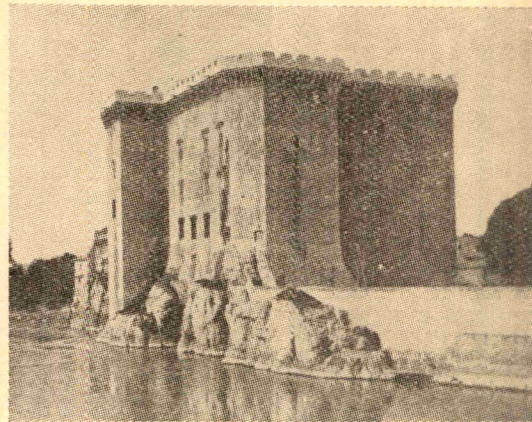
### Roman and Mediaeval France

By ADI NATH SEN, M.A., B.Sc. (Glas), M.I.E. (India)

AVIGNON, in the centre of the picturesque country, south of France, is of unbounded interest to the student of European history, specially relating to the marks left of the Roman occupation, during the early Christian era and years later, of the 14th century Church history. In Avignon itself, which formed part of the Holy Roman Empire, there are Roman remains such as the Theatre of Vaison, but more substantial remains in Aries nearby of a Roman Theatre and a Roman Arena enchant visitors. A great Aqueduct (Pont Du Gard), more impressive and majestic than even the Colosseum at Rome, for filling the baths at Nimes with the help of slave labour, symbolises truthfully the strength, the quality and even the cruelty of the most universally dominant (Latin) civilisation that the world has ever seen. There are other remains in the vicinity—the Castle of King Rene, the Maison Carree, a Corinthian Temple, which was perhaps the centre of much larger buildings of a Roman Forum.

After a gap of about a thousand years, Avignon was the seat of the Pope, when there was another Pope at Rome and even a third was elected. There was a schism (which deserves more than a passing mention, when referring to Avignon), in the Christian Church in its chequered history from its inception with the advent of Lord Jesus Christ, which is worth recapitulation. Time had come in the West, two thousand years ago, when the brotherhood of mankind came to be acknowledged and interest in religion was universal. Insistence upon the universal fatherhood of God, implicit brotherhood of all men and sacredness of every human personality as a living temple of God,—these freshly enunciated principles had the profoundest effect on all subsequent social and political life of mankind. Incidentally it created a faith in learning and diffusion of knowledge, hitherto unexplored. It was not easy to fight the then prevalent subversive elements. There was Gnosticism with its rites and formulae, purported to be divinely revealed and restricted to the initiate few, who believing that matter was evil and spirit alone was good, led extreme lives—either without restraint, considering flesh as matter unworthy of notice, or in unnatural asceticism, since matter being evil, flesh was to be shunned and marriage was sinful. The Gnostic's belief in individual infallible knowledge militated against the Christian believer's faith, as he received it. The Christian Church had also to be aware of doctrinaires of great ability like Marcion, Montanus and Moni. Marcion believed in an additional but lesser God creating the world with its sins and misery, the Jews being the

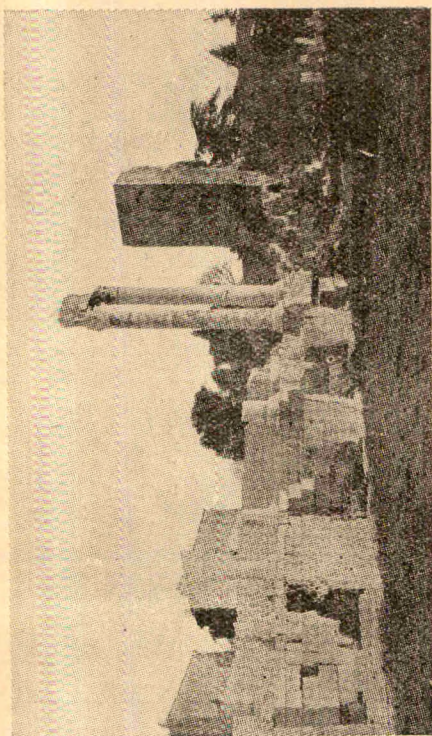
chosen people. Jesus was sent by the good God to save the people and was really God, although man only in appearance, matter being evil, as the Gnostics believed. Montanus believed in the immediate coming of the Lord Jesus, and Montanists considered themselves as special proteges of the spirit, which militated against the Episcopal authority. Moni deliberately planned to unite in a new religion the best elements of all the religions and attempted a fusion of Christian, Pagan and Gnostic doctrines. From Revelations, he claimed to be an apostle of Christ as well as the final interpreter of Zoroaster and Buddha. This new cult temporarily flourished from Morocco to China.



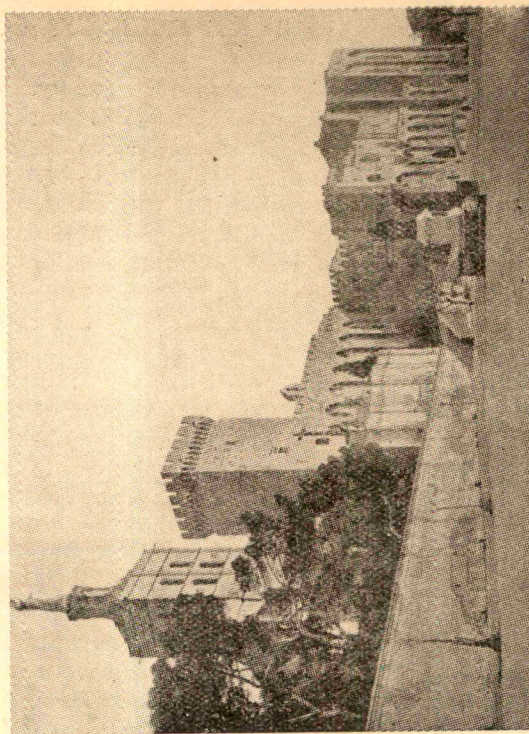
The Chateau du Roi Rene, Tarascon

On the side of the Church, there appeared men, known as Apologists, who refuted the calumnies—imputations against the Christian Church and preached the existence of God, His nature, Immortality of the Soul, the possibility of Salvation and the Christian idea of Holy Living. The Christian Church was well organised into a multitude of Churches in different cities, the Clergy presided over by a Bishop, the whole Church including the laity choosing the Clergy—Priests and Deacons—for the spiritual and the administrative sides. In time the Churches of a given region grouped round that of a principal city like Rome, Alexandria, Antioch or Carthage, the Church of Rome having a special role of authority over all others, because of St. Peter, chosen by Lord Jesus, as the rock on which the Church would be built. There was steady conversion and expansion—in the East, including Southern Russia, Bulgaria and other countries from Greece and Antioch; in the West, France, Spain,

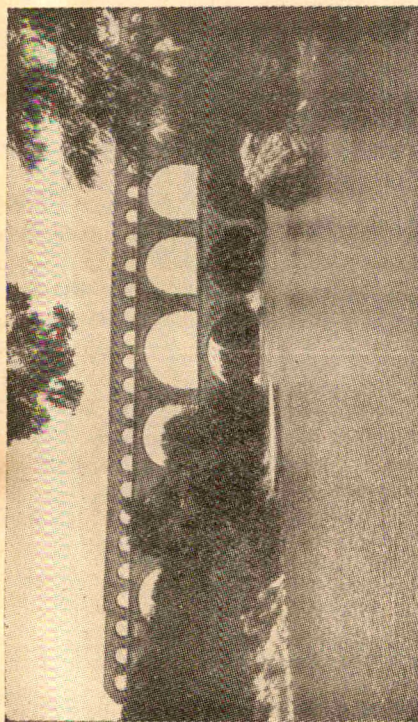




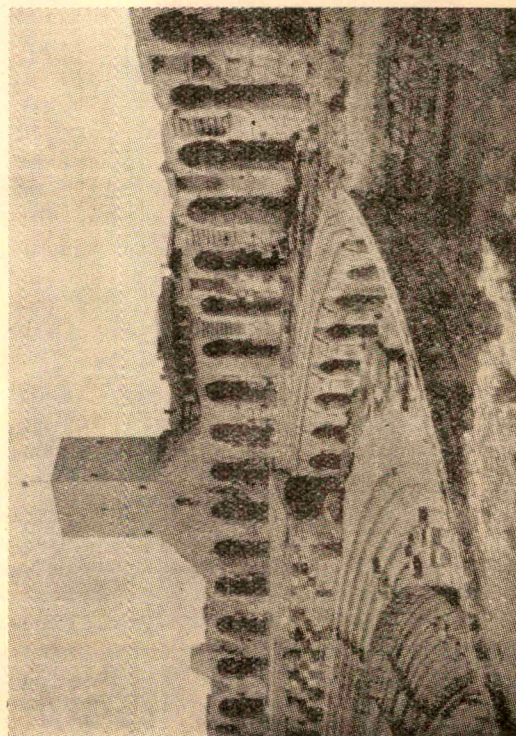
The Roman Theatre, Arles



The Palace of the Popes, Avignon



The Pont du Gard



The Roman Arena, Arles

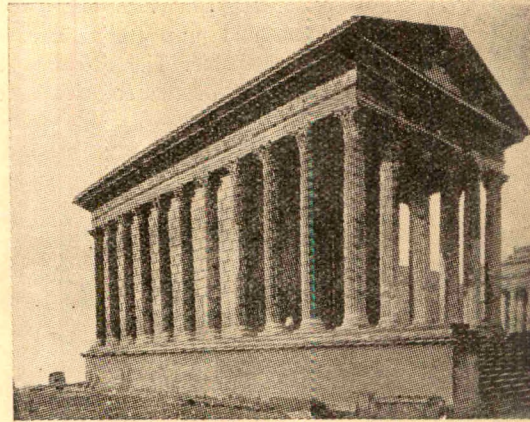


Southern Germany, Ireland and Britain from Rome; and in the South, Northern Africa from Alexandria.

The fact that the first believers suffered untold (and mostly unrecorded) torture but kept to their faith, explains the silent, steady and solid growth of the Church. The Roman Emperors ruthlessly persecuted the early Christians, and later through alternations of persecution, neutrality and protection according to the inclinations of the omnipotent Emperors, the State itself became Christian. Paganism had, however, held its sway for a considerable time as it was elastic and its different forms without any fixed creed did not offend the Roman Emperors as did the rigid principles of the Christian Church. The Roman Empire, however, did much good in diffusing the religious ideals and bringing out the best in all and kept them together by preventing schisms. Although Christianity started with the Jewish nucleus, Jewish Christianity went into oblivion but for a small society, known as Nazarenes. Complicated theoretical disputes caused a set-back to the progress of the Church. Arius questioned "God the Son." Sabellians preached that Jesus the Son was merely an aspect of God the Father, while the Trinitarians preached the more subtle doctrine that God was Father, Son and the Holy Ghost, which is the accepted formula of the whole Christendom.

There however occurred a clash, when gradually the question arose whether the Church or the Emperor would be the final authority in spiritual matters, as the Emperor decidedly was in matters temporal. We shall see how Avignon came into the picture; it started from this dispute. As a result, the Popes had to have temporal power, mainly in self-defence, and had sometimes to depend on the support of the ruling and quarrelling monarchs. Already the Pope had a vast propaganda organisation in his priests throughout the land and influence from having the keys of Heaven and Hell. Gradually there was accumulation of wealth from dispositions of property from dying childless persons and comforted penitent rich sinners. In many European countries, alienated from princes or kings, taxation was paid to Rome and additional taxes were paid to the Church. The investitures also created influence and wealth. Popes even tried to establish one rule and one peace throughout Christendom. Military Monks (Knights Templar), vowed to poverty, chastity and obedience, came into being, but were later dissolved by the Pope under pressure. This fight for paramountcy came into prominence when the Roman Empire divided and all powers vanished in Italy, except the Lombards, who were fighting the Byzantine Emperors of Constantinople. Far-reaching effects however occurred. The Greek Church had to accept the Emperor of Constantinople as its head

instead of the Pope. Other centres in Armenia, Russia, Bulgaria, etc., followed suit and the States became the heads of Churches. Though due to Moslem contact, a part of the Greek Church became iconoclasts (image-breakers) and would not admit homage to idols of Saints, all these Eastern Churches did not otherwise differ from the Roman Church in rituals and principles.



The Maison Carree, Nîmes

Much later however, the Protestants of Germany and Britain, not only would not admit the authority of the Pope (the State becoming the head of the Church in the same way as in the East) but would further have most sweeping rejection of traditional doctrines and practice in religion. In fact, the Christian Church in considerable sections ceased to be universal or Catholic. The Church also suffered a great deal from the Moslem assault until stopped from the East by the Byzantine Emperor Leo III at Constantinople and from the West at Poitiers in France by the grandfather of Charlemagne. The raids of the Heathen Dutch pirates southwards was another set-back. When Charlemagne was creating his Empire, including Lombardy, he entirely swamped all Papal power. So did other monarchs of France and Frederick I of Germany and every Prince that became powerful enough. During centuries of disorders, invasions, war, rapine and destruction, the Ecclesiastical system collapsed and all discipline was gone. Monastic life of the Church gave place to the profligate, and relations and nominees (investitures) of the Clergy were elevated to or connected with ruling monarchs for the sake of acquisition of power. Effective reformers were rare and the unfortunate fusion of Civil, Military and Religious offices in the person of the Bishop, and his duties as a temporal ruler which converted the Church into a State, could not prevent lay usurpation of Church nominations (even lay Popes were ordained by nominations) and machinations of powerful princes



and Roman families. The Crusades (1000—1290) diverted the attention for a time but after these dark ages (from 900) another great breach occurred. Popes elected by Cardinals were of very advanced age (like the Prime Minister of Nepal, where succession is restricted to the seniormost of a generation) and the rules were of very short duration. There cannot be discussion with the successor-designate regarding policy which goes to make forms and processes of election, clear, unalterable and unassailable. The attempt to awaken the direct relationship of the conscience of



The Pont St. Benezet, Avignon

the common man and God of Righteousness could only be through expediency. On the other hand, most of the Cardinals who elected Popes, were Pope's nominees and Popes from early fourteenth century were mostly Frenchmen, living in France, as the powerful French Kings were at the time the Pope's traditional ally. But the French King Phillip IV, in expanding the royal powers, came into conflict with Pope Bonafice, who put up a bitter fight, which was continued by Benedict XI and Celement V after his death. Pope Clement, a native of France, was residing in France for considerations of health and owing to disturbed conditions of life in Rome and Italy generally. There was also the necessity of close negotiations with the French King and he took up his residence at Avignon, which became the Papal seat in 1309, although he never designed to permanently establish the Papacy away from Rome. Next, Urban V (1362—70) attempted to bring back the Papacy to Rome against opposition of the king of France, Cardinals and his court. He actually came to Rome in 1367 but had to return to Avignon in 1370, owing to the fact that Rome was unsafe and there was no prospect of help from other Christian kings. His successor, Gregory XI, however, came back to Rome in 1376 against obstacles, but he died shortly afterwards. Then Urban VI, Archbishop Bari, was chosen Pope, an Italian after 70 years, under pressure of the populace,

by the Cardinals, most of whom were Frenchmen. When these Cardinals escaped from Rome, Urban, who became noted for tactlessness, chose a new college of Cardinals. With the French King's support, the escaped Cardinals chose Clement VII as Pope. Thus two camps, both equally representative of the Church, came into existence. Bonafice IX succeeded Urban and Benedict XIII succeeded Clement. After Bonafice, Innocent VII and then Gregory XII became Pope at Rome. Both lines of Popes were inefficient and Cardinals from both sides, along with Bishops and Doctors of Theology, tired of two Popes, met at Pisa and chose a third Pope, Alexander V, as the two Popes who were summoned failed to appear. In the mean time, the French King and the University of Paris had lost interest and declared themselves neutral. Benedict went to Spain. Alexander was succeeded by John XXIII, but proved no better. The council then met at Constance more representively. John was arrested, Gregory (Rome) abdicated and Benedict (France) died. Martin V was chosen Pope and the schism ended after long 40 years and Rome became the seat of the Pope since.

It was during the above period that Avignon figured prominently in the History of the Church. Pont St. Benezet, the famous bridge on the Rhone, was built to keep an eye on the Pontiffs, whose palace is seen at no great distance. Beyond the river lies Villeneuve, where the Cardinals were housed. On the East, at the foot of the hill of Thouzon, crowned with the ruins of a Roman Castle, is a Grotto, 120 yards long, tunnelled by millions of years of flowing water, but without any signs of prehistoric human or animal life, but full of fantastic stalactite shapes. Further beyond in a secluded valley, for ever famous in literary history, since the great poet Petrarque ("who with Dante and Chaucer did more perhaps than any others towards the making of mediaeval literature"), the friend of Cardinal Phillip, came forsaking his native Italy and Papal Avignon, to live here in rest and seclusion.

Better days followed the return of the Popes to Rome and popular piety revived—Thomas A. Kempis and his *Imitation of Christ* appeared. The great period of Reinassance followed. At present States, all secular in form, do not ask the Church to surrender their episcopal rights and the Church is careful to rule out politics. The Pope is now the sovereign of 108 acres of land only, including the St. Peter's and the Vatican and recognises united Italy.



## AMERICA'S INTERNATIONAL FRIENDSHIP GARDENS

By JOSEPH B. SMITH

Mix together a bit of Holland, a part of Sweden and bits of many other countries, and you will come up with the International Friendship Gardens at Michigan City in the midwestern State of Indiana. Collected there in 25 acres are the typical flora of nearly every nation in settings that strikingly resemble the land of their origin.

Less than a mile away is Lake Michigan with its fringe of high sand dunes—an immense playground fashioned by Nature. The Gardens themselves are on a valley floor hemmed in by heavily wooded hills. Here the temperature is always more moderate than elsewhere in the area, aiding growth and cultivation of flowers peculiar to warmer climes.

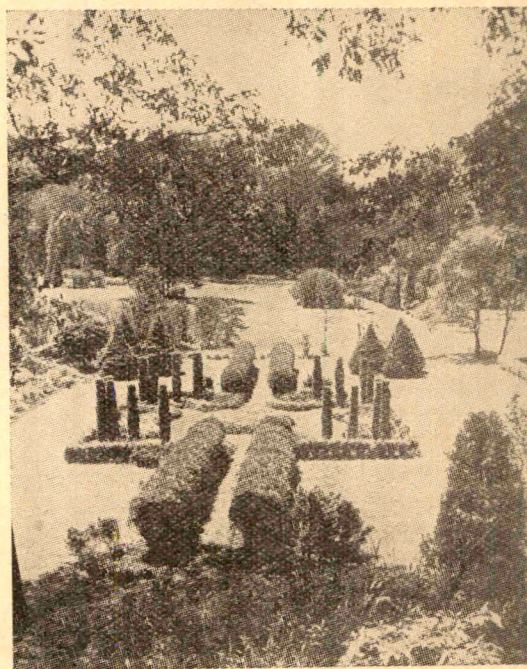
Within the cultivated section (the Gardens cover 100 acres, 75 of which are in their natural state), are flowers donated by nearly every monarch, president and ruler of our times. Each nation donated the plants, bulbs and seedlings used in preparing the separate national gardens. In many cases, horticulturists from royal gardens were sent to design the plots to be certain they would typify their sponsoring nation. Other rulers mailed blue-prints of what they considered typical gardens. Every individual garden tries to portray the character of its own nation. All are arranged as a series of formal gardens in an informal setting. From a hillside, one can see the formal pattern.

Near the entrance to the formal Gardens is an island stage. Its circular form is surrounded by a lagoon fed constantly by the waters of Trail Creek. A natural amphitheatre is created by a semi-circular hill facing the stage and outfitted to seat 5,000 persons. This Theatre of Nations is often referred to as the Salzburg of America. The summer musical series on its stage under the stars includes week-end performances of opera, ballet, choral groups and legitimate stage troupes. Most of the artists are scheduled for the Gardens as part of their Chicago summer tenure. Orchestral and band concerts also are given and the season is climaxed every August by a music festival that attracts accomplished performers from all over the American Midwest.

Behind the Gardens is a story of the struggle of an ideal with obstinate forces of both Man and Nature. It began nearly 50 years ago on an Indiana farm where young Virgil Stauffer leaned on his hoe, looked at acres of young corn, and said to brother Joseph:

"How nice it would be if we could plant acres and acres of roses and tulips instead of corn."

Both laughed and went back to their hoeing but Virgil cherished that seedling love for flowers. It grew and years later both of them were running a floral shop in Hammond, Indiana. At Chicago's Century of Progress Exposition in 1934, their international floral exhibit brought wide acclaim. Virgil dug back into his memory and re-cultivated the seedling dream of his youth. Joseph agreed that there was merit in continuing the international friendship program on a non-profit basis.



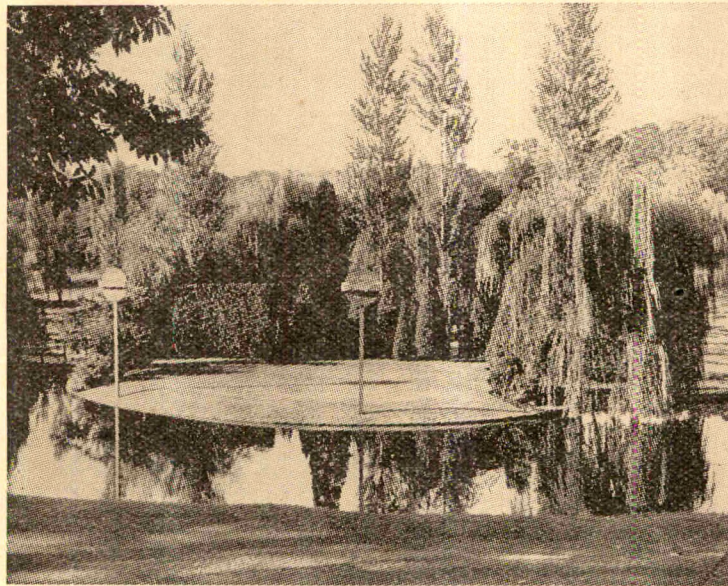
The Grecian Garden represents Greece's contribution to the International Friendship Gardens in Michigan City, Indiana

Deciding the best way to begin was to win support of rulers of the world, they began making the rounds of Chicago consulates. Their plan was to find out what the consuls thought of the plan and possibly enlist their aid in promoting the idea with their governments. They went to see the English consul who immediately gave his hearty endorsement to the project. Elsewhere they obtained similar responses.

Although the Gardens were still in the dream



stage, the brothers spent months scurrying through likely sites in Wisconsin, Michigan and Indiana. They chose this area because it was necessary to locate near the geographic and population centers of the United States. They wanted their project available equally to tourists and travellers from the east and west coasts. Two sites in Wisconsin, both having the vital hill protection from wintry blasts, were turned down because of the high price. In the fertile fruit lands of lower Michigan, they found another perfect spot but its owner refused to sell.



On this island stage near the entrance to the International Friendship Gardens, American artists appear each summer. A natural amphitheatre is created by a semi-circular hill facing the stage

Disheartened by the Michigan incident, they were returning home through Michigan City when Virgil noticed a side road leading into a wooded area. With nearly two hours of daylight remaining, they decided to follow the trail. It looked like their "ideal valley." A lively creek, flowing between the hills and across the valley towards the lake, promised cheap protection against drought. Residents told them the temperature within the valley invariably was five to ten degrees warmer than outside it. The varieties of soil fitted their needs, too.

What encouraged them even more was their meeting with its owner—Dr. Frank Warren. Because their purpose was to increase "the friendly relationship between the peoples of the world" through the

international love of flowers, he gave them a 99-year lease to the land for one dollar. Then he added a renewal clause for the same period. Financially, they were almost alone at the beginning. Although their letters to world rulers brought back enthusiasm and promises of flowers and shrubs, they had to depend on their own meagre capital. Later, citizens of the world supported the project by buying memberships in it.

Almost alone, the two men set to work blending Nature's beauty with the best of Man. They started clearing the valley of its dense underbrush in the

summer of 1935. The first lawns were planted in the fall of 1933. Meanwhile from all over the world, plants, seeds and young shrubs began arriving. Egyptian lotus plants and a carload of tulip bulbs from Holland piled up on them. While help was offered on all sides, the brothers continued doing most of the work. One evening during the famed 1937 drought, a severe electrical windstorm broke the drought. In the cabin that was their home, the two men cheered as their valley was drenched. In the morning they peered from windows to see their beloved gardens hidden beneath a swirling mass of flood waters. Two dams further up the creek had given way during the storm. Learning the story, local citizens contributed their labor for several weeks to repair the damage. By the summer of 1938, the Colonial American, British, Persian Rose and Polish garden were completed.

In 1939, Hitler's mechanized hordes overrunning Poland all but demolished the Stauffer dream of peace. But the Premier of that country, writing from his London exile, told them that the Polish garden would keep the memory of their homeland alive in the breasts of American Poles. Virgil and Joseph set to work with renewed vigor.

They are still working today. Their project is a success whether their ideal of peace is achieved or not. Chicago, with 70 per cent of its population of direct foreign descent, provides an endless source of flower lovers. Besides, the city draws travellers from all over the globe. For many, the Gardens are a practical approach to the development of international friendship.—From *The Highway Traveler*.



## ANTIQUITIES OF RARH BENGAL

By P. C. PAUL

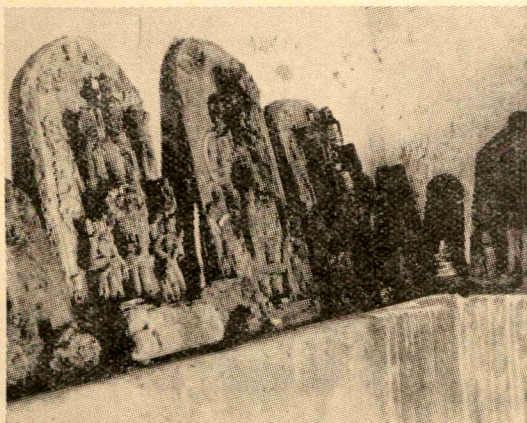
In the age of the Mahabharata and that of Patanjali the present Burdwan division was known as *Sumha*. Among the Jain and Buddhist authors who flourished in the sixth century B.C. it was known by various



The image of Vishnu, tenth century A.D., has been preserved in the Nirmal Siva Temple at Suri (Birbhum) by the late Gaurihar Mitra



The image of Surya, tenth century A.D., has been presented to the Ashutosh Museum of the Calcutta University by the late Gaurihar Mitra



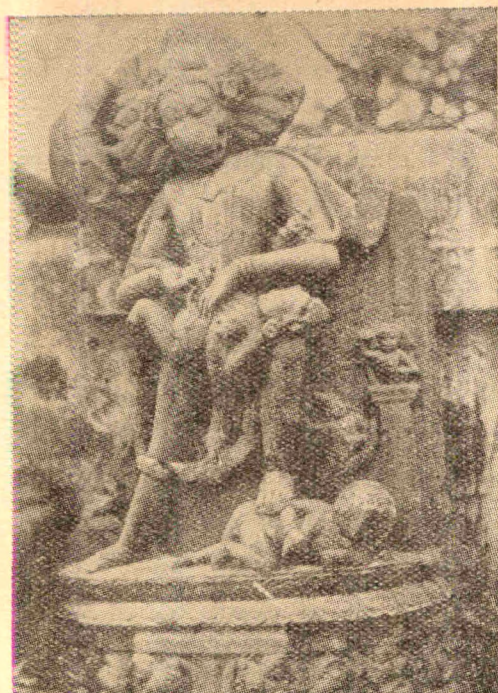
The group images of Vishnu, Surya, Siva-lingas and other gods and goddesses of the Pala period have been preserved in the Burasiva Temple at Paikore

other names, such as Lada, Vijjabhumi and Subba-bhumi. What Megasthenes has called the land of Gangaradae is also identified with the Burdwan Division.

The prosperous sites of an ancient Rarh Bengal are now, however, overgrown with thick jungles. In most cases their history has been lost, their ancient splendour and magnificence quite forgotten, the identification of their sites is a matter for wild controversy. Among such old sites of Rarh Bengal, Paikore is renowned for many ancient archaeological finds on the basis of which the ancient history of Bengal could be reconstructed.

Paikore is now a village, a few miles east of Murari Police Station under the Rampurhat Sub-division in the District of Birbhum. At Paikore, was discovered a stone-pillar with an inscription which records that Karnadeva, the Chedi king, ordered for





The image of Narasingha, tenth century A.D.,  
is to be seen at Paikore

installation of an image of the Goddess which, now lost, seems to have crowned the pillar. The story of an invasion and defeat of Bengal by the great Chedi ruler Karnadeva has been mentioned in the Tibetan literature.\* Again, from the commentary of the Verse 9 of Sandhyakar Nandi's *Ramcharitam*, it is evident that Karnadeva and Vighrahapala III, Nanyapala's son, had also a trial of strength in which Karnadeva was worsted and had to sue for peace by giving his daughter in marriage to Vighrahapala III.†

Besides the stone-pillar, many stone-images of the Pala period have been discovered. The images of Surya, Vishnu and Narasingha deserve special mention.

Paikore is a place of importance in the history of Rarh Bengal. The long line of the illustrious kings who reigned here with chivalry and prowess have almost passed into oblivion. The invasion of Karnadeva is a romantic story that will interest not only the archaeologists and students of history but also every Bengali who loves Bengal.

\* Vide *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*. 1900, Part I, p. 192.

† Vide *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. III, p. 32.

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## SMITH COLLEGE, AMERICAN SCHOOL FOR WOMEN

### One of the Oldest Women's Colleges in the United States Observes an Anniversary

APPROXIMATELY 180,000 of the 200,000 young American women who enter colleges every year in the United States go to a co-educational institution. Usually they select one of the 555 State or municipal colleges or universities which admit both men and women at no cost except for board and room and incidental fees.

There are, however, 154 colleges in the United States exclusively for women. These colleges offer a four-year curriculum leading to a bachelor's degree in liberal arts or science. Most of them are privately endowed and operated.

Smith College in Northampton in the State of Massachusetts is one of the oldest and best known of American colleges for women. It was founded in 1875, with funds bequeathed by Sophia Smith, a wealthy spinster who—in an era when most U.S. colleges accepted only men students—believed that women should have equal opportunities for higher education. In October of this year the seventy-fifth academic year of the college began. This anniversary was celebrated with a convocation at which honorary degrees

were conferred upon 12 outstanding women educators and scholars. Seven of those honored were American women, the rest were from other countries—Great Britain, France, Denmark, The Netherlands, and Mexico.

The Diamond Jubilee convocation was one of many milestones in Smith College history and in the history of education for women in the United States. Because of its age and tradition, Smith College has pioneered in many educational advances that have been adopted by other schools for women.

Smith was one of the first colleges in the country to emphasize international relations by sending students to foreign universities where they could study the language and culture of another country. The program is open to third-year language students with good academic records. Since 1925, when the project started, 877 women from Smith have studied abroad. At present, groups are studying at the Sorbonne, the University of Geneva, the University of Florence, the



Colegio de Mexico, and the University of Toronto, Canada.

The college administrators have also encouraged students from other countries to come to Smith. This year there are 33 undergraduates from 30 countries: Argentina, Australia, Austria, Brazil, Burma, Canada, China, Colombia, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, India, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Italy, Korea, Lithuania, Mexico, Norway, Palestine, Poland, Siam, South Africa, Sweden, Turkey, and Yugoslavia.

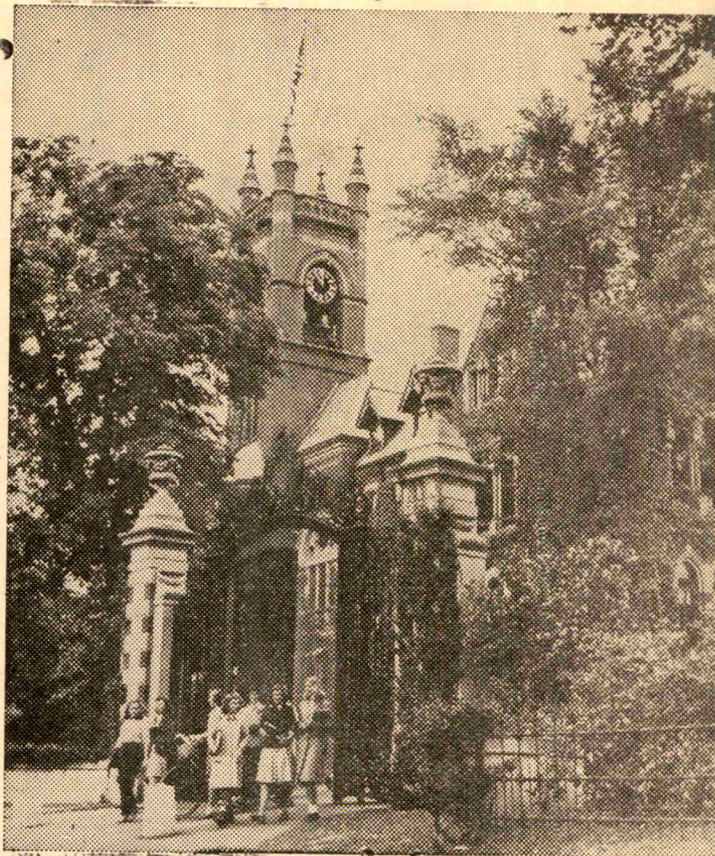
Many of these visitors have been aided by scholarships or fellowships either from Smith or from nonprofit organizations interested in furthering international understanding such as the American Field Service, the Institute of International Education, and the English Speaking Union. Seven students have been aided this year under the provisions of the Fulbright Act, a legislative measure passed by the U. S. Congress authorizing the use of U. S. government funds to promote educational exchange.

The tradition of friendship with other countries began at Smith during World War I when a group of Smith alumnae did relief work in Greccourt, France. Since World War II Smith students have contributed generously to relief projects for other nations. Through a faculty-student relief committee, the college has sent medical supplies to Austrian students, parcels of food to the University of Torun in Poland, money and clothing to the Scuola Normale in Pisa, Italy, and books and other educational supplies to war orphans and refugees in Europe. Smith students send donations to the World Student Service Fund which helps needy students all over the world, to the American Friends Service Committee, the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund, and the Near East Foundation.

Smith was one of the first private colleges to be run on a non-sectarian basis. Sophia Smith directed in her will that in the selection of students no preference be given to any religious denomination. Today the students gather on Sunday afternoons for interdenominational vesper services at which prominent religious leaders from all over the country are invited

to speak. Students attend services of their choice at churches in Northampton.

Smith was one of the first women's colleges to establish a vocational office with a full-time staff to help students select their future occupations and advise them in choosing courses that will be most useful to them. The office also helps undergraduates find summer positions.



Students walk through the main entrance to the campus of Smith College

The Smith College School for Social Work, established in 1918, is an outstanding graduate professional school which offers the degree of Master of Social Sciences. Smith is one of the few women's colleges to operate a graduate school.

Life on the Smith campus centers around academic work. From Monday morning at 9 o'clock until Saturday at 12, the student attends classes, takes notes at lectures, or reports on research projects to discussion groups. She spends another 45 hours or more preparing assignments, either in the library or in science laboratories. The library's 348,000 volumes and 1,100 current periodicals are arranged on open shelves. Individual study booths in the stacks give the student



privacy and quiet for her work. Certain buildings on the campus are equipped for studies in physics, chemistry, the biological sciences, astronomy, and horticulture.



Students await the beginning of a hockey game to be played by their classmates at Smith College

The academic life also includes attending lectures given by visiting scholars, touring the art gallery to see special exhibitions, and making field trips under faculty supervision to hospitals, housing projects, and other activities related to particular courses of study.

During the week the students must rely on each other for their social life. In the late afternoon after classes are over, they range over the 28-acre (11.2-

hectare) athletic field. They hold boat races on the river that winds around the campus or practise for horse shows at the college riding club. Between classes they gather at an off-campus coffee shop for refreshments and to read their mail and talk.

Many of the students spend their free time working for college organizations in the Students' Building. One group publishes a monthly literary magazine, and another a semi-weekly newspaper. Other groups put on plays, musical comedies, and dance recitals. The organizations include an international relations club, an art club, and several political clubs which hold discussion meetings and present as guest speakers persons who are prominent in the field of politics. A student government association, whose officers are elected by the student body, runs campus activities, and a committee of students meets with faculty representatives to confer on changes in the curriculum.

On week-ends the students may either hold dances to which they invite young men from neighboring colleges, visit New York or Boston (the nearest metropolitan centers), or spend some time with their families or friends.

Smith's 2,297 students live in small houses, each accommodating from 50 to 60 persons. The young women meet for meals in a common dining room and gather for informal singing in the living room after dinner. They decorate their own bedrooms to suit themselves, but the college provides such basic furniture as a bed, desk, bureau, and chair. Houses are grouped in units separated from the academic buildings by tree-lined streets and wide lawns.

It costs a Smith student \$1600 a year for tuition, board, and room. One-fifth of the students either receive scholarships or earn part of their expenses by working during their free time. Students may also reduce their expenses by living in one of two cooperative houses in which they share house-keeping duties.—*USIS*.

October, 1949

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## PACIFISTS AND WORLD PEACE

By S. K. GUHA

THOUGH the early history of man reveals to us his ferocious and brutal nature when he lived in an uncivilised manner in forests using raw meat, barks of trees, and fighting with one another, yet with the advent of civilisation we find how man has been a seeker of peace and happiness from time immemorial. But the cause of indiscipline, disorder, and unhappiness remains the same for ever, viz., the question of survival and the idea of supremacy of one over the other. In the beginning even when man lived in groups and when no movement was

possible from one corner of the globe to the other, one group of men were found to fight with another group for some reason or other. With the growth of civilisation and the expansion of transport facilities, etc., people of different parts of the world known as different races and nations began to migrate from one place to another in an attempt to survive and ultimately to make themselves and their country more wealthy. And thus arose the idea of supremacy not only of one man over the other, but of one race over the other and finally of one nation over



the other. And so we find the series of battles and wars in the history of the world. The Great War of 1914-18 which was the first global war, brought with it a chain of sorrows and miseries in this world. In spite of the heavy damages and devastations caused by war there has been no end to such struggle. Man could not remain static for long. His dynamic character has again been evidenced by the World War II which broke out in 1939 and ended in 1945. This surpassed the World War I in all respects, specially with respect to the use of the deadliest mechanical weapon like the Atom Bomb, one of the finest inventions of man, and also with respect to the extent of devastations caused by it all over the surface of the earth.

Besides these, other small-scale brutal happenings like civil war or communal riot, and murder, etc., have not been rare even in this modern civilised world. In one word, the twentieth century which has been a landmark in the history of world culture and civilisation, has, on the other hand, witnessed the greatest and meanest havoc wrought by man through war, riot and murder.

However, this does not represent the complete picture of human activities upon this earth. There is also a better counterpart of the human society which has been equally striving for the establishment of peace on this surface of the earth. Consequently the world has produced a good number of saints and sages in different parts and at different ages for preaching messages of goodwill and peace. And thus we find the appearance of the prophets and saviours like Moses, Zoroaster, Confucius and Laotze, Buddha, Mahomet, Jesus Christ, Lord Krishna, Sankaracharya, Sri Ramakrishna, Vivekananda and lastly Mahatma Gandhi (Bapuji) on this earth, all of whom spent their lives in preaching messages of brotherhood and peace.

However, the peace-drive too was not confined in individual activities only, but collective efforts in establishing peace have been reflected in the birth and growth of peace-squads and welfare-organisations throughout the various parts of the world. Ultimately the different races and nations of the world have assembled together and succeeded in forming a peace-organisation of international status. And thus after World War II, was founded the League of Nations on January 10, 1920, with the object of promoting international peace and security. The total number of participating nations to this organisation was fifty-three. But this proving not very effective under new circumstances during the World War II, United Nations Organisation has been founded in 1943 with the same object in view but with some fundamental changes in the constitution of the aforesaid League of Nations. This UNO in which fifty-one allied nations have signed the charter is a much more stronger body with a large number of branches like the Security Council, UNESCO, WHO, FAO, and ECAFE, etc., and is conducting its activities in a much wider scale with the direct support of the respective governments. Now the question arises—are we fully satisfied with its activities, and are we assured of permanent peace and safety in this world? Certainly no posi-

tive answer is possible at this stage. However, it cannot be denied that the world is being threatened with a third world war. A fear-complex has gripped the whole population of the world specially in view of the deteriorating economic conditions in the various parts of the globe.

Thus a saner section of the people who can be regarded as the products of our prophets of the different ages, and who seem to be unconcerned with the political moves of the various governments, being conscious of the peculiar world situation, met together in the Dominion of India under the title of WORLD PACIFISTS to train the masses to stand against war and thus to become real pacifists by following the messages of goodwill and peace as given by the prophets. This World Pacifists' Conference was convened by 54 overseas delegates representing 33 countries and 26 Indian delegates. Their discussions at Santiniketan were held very secretly, and then at Sevagram too their meetings and conferences except on one occasion, were not open to the public and the press. So it is beyond the scope of this article to comment on the proceedings and discussions in the secret sessions. However, as far as we learnt from the open sessions at Santiniketan and particularly at Calcutta (as I personally attended the Calcutta session), their move cannot be discouraged specially in view of their noble idea of world unity *not through the usual governmental machineries, but through the willing co-operation of the masses*. They believe not in the action of the government but in mass-activities, and opine that world-peace is inevitable if the masses of the world-population desire it.

Now from the logical point of view this is actually true. But in this material world can the masses be separated from the government? Have not the governments been formed by the masses? Can the masses disobey their government to help in war preparations when they are asked to do so *in their own interest*. In one word masses are always led by some interest to help their government in this material world. The richer section of the masses instead of being happy with what they have, are hankering after more and more wealth and are devising ways and means to exploit the already poorer people of their humble resources. Thus wherever we may go we meet two main classes, *viz.*, 'RICHER' and 'POORER' or simply 'HAVE's and 'HAVENOT's. More clearly to explain, one group of people is well-fed and well-nourished and have got excess of wealth; while the other group is under-fed and under-nourished and have nothing in their store. The same phenomenon of inequilibrium is existent in the international field too, and it is the government of the respective countries that help them to maintain this state of inequilibrium. So in order to establish world-peace, the main problem is *to abolish this state of inequilibrium* disregarding for the present the inherent brutal tendency of man which is up till now an uncontrollable factor.

Hence the question arises: Is India, the land of "monks" and "sadhus" preaching her messages of brotherhood and peace both through official and non-official

agencies for a pretty long time, the most suitable place for World Pacifists' Conference? Certainly it is sheer waste of time to try to wake a man up, who is already awakened, and the same is the case with India. It is more so, because India being a less wealthy and powerful country in the modern world, has got no control over world-politics. Her helpless position is evidenced by the hopeless results achieved so far by the preaching of messages of brotherhood and peace through her saviours and prophets in different ages.

So the attempts of the World Pacifists will be much more effective if these conferences are held first in all the more powerful countries by turn in order to persuade the masses there to stand against war and to sacrifice a part of their wealth for the poorer nations of the world whereby only the impending world calamity can be avoided. The success of the World Pacifists will be more significant if a direct approach to the problem be made by them through their respective governments, as no successful solution can be expected in this modern complex world *without the active support of the government representing the people of the land*. Thus world-peace is inevitable if the World Pacifists in co-operation with UNO unhesitatingly invite the attention of their respective governments to the following points, and urge their governments through mass-movements to help in their peace-drive which is possible only through the execution of the programme given below :

(i) Establishment of a real United Organisation purely representative of the world population and free from world-politics;

(ii) Determination of the common minimum standard of living for the different nations of the world;

(iii) Determination of the total world population, world-needs for food, clothing and other daily necessities of life on regional basis from year to year;

(iv) Yearly stock-taking of world reserve of natural resources, world production of food, and clothings, etc., both through natural and artificial processes;

(v) Formation of a World Distribution Board to deal with the equitable distribution of food and clothings, etc., after fixing the quotas for the various countries according to their needs; and the consideration of arranging for more production of food and other essentials through artificial means in case of world-deficits;

(vi) Setting a maximum limit of wealth that should be enjoyed by an individual, a race, and ultimately by a nation;

(vii) Extension of the same facilities to all children of the world especially with respect to food, education, and health;

(viii) Strictest restriction on the use of destructive materials and weapons by an individual, a race, or a nation;

(ix) Stock-taking of the existing war materials meant for use for destructive purposes in the different parts of the globe, and to deposit all such materials in a 'Central Godown' under the direct supervision of the Security Council until arrangements are made to completely destroy them;

(x) To put a stop-order to the further manufacture of destructive materials, to the further modern

scientific discoveries and inventions of more deadly weapons like Atom Bomb, etc., and to discourage secret scientific research on 'atomic energy' and the like;

(xi) To find a common world language in order to establish closer link among all the races and nations of the world;

(xii) To take up the task of educating the cent per cent world population first through regional language and then through the common world language;

(xiii) Lifting of restriction on the free movement of individuals throughout the various parts of the globe;

(xiv) Consideration of equidistribution of population according to the total available areas of land;

(xv) Full employment, and implementation of strict measures for control on world population through modern scientific processes.

Thus it may now be concluded that world-peace is not something inconceivable and impossible on this surface of the earth, rather it can be achieved through the earnest efforts of the World Pacifists, if only they carry out their tasks with a modified outlook not merely from the ethical point of view disregarding the existence of the governments but with careful consideration to the present complex world-affairs.

Again it must be specially borne in mind that the activities of the World Pacifists instead of ending here will be recorded for ever in world-history, and will act as a helpful guide to future generations in their attempt to establish permanent peace in the world. Hence it is hoped that the World Pacifists who have brought the dream of our Kavigurur into shape by holding their first conference at Santiniketan (Abode of Peace), will spend no time and thought in turning their direct attention to the more powerful countries like Britain, France, Russia, America, U.S.A., and Germany, in order to persuade the people there and their governments to help actively in their noble task with special reference to the above fifteen points.

Finally, it must be admitted here that the noble task of establishing world-peace is a tremendous one, and can hardly be solved within a short period of a few years or so. It is so vast a problem that it involves a long chain of programmes to be executed by the people from generation to generation. The idea of peace is not the gift of the 20th century, but it has been prevailing in human minds since the appearance of man on this earth, and more apparently since the beginning of culture and civilisation in human society. There was a time when only One Individual (now deemed as Saviour, Prophet, or Messenger of God to us) in millions of people, had preached His messages of goodwill and peace to the people to save the afflicted world from the clutch of any disaster or calamity. But now in this 20th century we hear the same cry of peace being raised from various quarters of the globe not only by individuals but by groups of people of different races and nations. So it remains to be seen the dawning of that day when the whole world will announce in one voice the establishment of peace in this world for times to come !

## THE SIKH GURUS' CONCEPTION OF GODHEAD

By SARDAR SARDUL SINGH CAVEESHAR

THE idea of God has been called as the regenerative and regulative idea of all religious systems and religious movements. To understand Sikhism, therefore, it is absolutely necessary to understand the Sikhs' conception of God. If once it is understood what the Sikhs mean by God, the whole of the Sikh religion becomes an open book.

The Sikhs have been called a God-conscious people. To distinguish the Sikhs from Shaivites, Vaishnavites, Buddhists, Christians, Mohammadans or Zoroastrians, who are so called after the name of the god or prophet they follow or worship, the Sikhs are called *Akalis*, men of God, or *Khalsas*, those whose purity of heart lies in their belief in one God and none else, *Ek bina man naik na andi* (Guru Govind Singh's 33 Swayyas—I Swayya). Even the word Sikh means a Disciple, one who sits at the feet of the Teacher to learn of God and His ways. A Sikh is God-centred; love and service of the Lord is the mainspring of his life.

The Sikh faith is thus entirely based on the Sikh conception of God. Not only the Sikh religion and philosophy but also the ethics, and social conceptions of the Sikhs have God as the central theme. The maxim that on the purity of belief depends the purity of faith could have no apter application than in the case of Sikhs.

The principal formula, the *mulmantra* of the Sikhs with which the Sikh Bible and all its important sections begin, is: "*Ek Onkar, Sat-nam, Karta-purkh, Nirbhao, Nirwair, Akalmurat, Ajooni, Saibhang, Gurbarsad,*" which translates as:

"The One God who creates, sustains and withdraws; The Eternal Word; The All-Pervading Creative Spirit; Without Fear or Enmity; The Being beyond the limits of Time and Space; The Absolute and Independent; By the grace of the Giver of Light we begin."

Before the advent of the Sikh Gurus, the conception of God in India oscillated between two extremes. Under the influence of Shankaracharya, the greatest of the Indian philosophers, Godhead was conceived as an Absolute, Transcendent Being, having nothing to do with the creation. The creation, according to this school, was Godless; it was *maya*, a false illusion, having no real existence. The popular belief, the belief of the man in the street, swung to the other extreme. He could not understand the existence of an Impersonal Being. For him God was like a great king who ruled the world whimsically like an autocratic king. God had minor gods, goddesses, spirits and his incarnations to help him in the administration of His state. People worshipped images and idols, stocks and stones, trees and rivers, animals and men, whose spirit presided over or controlled various functions of life and nature in their own right, as deputies of the Higher Being.

Guru Govind Singh refers to the popular forms of worship amongst Hindus and Moslems of the time as follows:

"Some worship stones, and put them on their heads.  
Others suspend the Lingam round their necks.  
Some see God in the South, others bow their heads to the West.  
Some foolishly worship idols, others wander about worshipping graves.  
They are entangled in false ceremonial,  
They know not the secret of the Lord."

—X Swayya

There were thirty-three crores of higher beings who could be worshipped at one's leisure or in the hour of need. Such a belief was a happy mixture of anthropomorphism, animism and a crude sort of materialistic pantheism.

Guru Arjan raised the difference between the scholars and the common people to a higher level and referred to it in the words:

"O happy brides, my friends, give me, give me news of my Beloved.  
I wonder at the different accounts I hear of Him;  
I tell you what they are.  
Some say that God abides altogether detached from the world; others that He is wholly merged in it.  
His colour and form are not distinct;  
O happy brides, tell me what He looks like,  
He is present in everything,  
He dwelleth in every heart,  
Yet He is not blended with anything;  
He is detached.  
Nanak saith, listen, O ye people, put the words of the holy into your hearts."

—Guru Arjan : *Jaisri*

It was clear that the two classes looked at God, with one eye closed and the open eye was often half-blind.

The learned, the seers, regard disputes about the transcendent and immanent nature of God as irrelevant:

"Some say God is near, others that He is far away.  
To say He is near or far is like saying that a fish could climb a date-palm.  
Why, Sir, talkest thou nonsense?  
They, who have found God keep silent about it.  
The Pandits shout their Vedic theories;  
But the ignorant Namdev only knoweth God."

—Namdev : *Todi*

The Sikh Gurus declared that God was not only *Saibhang*, Absolute and Independent; *Akal* and *Ajooni*, Beyond Time and Space; but also *Karta Purkh*, the All-Pervading, Creative Spirit. God was both Transcendent and Immanent, Personal and Impersonal. He was beyond the Creation, but he lived in His Creation. He was not the Creation, but the Creation had certainly its existence in Him.

"Thou hast a million eyes, yet no eye hast Thou;  
Thou hast a million forms, yet no form is Thine;  
Thou hast millions of sacred feet, yet no feet at all;



Thou art without any odour, yet millions of odours  
emanate from Thee;  
With such charms, O Lord! Thou hast bewitched  
me;  
Thine Light pervades everything;  
Everything is aglow with Thine Light."

—*Rag Dhanasari*

This was the conception of God which Guru Nanak put before the people at Jaggannath, when he found the devotees in Orissa worshipping at the shrine the wooden idol as verily the Lord of the Universe! At another place he says:

"The Lord pervades the whole Universe;

His Will controls it,

How can I call Him far or near?

I see the Manifested and the Unmanifested on every side;

The One Lord works through all."—*Rag Maru*

Guru Nanak expressed surprise at the attitude of those who regarded God as separate from the Creation. Referring to his own days as a student of philosophy, he said:

"Thou pervadest the Universe, O Lord:

As I regarded Thee as separate from it."

—*Sri Rag*

The conception of God, as being both Transcendent and Immanent, is supported throughout the whole of the Holy Granth. All the Gurus that came after Guru Nanak advocated the same belief and often in the same words. The Panjabi words frequently used to denote this conception are *dur* and *nere*, far and near. God is near you in His immanence and is far from your mind in His transcendence. In the same sense, the words *gupt* and *parbat*, unmanifested and manifested, have been used. He transcends our thoughts when we try to think of Him in the *gupt* or unmanifested state; but we live and have our being in Him, when we look on Him in what He has manifested. The words *suksham* and *sthal*, subtle and gross or unseen and seen, are also extensively used by the Sikh Gurus in the same sense. Still more extensively are used the words *sargun* and *nirgun*, having all attributes and without any attribute. *Sakar* and *nirakar*, with form and without form, that is having personal attributes and being quite impersonal, also denote the same thing. God is personal in so far as we can come into touch with Him through His creation; He is impersonal in the sense of his being beyond the reach of our senses and mind. Guru Ram Das said:

"There is but one breath, one matter, one light in all things;

The one Light pervadeth all things, it is manifested differently in different things."—*Rag Majh*

"There is nothing which could be compared to that."

—*Rag Majh*

Guru Arjan repeats this idea again and again:

"Thou art the tree, Thy branches have blossomed;  
Thou art the Ocean; Thou art the foam and the bubbles;

We are nothing without Thee.

Thou art the string in the rosary and its beads;  
Thou art the tying knot in it and the bead-in-chief."

"No attribute can be applied to Thee;

Yet all joy and love is Thine;

Thou art hidden, O Lord, and yet manifest."

—*Rag Majh*

"He who controls everything lives in the heart of all;

In a moment He creates and ends all objects;

But He is not affected by anything,

He is beyond all attributes."—*Rag Asa*

"The One God is without any form and yet

He is Form itself;

He is without attributes and yet possesseth all the attributes;

Define, Nanak, God as One and the Many."

—*Bawan Akhri*

"He is in everything; He dwelleth in every heart;

He is not affected by anything;

He remains untouched."—*Rag Jaisri*

"He Whose power fascinates the whole world, is beyond the action of all tendencies, and yet

possesseth all the tendencies."—*Sukhmani*

"There is no this side or that side to His limits;

He is Infinite.

Though He is not seen, yet He pervadeth all through."—*Rag Ramkali*

"It is He Who appears; It is He Who disappears;

He is without any quality; yet all qualities lie in Him."—*Rag Garud*

Qualities here refer to the three attributes defined in Indian philosophy.

Guru Govind Singh is even more insistent on this dual nature of the Godhead:

"He is different from all forms;

The *Shastras* know not His form, colour or marks.

All the Puranas and Vedas call Him as 'not this, not this.'

He is without name or profession or residence.

He is always known as most worthy of worship.

He has only one form; but He is seen in many forms and appearances;

The Ever-playing plays always and on all sides;

In the end, is One again."—*Jap*

"He is far beyond all things;

He is near to the nearest.

He lives in the waters, on the earth and in the middle of heavens.

Neither has He got a father, nor a mother;

Never is He found in the same state again;

He is the light of everything;

He is seen on all sides.

He is the light of all souls;

He is the Invisible, Imperceptible Being, distinct from all the universe."—*Akal Ustat*

"Gods and other spirits call Him neither this nor that;

He is known as the Infinitesimal of the Infinitesimal;

And the Infinite of the Infinite;

The Earth, the Heavens, and the World below are created by Him;

The One has manifested Himself as Many."

—*Akal Ustat*

It has been said that God, as Form itself, is naturally without any form; just as He does not have

Being because He is Being itself. Ramakrishna Paramahansa, as the founder of the Advaita Ashram, once remarked that when we thought of the Supreme Being as in-active, neither creating, nor preserving, nor destroying, we called Him Brahman or the Impersonal God; and that when we thought of Him as Active, Creating, Preserving and Destroying, He became Sakti or the Personal God. But the distinction between the Personal and the Impersonal did not mean any real difference. The personal and impersonal are the same in the same way as milk and its whiteness, or the diamond and its lustre, or the serpent and its undulations. It is impossible to conceive of the one without the other. The Shakti and Brahman are one. Tulsi Das, the author of the Hindi Ramayana, has expressed the same idea in the words :

"God is unmanifested and manifested, just as the fire is present unmanifested in a log of wood and is manifest when it is burnt."

Similarly Namdev, the great South Indian saint, says :

"As the path of the flying bird is not seen in the sky;  
As we do not see where the fish moveth in water;  
As a vessel is not filled with mirage water;  
Such is the God unseen in whom the three qualities of nature meet."—*Rag Gujree*

The similes used by Ramakrishna, Tulsidas and Namdev naturally look crude. We shall later explain why it is so; but these express in popular language what the Sikh Gurus mean when they called God both as *nirgun* and *sargun*, without attributes and with attributes; *dur* and *nere*, far and near; *sakar* and *nirakar*, with form and without form; *gupt* and *pargat*, unmanifested and manifested; *suksham* and *sthul*, small and great or fine and gross.

According to the Indian philosophy, nature is a string of three strands or qualities: *Sattwa*, the law of equilibrium; *Rajas*, the law of movement; and *Tamas*, the law of inertia or motionlessness. These aspects are called *gunas* or qualities. Every object, living or otherwise, is regarded as the result of the combination of these three essentials in their different strength. God, with reference to these qualities, is called *nirgun* and *sargun*, without qualities and with qualities.

Swami Dayanand, the founder of the Arya Samaj, has tried to explain this duality in Godhead, God being both without *gunas*, and with *gunas*, by suggesting that when we apply the term *nirgun* to God, we mean that he is above human attributes, *sattwa*, *rajas* and *tamas*: and when we call Him *Sagun*, we mean that God possesses these virtues only in the rarefied spiritual sense.

This effort at reconciliation of two ancient terms applied to Godhead is ingenious but does not tally with the conception that makes God both as Imma-

nent and Transcendent, Personal and Impersonal. According to the Sikh Gurus, God is without attributes when we think of Him in His absolute aspect; but when we think of Him as related to His Creation, He becomes Personal. Aurobindo Ghosh, in his commentary on the Gita, supports the idea of the Gurus :

"God is supracosmic, the eternal *Parabrahman* who supports with His timeless and spaceless existence all this cosmic manifestation of His own being and nature in Space and Time. He is the Supreme Spirit who ensouls the forms and movements of the Universe, *Paramatman*. God is both Immanent and Transcendent, Personal and Impersonal and, being both, He is above both. Each aspect demonstrates His nature only partially, you cannot emphasise one aspect to the exclusion of the other; both the aspects are reconciled in Him."

The difficulty is that Immanence is frequently contrasted with Transcendence; but it is a mistake to think that one excludes the other. Rather, Immanence in its very nature implies Transcendence. The mind or consciousness may be said to be immanent in the body, though it transcends it at the same time. Similarly God is immanent in nature, though in His absolute aspect He transcends it altogether.\*

In India, at the time of the Gurus, there were four popular ideas about the conception of God. There was the Transcendent Conception of God as propounded by early Upanishads. God was Unknowable and Incomprehensible, beyond all our intellectual conceptions. God was divorced from the Universe which was regarded as an illusion. Matter was *maya* or mirage. God was in man, but the Universe in which man lived was a snare and deception.

Some of the Upanishads also spoke of God as Immanent in the Universe, having the whole creation as manifestation of the Divine light. Moslem Sufis also had similar ideas about God.

The Puranas referred to a personal Deity, senior amongst so many other Deities of minor importance.

Allied to this last conception was the Semitic conception represented by the Moslems and Christians. God sat high in heavens, and controlled the Universe from above. He had angels, prophets and genii to carry on his Government; but He was above them all in power and functions. He was said to be living in the Seventh Heaven, apart from His creation. But this may refer only in popular language to the transcendent nature.

Without entering into fine distinctions that underlay these different conceptions, one can say that God was popularly believed to be either Transcendent as the earlier Upanishads and Quoran believed, or Immanent and Personal as Puranas preached. The Sikh Gurus tried to reconcile all these conceptions. They wanted to evolve a sort of homogeneity out of these heterogeneous beliefs.

\* *Satyarth Parkash.*

# ANGLO-FRENCH RIVALRY IN BURMA

## The First Phase

By PROF. S. B. MUKHOPADHYAYA, M.A.

FROM a geographical point of view, England and France are neighbours. But the pages of Anglo-French relations are replete with bitter animosities and sanguinary wars. The reasons of Anglo-French rivalry in modern times are not far to seek. They are to be found in the race for colonial possessions and for markets in the New World as well as in the Old. The hostility between England and France reached its peak in the 18th century. In recent times they have been, however, the best of friends for reasons not within our present scope. Adversity, they say, makes strange bed-fellows.

The Industrial Age brought in its wake the monster of imperialism. Cheap raw materials are necessary to keep down the cost of production. Commodity manufactured requires markets. In the era of the Industrial Revolution in Europe, England and France, among others, turned their eyes overseas for expansion. Their attention was naturally focussed upon undeveloped and industrially backward regions rich in natural resources.

Burma in the 18th century, torn by internal dissensions and undeveloped that she was, presented a coveted field for exploitation by economic Imperialism of the West. But as Burma lay off the main route of sea-borne traffic, she escaped the serious attention of Europe for a long time. French interest in Burma however dates back to the organisation of the French East India Company in 1604, to the despatch of the first French ships to eastern waters in 1611 and to the beginning of the French Oriental establishments in the mid-seventeenth century. French priests were acquainted with littoral Burma in 1663. Hard-pressed by the English in India, the French shortly afterwards thought of shifting their headquarters to the Pegu coast or acquiring the Dutch colony of Tranquebar.

Early in the 18th century French ship-building interests thought of utilizing the teak of Burma. Dupleix the French Governor of Pondicherry, suggested to the Directors of the French East India Company in 1727 that a French dockyard at Syriam (opp. Rangoon) be started. The suggestion was accepted and in 1729 the necessary permission was obtained from the King of Burma.

Anglo-French rivalry in Burma during the 18th century was most active during the 20 years of struggle in the middle of the century between the Ava

Burmans and the Pegu Mons (Talaings). After the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) which had brought to an end the first round of Anglo-French duel in India with advantage to the French, Dupleix looked further afield and thought of strengthening the French position in Lower Burma. Everything seemed to be in his favour. The Mons had seized Syriam in 1743 and burnt the English factory there. The English had left the country. The Mon-Burman conflict had reached its climax: Alaungpaya, the founder of the last dynasty of independent Burma, was, in the middle of the 18th century, trying to unify the whole of Burma under him. Here was an opportunity for Dupleix to apply the theory which he had already applied with good results in India—that of supporting the weaker claimant to the throne as it would ensure French predominance when his protegee had got the better of his opponent. The Mon power in Burma was decadent in 1751. Binnya Dala, the Mon king of Pegu, was frantically searching for an ally. He despatched an embassy to Pondicherry, the French headquarters in India, in 1751 soliciting military aid from Dupleix. The latter promised men and munitions to the Mons. But before deciding how far to commit himself he sent his agent the Sieur de Bruno to Pegu to spy out the land. The latter was given a warm welcome by Binnya Dala and pledged his master to the Mon cause. He came back to Pondicherry and told Dupleix that 500 to 600 well-equipped French troops could easily gain control over Syriam. "Dupleix began to dream of building a new French empire on the banks of the Irawaddy." He wrote home to the Directors of the 'Compagnie Royale' recommending the capture of Syriam. They did not approve the plan. Subsequently, however, the French acquired a factory-site at Syriam.

Thomas Saunders, the English Governor of Madras, came to know of all these developments through private English traders and sea-captains who still frequented Syriam. Captain Thomas Taylor, one of his informants, reported that the French had an eye also on Negrais (Haing-gyi) just south of the entrance to the Bassein River and that they were trying to obtain the cession of the island from the Mon king. Saunders lost no time in writing to the Directors of the East India Company that the French design on the island should be forestalled by planting an English settlement there (1752). For many years





A sectional view of Seoul, capital city of the Republic of Korea, which has been recaptured from the North Korean Communists



Foreign Ministers and deputies of the 12 North Atlantic Nations open their fifth meeting at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City





Robert Schuman, French Foreign Minister, Dean Acheson, U. S. Secretary of State and Ernest Bevin, British Foreign Secretary (left to right), discuss European defence planning at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City at the first session of a three-day Conference



Dr. Ralph J. Bunche, the distinguished American Negro, now Director of the U. N. Trusteeship Department and winner of the 1950 Nobel Peace Prize for his work as U. N. Mediator in Palestine during 1949, is seen with his family in their home on Long Island, New York

before this the English had been eager to have the island as a naval base. Governor Saunders did not wait for a reply to his letter. He despatched a small expedition under Taylor to survey Negrais. At the same time he invested Robert Westgarth, a private English shipwright at Syriam, with the title of English Resident and instructed him to contact the court of Pegu for the cession of Negrais. But French influence was supreme at Pegu and Westgarth's attempts were abortive. In the meanwhile the Directors of the Company had given their approval to the plan of seizing Negrais as suggested by Saunders. Saunders was in two minds about the occupation of Negrais. Reports about the island from both Taylor and Westgarth were unfavourable. Saunders had, besides, enough to do in India. But the French influence in the court of Pegu and the possibility of the island falling into the hands of the French ultimately led to its occupation by the English under David Hunter (April 26, 1753). Hunter became the first English Governor of Negrais.

The English factory at Negrais was an ill-started venture. The Mons organised an effective boycott and prevented the procurement of supplies and local labour. In the meanwhile the Mon-Burman struggle had reached a critical stage. Alaungpaya, the leader of Burmese national revival, had launched a series of successful offensives against the Mons. Dupleix, displeased with the Mons, sent a present of some military supplies—1300 muskets, 40 twenty-four pounders and 200 French gunners—to Alaungpaya. The court of Pegu grew nervous and sent a mission under the Armenian Nicons to Madras soliciting English aid in lieu of the cession of Negrais. Saunders now demanded not only the recognition of English position at Negrais but also the grant of a trading station at Bassein as the price of English friendship. But Dupleix's threat of helping Alaungpaya and the despatch of warlike stores to him had strengthened his hold over Pegu and the English demands were rejected.

Thomas Taylor advised Saunders in 1754 that there should be no further negotiations with Pegu. The English should better "hitch their chariot to the rising star of Alaungpaya." The liquidation of the Mon power, Taylor pointed out, was but a question of time. Dupleix had been recalled in the meanwhile and with his departure from the Indian scene all hopes of the French backing up the Mons also died out. Saunders, convinced of the soundness of Taylor's suggestion, accepted it. Alaungpaya pushed his victorious arms as far south as Bassein and sent envoys to Negrais in March, 1755, where they were well received by the English. Henry Brooke, who had succeeded Governor David Hunter on the latter's death in December, 1753, wrote to Madras advocating

a policy of active friendship with Alaungpaya and of military aid to him against the Mons. In the meanwhile George Pigot had become the Governor of Madras. He thought it unwise to accept the suggestion. The prospects of a fresh trial of strength with the French in India were already looming large on the horizon. Alaungpaya, helped as he was not by the English, hit the Mons hip and thigh and won a grand victory over them at Danubyu (in Lower Burma) in 1755. He pushed on as far as the historic Buddhist shrine at Dagon where with great eclat he made public offerings as the conqueror of the Mons. The tiny fishing village of Dagon was re-named Rangoon (the end of strife). The victor planned to build there a port which would eclipse Syriam.

The strife, however, was not ended. Pegu, the Mon capital, and Syriam with its French factory had yet to be reduced. Alaungpaya had to face at the same time the rebellion of the Manipuris in the far north and of the Shans. On top of it all, a rival was threatening to invade Burma from the Siamese territory. Alaungpaya pressed the English for guns and ammunition. Bruno had personally undertaken the defence of Syriam and sent S.O.S.'s for reinforcements to Pondicherry. Alaungpaya's extremity was the opportunity of the English. Henry Brooke now deputed Captain George Baker to Shwebo, Alaungpaya's capital, with a draft treaty containing the same proposals as those to the Mons in 1753, *viz.*, the recognition of the English position at Negrais and the cession of territory for a trading station at Bassein. A present of some guns and ammunition was also sent.

About this time John Whitehill, a servant of the John Company, and some English ships carrying supplies to Negrais deserted to the French and the Mons and helped them in an attack upon the Burmese garrison at Rangoon. Alaungpaya was angry and thought, quite naturally, that Brooke was double-crossing him. The present of the military stores sent with Baker however pacified him. He expressed his willingness to grant commercial concessions to the English at Rangoon and Bassein. The question of an Anglo-Burmese treaty and that of recognising the English position at Negrais were shelved for the time being. But as Alaungpaya was badly in need of ammunition he informed that negotiations might be re-opened at Rangoon where he was to proceed shortly in order to direct in person the operations against Syriam.

Early in 1756 further negotiations took place at Rangoon between Alaungpaya and two English representatives Ensign John Dyer and Dr. William Anderson. The former gave formal recognition to the English settlements in Burma including Negrais. A letter conveying this decision was written to King George II of England instead of to a mere official—



the *Tsinapatan thimbaw Zeit sa* (Eater of the port of Chenapatam, i.e., Madras) as the Governor of Madras was styled by the Burmese. The letter duly presented to George II by the Directors of the East India Company was never replied to. Alaungpaya took it to be an affront which he avenged three years later in 1759. It might be noted in passing that long before Alaungpaya's letter reached George II, the Directors of the East India Company had decided that all enterprises in Burma should be abandoned.

Alaungpaya captured Syriam in 1756. The city was utterly destroyed. The *Sieur de Bruno* was roasted to death. The rank and file were enslaved and forced to serve in the Burmese army. Two French vessels—the *Galatee* and the *Flensy*—sent by Pondicherry to the aid of Syriam arrived two days after the station had fallen into Burmese hands. They were captured by the Burmese. The ammunition that they were carrying was a windfall to Alaungpaya. The officers of the ships were all beheaded. Some 200 of the crew were spared and impressed into the army.

The conqueror next turned his attention to Pegu, the Mon capital. It held out for a long time; but capitulated in the long run (May, 1757). A terrible fate overtook the fallen city, which like Syriam, was ruined beyond recognition. While the siege of Pegu was on, Alaungpaya wrote again and again to the English at Negrais for munitions, paying cash down for them. But a fraction of his demands could be met by the settlement. Alaungpaya was furious and threatened that as soon as his hands were free, the English would be packed out of Negrais bag and baggage. But after the fall of Pegu instead of marching against Negrais he asked its chief Newton to meet him at Prome on his return journey to Shwebo. Newton deputed Ensign Robert Lester to meet the king. A four-pounder was sent at the same time as a present for him. At Prome a treaty was concluded between Alaungpaya and the English. The former ceded Negrais and a plot of land in Bassein to the latter. They, in their turn, bound themselves to present every year a twelve-pounder cannon and 200 viss of gunpowder to him and to aid him against all enemies.

The treaty was useless. As Dr. D. G. E. Hall points out, "The conditions, which had produced the original impulse for such an arrangement, had passed away. Dupleix was no longer in India. Bruno was dead. Burma was united." (*Europe and Burma*, p. 69). The English and the French were too pre-occupied with their feuds in India, in Europe and in America to pay any serious attention to Burma for the time being. The English, thoroughly fed up with the Negrais adventure, were concerned solely with withdrawal from Burma by the time the treaty was ratified. The first step towards withdrawal was taken early in 1759 when Captain Thomas Newton and the

majority of the garrison at Negrais were transferred to Calcutta. A few months later a Burmese army suddenly attacked the fort of Negrais according to a pre-arranged plan. The factory staff were put to the sword and the establishment was consigned to flames. Every man, woman and child, the Burmese soldiery could lay its hands on, was cruelly done to death. A large number of Indian labourers and servants attached to the settlement—100 in all—were among the victims.

In 1758-59, the Mon rebels had killed a large number of Burmese. Alaungpaya was furious when the news reached him. Gregory, an Armenian, who was the Chief Customs officer at Rangoon at the time told the king that the English at Negrais had helped the Mon insurgents with arms and ammunition. Gregory warned him at the same time that the English are a dangerous people and unless checked in time, Burma would share the same fate as Bengal. The English factories in foreign lands were always the thin end of the wedge. Alaungpaya believed what Gregory told him. He was already displeased with the English because the letter that he had written to George II in 1756 was not replied to. He had a further grievance against the English. John Whitehill's treachery in helping the Mon attack upon Rangoon in 1755 was still fresh in his memory. The Negrais tragedy of 1759 was thus the cumulative effect of what Gregory told Alaungpaya, failure of George II to reply to Alaungpaya's letter and the treachery of John Whitehill.

The East India Company were in a fix. Revenge was out of the question. The English in India were as yet too weak for it. An irreconcilable breach with Alaungpaya would be the height of un wisdom as that would encourage the French to try their luck in Burma once again and Burmese ports offered great advantages for attacks upon English communications in the Bay of Bengal. Last but not least, the safety of the English prisoners in Burmese hands at Rangoon made it imperative that the Company must move very cautiously.

In February, 1760, Captain Alves was sent to Burma with a letter to Alaungpaya couched in terms of "studied moderation." Alaungpaya had died before Alves reached Burma. His son and successor Naungdawgyi was busy putting down the usual rebellion which every new occupant of the Burmese throne was called upon to deal with. At first he turned a deaf ear to the request of Alves for the release of the English prisoners and the restoration of English property in Burmese hands. Subsequently, however, he agreed to release the English prisoners and to restore the English property. His need for ammunition for the successful prosecution of the war against the rebels must have influenced his decision.

After the return of Alves to India, Madras and Calcutta Councils of the Company decided to wind up

their establishments in Burma. The English factory at Bassein was accordingly closed down and for years to come there were no official relations between the Hon'ble John Company and the Golden Feet. The battle of Wandewash in 1760 blasted all hopes of a French empire in India. The stations returned to them by the Treaty of Paris in 1763 were to be held as mere trading posts. There was therefore no fear of trouble from them in Burma. The English were moreover determined that the disaster that overtook them at Negrais in 1759 must not be repeated. Burma teak was covetable no doubt. But supplies might be had through licensed private traders.

The French did not altogether forget Burma. A French agent Lefevre was sent from Pondicherry to the Burmese capital Ava in 1766. Naungdawgyi's younger brother Hsinbyushin had in the meanwhile come to the throne on the former's death in 1763. Lefevre persuaded him to release the survivors of the Frenchmen enslaved by Alaungpaya at the time of the capture of Syriam. Lefevre further obtained permission from the king to open a ship-building yard at Rangoon. In later years when France fought England during the American War of Independence,

French Admirals Bussy and Suffren used Burmese ports for re-fitting. French privateers used Mergui and Rangoon as "havens of refuge." But Burma was free from French political intrigues. Suffren pointed out to the French Government that English power in the East might be assailed with advantage through Burma. For a time a talk was heard of transferring French headquarters from India to some convenient spot on the coast of Burma. But Bussy reported that the scheme was not practicable. The matter ended there. The French establishment at Rangoon came to a standstill as a result of the American War of Independence. The English also were too pre-occupied in India to be able to pay any serious attention to Burma. Burma, thus freed from foreign intrigues, had an opportunity to set her own house in order. This she could not do. The price that she had to pay for this inability was nothing less than her independence.

Some private English and French merchants and shipwrights carried on their business in Rangoon and its vicinity till the outbreak of the First Anglo-Burmese War in 1824. They had little political influence and were subjected to the authority of the Burmese Governor at Rangoon.

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## PROPOSAL FOR INTRODUCTION OF TRAIN-LOAD RATES ON INDIAN RAILWAYS

By K. P. BHATTACHARYYA, M.A., B.L.

THE last Railway Budget and debates thereon drew pointed attention to the very high cost of working of Indian railways. While these had been offset in the past by increased goods and passenger earnings, the introduction of more liberal petrol quotas will not unnaturally eat into these very soon. It is therefore essential to devise ways and means to reduce operating cost.

One of the innovations on the Indian railways since the war, was the introduction of full train-loads for movement from one point to another. Originally introduced to facilitate movement of foodgrains, it was later extended to other movements in bulk and was utilised by manufacturing industries in India for transport of raw materials to and finished products from factories.

With the present improvement in wagon position, traffic other than those sponsored by Government, is unlikely to move in train-loads to any appreciable extent on account of the additional handling costs involved. Special inducements must and should be offered to continue this innovation, which undoubtedly reduces operating costs of railways.

It is therefore proposed that special rates be introduced to apply to these movements in special trains. Traffic which move in train-loads from one point to another will get advantage of the reduced rates—either in the shape of lower freight rates or in the form of rebates amounting to a stated percentage of the total chargeable freight at the usual rates. The latter will, however, continue to apply to all movements in consignments less than a train-load.

The proposal is neither so startling nor revolutionary, as it may seem at first sight. In a different form, this practice is not unknown to Shipping Companies and rates known as "cargo rates" are not uncommon in water transport. The advantages arising out of handling a large single consignment as one unit is not peculiar to water transport alone and as far as physical conditions are concerned, rail can handle as large a single shipment as water carriage.

Other countries have experimented with train-load rates and results everywhere have been encouraging. In U.S.A., the *Freight Traffic Report* (Vol. I, page 103) of the Federal Co-ordinator of Transportation pointed out "the relatively large field

in which the potentialities of the rails as a cargo carrier may be realised, if the car-lot traffic is separated from the cargo traffic and the latter handled in full train-load lots (and at train-load rates) without yarding at origin, destination or intermediate terminals, i.e., as a single shipment from consignor's track to consignee's track."

In the Black Trap Molasses case, the Inter-State Commerce Commission of U.S.A. went into the question of train-load rates and approved of the "quantity" or "multiple car" rates on account of cheaper operational costs.

Subsequently, the St. Louis-San Francisco applied for approval of a special "multiple car" rate of \$2.00 per ton of coal against a single car rate of \$2.75 to apply to train-load shipment of coal from mines in Oklahoma-Arkansas area to St. Louis Mo. and intermediate points and also to train-load quantities of 2,000 tons or more in cars containing not less than 50 tons to be booked by one consignor to one consignee.

The principle of "multiple car-load" rates has also been accepted in Canada where the Canadian National have applied this to bulk movements in special trains.

The principle can also be adopted with convenience in India. While in U.S.A. and Canada these rates were probably designed to facilitate distribution trade, in India this should be primarily directed for serving the manufacturing industries, as distribution trade on a scale prevalent in U.S.A. and Canada is still unknown in this country.

Special trains for jute have already been introduced and have probably come to stay. Other traffic which are likely to be offered in special train-loads at train-load rates are manganese from C.P. and Bihar, bamboo from Bihar, Orissa and C.P. for paper-mills, cotton from Madhya Pradesh, Vindhya Pradesh and Saurashtra Union and coal from Bengal, Bihar and Madhya Pradesh coalfields. As the special train-load rates are developed, various other traffic will come forward.

Coal is undoubtedly most suitable to be handled in bulk lots and train-load movements will be easier to arrange therefor. The reduced rates will perhaps enable coal-consumers in up-country areas to be given

some relief. Other industries will also benefit to the extent of covering the extra handling charges of a large number of wagons. If and when movement in train-loads is developed and organised, perhaps reduced freight budgets will result in the various industries using this facility, depending of course to the extent to which they avail of this.

For the railways, the reduction in operation costs will cover relief granted on freights chargeable on this movement. The Federal Co-ordinator of Transportation, U.S.A. argued in his report that a full tonnage cargo train moving from a single origin track to a single destination track without breaking the train line would do so at a lower line cost per nett ton mile. This train would also eliminate most of the present terminal and yarding expenses.

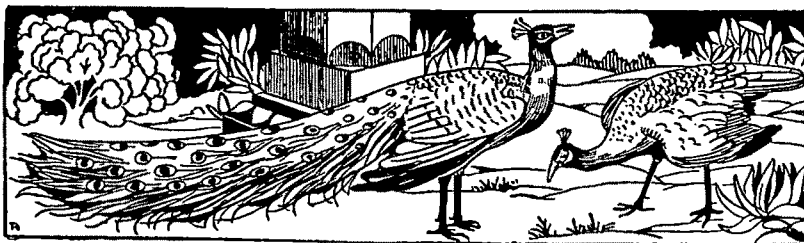
Will this discriminate against the small producer? The regulatory authorities in U.S.A. originally protested against the introduction of the special train-load rates on this ground. Later, however, when the Inter-State Commerce Commission decided in favour of the special train-load rates, it was laid down that the cargo rates should bear a just and reasonable relation to the rates for car-load traffic.

In India, it will be necessary to pay particular attention to some details:

(1) Whether the reduced freight rates will apply to movement from single consignor to single consignee or one despatching point to one receiving point. The distinction will assume importance if we consider jute traffic from any important jute-producing centre, where it may be possible to load quite easily a full train-load, but all the wagons will not necessarily be booked by the same consignor.

(2) Will the movement be allowed from one station or from more than one contiguous station? Perhaps at the initial stage it will be necessary to allow the special train-load rates to apply to a special train originating from more than one contiguous station subject to a maximum of five.

However, these details can be settled in discussions between the railway authorities and the sources from which traffic is likely to result, if and when the basic principle is recognised, as it should be, on principles of economy in operation costs.





## AUSTRIC RACE AND ASSAM

By JATINARAYAN SHARMA, B.A.,

AUSTRIC or Austro-Asiatic is the name of an old race of Asia which is given by modern anthropologists. It is called Australoids or Austro-Asiatic, because the manners and customs, physical features and civilisation are somewhat akin to that of the original inhabitants of Australia. In short they were called Austrie. Once this Austrie race inhabited the whole of Malaya, Sumatra, Java, Philippines, Siam and most of the Pacific islands. Their influence in Indian main land is not little; among most of the hill population of India we see the sign of these Austries. Specially Kols, Bhils, Mundas, Kharias of Chota Nagpur and Central India, Bhumis of Orissa and the Khasis of Jayantia Hills of Assam are the descendants of the mighty Austrie race. This is admitted by anthropologists. From the point of view of languages these races speak Austrie language. Let us see whence this race came to India and by which route. And how much the influence of this Austrie still exists in the modern Assamese population.

According to Dr. Kalidas Nag, the original home of the Austrie or Australoids is India. He says that in pre-historic times these Austrie people went out of India to spread their civilisation in the Pacific coasts and islands. He writes :

"Thus according to the latest scientific investigation the Australoid type originated most probably in India and spread into the Pacific as the representatives of the very type of 'Homo Sapiens' in some remote period of Asiatic History."<sup>1</sup>

Dr. S. K. Chatterjee is of opinion that this Austrie race originated somewhere in Indo-China or its vicinity, and some branches of this race spread in Malaya, South Burma, and Siam and some branches entered India through Assam Valley.<sup>2</sup> Like Dr. Nag and Dr. Chatterjee many Indian scholars say that the original home of the Austries is India or South-East Asia. But these views are old. Many new scientific views have come into being regarding this Austrie race at present. According to the recent scientific investigations, it is revealed that the original home of the Australoid people was the suburbs of Mesopotamia, i.e., Middle East. Austrie race did not enter India through Assam Valley and they did not originate in Indo-China, because traces have been

found in Africa now and there is much similarity of customs and manners between Indian Austries and Phoenicians of old Syria. Many modern anthropologists have proved that there are many resemblances between this Austrie race and the original inhabitants of Syria, Palestine and Mesopotamia. Dr. D. N. Majumdar writes :

"... These are followed by Proto-Australoids whose ancestors could be traced to Palestine."<sup>3</sup>

Dr. B. S. Guha also thinks that the original home of the Austrie is near about Palestine. Dr. R. K. Mukherjee too says that the original home of the Australoids is Palestine, and not Australia as was hitherto supposed, and they may be called the original inhabitants of India due to their vivid influence on India. Dr. Mukherjee writes :

"Its origin is now considered to have been in Palestine and not Australia, as was hitherto supposed. These Proto-Australoids are to be regarded as true aborigines of India, on the ground that their racial type with its special features and characteristics came to be ultimately fixed in India, although the type came to India by a very early migration from the West."<sup>4</sup>

Now Dr. S. K. Chatterjee also holds the later view in place of his old one.<sup>5</sup>

But when did this Austrie come and enter India from South-West Asia? In this respect most of the Indian scholars are silent. Of course, Dr. Guha says that he finds the sign of Austries amongst the hill-tribes of northern and southern and central India. But when actually this race came to India even he could not ascertain. He writes :

"We have no precise information as to when this race ('Austrie') first came to India."<sup>6</sup>

Moreover, very few Indian scholars have attempted to investigate the migration of this Austrie race. But now many things about this Austrie race have come to light through the ardent labour of some foreign anthropologists.

Before 8000 B.C. Austrie people lived in South-West Asia. This race is, of course, the admixture of two different races. A mighty amalgamation of dark-

1. Dr. Kalidas Nag : *India and the Pacific World*, p. 31.

2. Dr. S. K. Chatterjee : *Jati Samskriti O Sahitya* (in Bengali).

3. Dr. D. N. Majumdar : *Races and Cultures of India*, p. 31.

4. Dr. R. K. Mukherjee : *Hindu Civilisation*, p. 33.

5. Dr. S. K. Chatterjee : *Languages and Linguistic Problems*, p. 6.

6. Dr. B. S. Guha : *Racial Elements in the Population*, p. 9.

white and yellow people took place at the end of the Third Glacial Age near about Mesopotamia. This Austric race is the progeny of this cross-breed. Austric people are still to be found in the midst of Assyrians and Sumerians. From that South-West Asia a large branch of Austric people came to the East and entered India before 6000 B.C. and began to live in the Indus and Gangetic valleys. Afterwards when new races entered India these Austric people migrated towards eastern and southern parts of India. Some of them began to live in the adjoining hills, and a branch of the main race crossing the *Purba Samudra* entered Assam.

Moreover at that time the link between Asia and Australia was not entirely cut off. Mr. H. G. Wells says that the Australoid people were scattered in East Indies and there was a land route to Australia from these Islands. He writes :

"The islands of the East Indies 3000 years ago, were probably still only inhabited here and there by stranded patches of Paleolithic Australoids, who had wandered thither in those immemorial ages when there was a nearly complete land bridge by way of East Indies to Australia."<sup>7</sup>

Many scholars have newly discovered that the Austric people went over to South-East Asian islands and Australia through the main land of India. Even to this day many customs, manners and beliefs of the aborigines of Australia are similar to those of Indian Austriacs. Many anthropologists have proved the blood-relation between Austro-Asiatic and the aborigines of Australia.

"Blood test reveals two distinct blood groups, and there are grounds for thinking that in a very remote distant past at least two streams of immigrants met and fused, one of them being akin to elements surviving in the south of India, Ceylon, the Malaya Peninsula and Indonesia."<sup>8</sup>

Recent investigation reveals that there are many similarities between the customs and manners of Southern Indian Dravidian people and Australian aborigines.<sup>9</sup> Philologists also prove that there are linguistic similarities between the aborigines of Australia and the Sumerians of South-West Asia and Indian Dravidians.<sup>10</sup>

Now most of the modern anthropologists, racio-logists and philologists have admitted that the Australoids or Austriacs originally lived in South-West Asia and one branch went over to Africa and another branch of the same stock came to India and spread in the Pacific islands. They even went to Australia and

America. Now let us see the relation of Austriacs with Assam.

We have said before that the Austric people lived in the Gangetic plains after entering India. At the time of living in the Gangetic plains, say about 4,000 B.C., they were compelled to go to the East by a branch of the Alpine race. At that time in the east of the Gangetic plain, that is in modern Bengal, was a narrow sea. That narrow sea was connected with the Bay of Bengal, and was called *Purba Samudra* in the Vedas and *Manusamhita* and *Louhitya Sagar* in the Mahabharata. Crossing this narrow portion of water, that is *Purba Samudra*, a branch of Austric race entered Assam near about 4000 B.C. and began to live in the Brahmaputra valley.

Entering Assam this Austric race drove away the earlier race, the Negritos, to the mountains of the east, and the former acquired the fertile soils of Assam. Though it is out of place here, still we must say something of the Negrito race of Assam.

According to the anthropologists, at first, the Negrito race entered India and then the Austriacs and at last the Mongolians. These three races may be called original inhabitants of India and they are living now in the hills. After the above races, Alpines, Aryans, Scythians, Afghans and other races entered India.

As the Negritos entered India at a very early stage, so there are very little traces of them in the Indian mainland. Still traces have been found in the hills of Madras, Travancore, in the Andaman islands and amongst Angami Nagas of Assam. Dr. Hutton has pointed out the sign of Negritos among the Angami Nagas.<sup>11</sup> Supporting this view of Dr. Hutton many scholars say that the Angami Nagas are the descendants of Negrito race and of course they were mixed with the Mongolian tribes afterwards. "This has now almost disappeared in the Indian main land, but traces have been found in very remote areas, among the Angami Nagas . . ."<sup>12</sup> As this race first came to Assam and assimilated with the Mongolian population later, so it is difficult to find out the old manners, customs, beliefs and social status of the Negrito race at present. Therefore, we find very little of manners and customs of the Negroid race among the Angami Nagas. But this race is no doubt of Paleolithic age in Assam. Recently two stone implements have been discovered in the districts of Darrang and Kachar of Assam, and they are recognised as the remnants of stone age in Assam.<sup>13</sup>

Rai Bahadur K. L. Baruah is of opinion that these two stone implements are of the Austric race of Neolithic

7. H. G. Wells : *The Outline of History*, p. 180.

8. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. II, p. 712 (14th edition).

9. Gilbert Slater : *Dravidian Elements in Indian Culture*, p. 97.

10. Levi, Przyluski, and Bloch : *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, p. x.

11. Dr. J. H. Hutton : *Man in India*, Vol. VII, pp. 257.

12. Verrier Elwin : *The Aborigines*, p. 5.

13. *Journal and Proceedings of A. S. of Bengal*, Vol. X, pp. 107.

age.<sup>14</sup> But they are not actually the sign of Neolithic age and they were not used by the Austrians. Those two implements were used by the Negrito race in Assam in Paleolithic age. The use of one of these stone implements (which is similar to that of an axe) is still found in the sayings of Angami Nagas. Angami Nagas believe that the grandmother of Angami race gave them a stone axe, but she withdrew it as they could not use it properly.<sup>15</sup> We have said before that the Negrito race in Assam mingled with the Austrian and Mongolian tribes of Assam in course of time. So the contribution of this Negrito race towards Assamese culture and society is insignificant. Let us remember this much that the society of this Negrito race in Assam was patriarchal. Even now we see the influence of male in Angami society which race is no doubt the descendants of the early Negrito race in Assam.

Let us come to the Austrian race in Assam. Entering Assam the Austrian race began to live in the fertile lands of the southern part of Brahmaputra valley. They inhabited very thickly the southern portion of modern Kamarup district. They drove away the original inhabitants of that portion, the Negritos and the Mongolians. Even now the influence of the Austrians on the Assamese society is vivid. There they began to spread their culture and civilisation. Even now the manners and customs, beliefs and morality are akin to that of the Austrians. Their influence on Bengali and Oriya societies is not small.

The Austrian race were more civilised than the Negritos and they first began agriculture in Assam, nay in India. Regarding the civilisation of the Austrian race Dr. S. K. Chatterjee writes that the Austrian people began agriculture in India and they established a co-operative civilised life. They cultivated paddy, betel-leaf and nuts, plantain, coconut and they began terraced cultivation in hills. They built boats and with them they crossed big rivers and even seas. Besides these, they cultivated groundnuts and turmeric, and they used vermilion. They knew spinning and weaving, and produced cotton cloths for garments.

Austrian people began agriculture by the side of the hills. They used *nangal* or the plough for cultivation of lands. Those *nangalas* were just like *linga* or the male organ. With these *nangalas* or stone-sticks (resembling the male organ) the Austrian people made holes on the soil and sowed the seeds of paddy. The very word *nangala*, i.e., plough is of Austrian origin. With the help of *linga* or the male organ, man created life and so with the help of *nangala* (stone-stick resembling the male organ) food and vegetations were created by them. So *nangala* or the stone-stick was an

essential thing for the Austrians. Therefore, the Austrian people began to worship the *nangala* or the digging stick which resembles the male organ. This may be called the origin of *Linga* cult or Shiva worship in India. The use of this digging stick was also prevalent in Melanesia and Polynesia. And it is admitted by the philologists that this stick was also widely used by the aborigines of India. The Alpines and the Aryans who came later refined this *Linga* worship and made it their own. An instance in the Ramayana is sufficient proof that the *Linga* cult in India have come from the *Nangala* worship of the Austrians. It is stated in the Ramayana that King Janaka discovered Sita when he ploughed the earth. That is male Janaka piercing *nangala* on Mother Earth created Sita, i.e., vegetation. From the time of the Vedic age, vegetation was regarded as goddess and Sita was called in the Mahabharata the goddess of vegetation. Apart from this it is true that the *Linga* cult originated from the Austrians. Jean Przyluski, the great philologist, has written:

"It is more probable that the Aryans have borrowed from the aborigines of India the cult of *Linga* as well as the name of the idol."<sup>16</sup>

On the whole, the Austrian race was primarily agriculturists. As the male members of Austrian society were busy fighting with other races or engaged in removing the disturbances of the wild animals, they (the male members) could not find time to look after household works. Even agriculture was also done by the female members of the Austrians. Many scholars think that woman first began agriculture. H. G. Wells writes:

"It has been suggested that woman first began agriculture. This is highly probable. The collection of food and vegetable food-stuffs fell on them, while the men were away hunting. It was the woman who may have observed that grain grew at the old camping places, who may have first consciously scattered grain as an offering to some local God with the idea of its being returned later a hundred-fold."<sup>17</sup>

Austrian women not only had to give birth to children but also they had to cultivate land and grow corn. On the top of that they had to keep all the household information. For such reasons, the Austrian people began to think the woman as the backbone of society. This subsequently led to the high position of the female members of the society, that is, the Austrian woman acquired respect from the other sex of the community. For the high respect towards the woman population, for various reasons, in course of time the Austrian people began to worship *yoni* or female organ. *Yoni*

14. K. L. Barua : *Early History of Kamarupa*, p. 17.

15. Dr. J. H. Hutton : *The Angami Nagas*, p. 181.

16. S. Levi, J. Przyluski and J. Bloch : *Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian in India*, p. 15.

17. H. G. Wells : *Outline of History*, p. 158.



is the symbol of Mother or female sex. The Austric people of Assam began this Yoni worship in Kamakhya.

Before entering into the controversy of Yoni worship in Kamakhya, we must say something about the Austric society. There was no well-planned administrative machinery in the Austric society. The Austrics lived together in villages, and a village consisted of many clans. The head of every clan was a woman, that is, the matriarchal system prevailed in Austric society.

Austric people respected their mothers very much, and the mother was all in all in a clan. This is proved by the fact that even now in the Austric-speaking people—the Khasis of Assam—the power and position of woman is very high. Even now the Khasis worship the Grand-Mother of the clan. Khasis believe that the clan developed from the Mother, and Mother is all in all. The Khasi saying is *long jaid na ka kyuthei* (from woman sprang the clan). The Khasis when reckoning descent, count from mother only; they speak of a family of brothers and sisters, who are the great grand-children of one great grandmother, as *shi kpoh*, which being literally translated "of one womb," i.e., the issue of one womb, the man is nobody.<sup>18</sup>

That the Khasis are the descendants of the Austric race is proved by the anthropologists, philologists and raciologists. But due to their intercourse with the Mongolian tribes of Assam many customs, manners and beliefs have been changed at present. Still the Khasis are the descendants of the ancient Austric race of India, and the Khasi language is also Austric.

We have said before that the Austric began Yoni worship in Kamakhya. The very word Kamakhya has come from the Austric language. The name Kamakhya consists of three Austric words *Ka Mai Kha*. *Ka*—sign of feminine gender, *Mai*—mother, *Kha*—to give birth, i.e., *Ka-Mai-Kha* or Kamakhya means the place where the Mother gives birth or the sign of mother's Yoni through which she has given birth.<sup>19</sup> From this it is easily understood that Kamakhya was the centre of Yoni worship of the Austrics in Assam. Before the Austrics there was no respect for women and freedom of women was denied. In course of time, in the Pauranic age, Kamakhya was noted for Sati's *anga* or female organ.

Regarding the moral character of the Austrics, Dr. S. K. Chatterjee has written that they were mild, harmless, peace-loving and easily surrenderable. They were somewhat sensuous, grave, emotional and irresponsible. Above that, the Austric thought that the soul of the dead migrates to the womb of animals or lives in the trees. They erected a flat stone on the

grave of the dead. Even to this day this system prevails among the Mundas, Santals and Khasis of Assam. Rai Bahadur K. L. Baruah writes :

"The hill-tribes of Santal Parganas and the Khasis and Sitangs of Assam are Australoids. The people of this race spread into Mesopotamia and Anatolia in olden times."<sup>20</sup>

In every sphere of life the Austric people of Assam were very high. Agriculture was the source of their livelihood, and rice was their main crop.

The Austric race of Assam observed a seasonal festival. One was the festival of Spring which was celebrated in the month of April, i.e., in the beginning of the rainy season. Another was the festival of food distribution, which was observed in the month of February at the end of the harvesting time. Even now these two festivals of the Austrics are observed by the modern Assamese society as *Bohag Bihoo* and *Magh Bihoo*; the former observed in the month of Baisakh and the latter in the month of Magh every year.

Before the beginning of the rainy season, i.e., in the Spring time the Austric people gathered together in the paddy ground and observed a festival. The root of this festival was to collect inspiration to do field works, i.e., the works of cultivation. The Austric people expressed their desires and feelings through dance and music in this festival. They needed storms and showers at first. They expressed this idea beautifully by dance. At first they raised their hands upwards, and began to swing them above in a very slow motion. This signifies the movements of rain and shower. They saw that when storm comes, the high branches and leaves of the trees moved to and fro, so they imitated the movements of Nature and thereby expressed their desire through dance. But how the Austric people would express the desire of creating corn? They expressed their idea of growing corn according to the manner which they adopted in procreation of life. They danced by moving their loins, because it brings the impulse of lustful desire which is the indication of creative power. This dance was performed along with the coming of the rainy season, i.e., before they began cultivation. Through dance the Austric people expressed their desire to grow corn and thereby they acquired inspiration and energy before going to the corn-fields. That the Spring festival of the Austrics was related to the growing of corn is very easily ascertained. Again the Austric people observed another festival at the end of the harvesting season. We ought to know that there was an indication to work after every dance. In relation to this Austric race this Spring festival indicated the growing of corn.

Jorhat, Assam.

18. P. R. T. Gordon : *The Khasis*, p. 82.

19. Major P. R. T. Gordon : *Khasi English Dictionary*.

20. Rai Bahadur K. L. Barua : *Presidential Address of the Assam Historical Congress*, p. 15.

## ORIGIN OF PROVINCIALISM

By N. M. CHAUDHURI

In a statement issued to the Press in July last Maulana Abul Kalam Azad has drawn public attention to the reactions against the Bengalis among certain sections of the population of Assam, Bihar and Orissa. He has traced the cause of "the resentment against the Bengalis" to the early spread of English education in Bengal and consequent advantages secured by the Bengalis in administration and public life. "Problems arose," says he, "when the local people advanced in education and found that many of the leading places in administration and public life were held by the Bengalis." In plain words, it was the jealousy of the local people of the advantageous position held by the Bengalis at the time that was the cause of the anti-Bengali feeling in other provinces, particularly in the neighbouring provinces of Bengal.

This diagnosis of the anti-Bengali feeling in other provinces is based on an old belief that as early recipients of English education and by partial Anglicisation of their habits, dress and outlook Bengalis succeeded in securing special favour at the hands of the alien ruling community and were rewarded with good jobs. Without examining here the basis of this belief, without asking how this old grievance against Bengalis has survived the withdrawal of the British and without questioning how the love of the Bengalis for their language and literature can be made a cause of grievance against them we propose here to draw the attention of the "reactionists" to an episode of British Indian history now forgotten by them and forgotten, evidently, also by a good many others whose reactions have not been publicised.

It is true that as early recipients of English education the Bengalis were able to secure a few clerkships, jobs in schools and colleges and junior executive posts. They secured these offices not through favour but because they were indispensable in those days when other provinces were lagging behind in English education. This was, however, a temporary and unimportant benefit of English education reaped by the Bengalis and yet it earned for them the ill-feeling of their neighbours. The more substantial benefit of this early English education was that it qualified the educated Bengalis to become pioneers in the field of India's national regeneration, and their services in this field earned for them the ill-feeling of India's foreign rulers from those early days. The Bengalis, among all the races of India, have had the unenviable experience of carrying on their work of national regeneration under the threat of the double-edged sword of the hatred of the Government and the jealousy and ill-feeling of their neighbours.

Those neighbours of the Bengalis whom enjoyment of freedom has made more splenetic towards the Bengalis than they were in the past and who would seize upon their misfortunes, due to partition of the country, as affording opportunity to pay off, what they perhaps consider, old scores, have forgotten that the English educated Bengalis of those early days were the first to raise a voice of protest against the insult and humiliation heaped on their fellow-countrymen by the alien ruling

community, and against their arrogance, injustice and oppression and by doing so they incurred their serious displeasure. From the days of the Ilbert Bill agitation anti-Bengali feeling spread among all classes of Englishmen in India, officers, planters, merchants, missionaries, and the Anglo-India Press showered abuse on English educated Bengalis day after day. Alarmed by the rising tide of agitation started by educated Bengalis and their influence on the rest of India British members of the Indian Civil Service hit upon a plan to checkmate these "vermins of society" as they called Bengali agitators of the time.

This plan was to exclude educated Bengalis from public service in other provinces and to check the spread of Bengali influence among local people by propagating anti-Bengali feeling among them. They injected, so to say, the virus of their own anti-Bengali feeling into the mind of the local people. They encouraged sectional interests in public service and educational institutions. They sponsored all sorts of anti-Bengali moves. They gave official recognition to local dialects to counter the spread of Bengali language.

It was not the jealousy of the local people of the Bengalis occupying posts under Government and positions in public life but this anti-Bengali feeling sedulously and subtly spread by the British members of the Indian public services and by the Anglo-Indian Press that was the origin of provincialism. Provincialism is a British legacy, and as with many other British legacies we have somehow managed to make it worse than it was before the withdrawal of the British.

For the benefit of those who have forgotten the earliest chapters of the Indian struggle for freedom and to substantiate the point that provincialism was the result of the anti-Bengali feeling of British officers inculcated among the local people in different provinces in early days a few extracts from contemporary documents are reproduced below. These extracts throw light on the relations between the alien ruling community and educated Bengalis as well as the state of political thought in Bengal before the birth of the Congress, and on the role of British officers in creating and fostering provincialism.

Macaulay's classic outburst against Bengalis is well-known and served as a pattern for Civilians with a flair for vituperation. *Somprakas*, a well-known paper of the time, refers in the sixties of the last century to the ill-feeling of Englishmen towards educated Bengalis for their lack of submissiveness and display of independence in their behaviour. Englishmen rejoiced when a number of educated Bengalis adopted European style of dress and European habits, but their joy turned into disgust when the same Anglicised Bengalis demanded to be treated on an equal footing with Englishmen, asked for a bigger share in administration, agitated for self-government and vociferously condemned the early Anglo-Indian pastime of rupturing the spleen of black-skinned natives. It wrote :

"Have not the Civilians given expression both directly and indirectly to the hatred they bear to the

natives? Do not they bear particular malice to the educated Bengalis?"

As early as 1873 a paper striking a defiant note wrote :

"Englishmen regard themselves in the presence of natives as worthy of the worship of God, but in essence they carry about with them the essence of hell. They think that their heads are heads indeed, the heads of the natives are but the broken kilns of the potter. The object of our birth is to obey, to serve, to endure chastisements at the hands of Englishmen. Some of them consider that the murder of a native is not the murder of a man, the sin which attaches to it is only that of killing a goat or a dog."

Another paper called *Sulabh-Samachar* wrote in the same year :

"The Hindus have no faith in a large majority of Englishmen resident in this country. They come to this country for money and only seek how they can take wealth out of India."

What it wrote next is revealing :

"If a native has at any time an opportunity to strike an Englishman all have unmixed pleasure in it. The belief has gradually obtained that the Government is selfish and partial to its own people. If any misfortune happens to the English, the natives inwardly rejoice. The natives find no courage to do anything; only awaiting the day of righteous retribution they nurse the spirit of rebellion. Genuine loyalty is not to be found in the minds of most of the people now-a-days."

Ill-feeling between Englishmen and educated Bengalis increased during the Ilbert Bill agitation and the agitation following the incarceration of Surendranath Banerjee for contempt of court. A paper of 9th June, 1883, wrote :

"Englishmen earn their livelihood in India and exploit this country but no one is permitted to say so. From the drummers of Chuna Gully to the planters of Assam every one wishes to lord it over us. Bengal is unwilling to bear this unjust assumption of privilege."

Under the heading "Crime of the Bengalis" a paper called *Sahachar* wrote in its issue of 30.7.1883 :

"No other race in India has been subjected to so much insult in the course of the present Anglo-Indian agitation as the Bengali. Because the Bengalis are the foremost leaders in political agitation, the force of the Anglo-Indian agitation has been particularly directed against them. The truth is that of all the natives of India the Bengalis show the greatest firmness and activity in agitating for political rights. In this they have struck a blow at English interests. Hence the bitter hostility and deep antagonism which is shown by Europeans against the Bengalis."

British officials and non-officials in India were afraid of Bengali influence on the other provinces. A paper called *Navabibhakar* published a secret memorandum in its issue of 18.8.1884. The following lines are extracted from this memorandum :

"Bengali newspapers are inciting all India. Bengalis are preaching the unity of all Indians by holding meetings in Bengal, Bihar, North-Western Province, the Punjab, Bombay and Madras. They are trying to establish a national fund for fighting for national interests. They are the soul of all agitations in this country. In a few years more Bengalis will perhaps spread all over India like air. Our ruin is certain unless we keep down Bengalis. If some remedy is not

devised now, we shall have ultimately to lose our Indian Empire."

The concluding portion of the memorandum urges for strict control on Bengali students to prevent them from becoming Nihilists :

"The Englishman has not a grain of sense left in him who is incapable of understanding what a dreadful thing it will be if a Nihilist body springs up in Bengal."

This was written when the Congress was not yet born. Even then Englishmen were apprehensive of the appearance of Nihilism in Bengal.

A few references may now be given regarding anti-Bengali activities of British officials in other provinces which created provincialism.

*Somprakas* wrote as early as October, 1872 :

"Sir William Muir loses no opportunity to tell the people of the N.-W. Province, that there is a great difference between them and the Bengalis. His constant endeavour is to prevent the educated Bengali from obtaining high posts in these provinces. The Lieutenant Governor of Bihar has told the people of Bihar that they are a distinct race, and that Patna College was intended for them only, it being his wish that Bengali youths should not read there. All this is producing the desired effect in embittering the feelings of upcountry men against the Bengalis. The allegation is gravely put forward by some Europeans that the appointment of Bengali Civilians in the Punjab or in the N.-W. Province would be looked upon as an insult by the people and would give rise to dissatisfaction."

Sir George Campbell, Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, adopted a resolution granting official recognition to separate languages in Bengal, Assam and Orissa. Commenting on the resolution a paper wrote on 12.9.1873 :

"The policy of our rulers would seem to support the statement that to cause a disagreement between tribes betokens more enlightenment and civilisation than a desire to close up existing breaches. There is very little difference between the languages spoken in Bengal, Assam and Orissa, a difference which practice in short time would have removed, but the L.G.'s resolution will tend to widen the existing breaches."

*Navabibhakar* wrote about Sir Ashley Eden :

"Love for the Biharis led Sir Ashley Eden to issue an order that henceforth Bengalis were not to be appointed in that province."

Well-known in his younger years for his champion-ship of Bengali cultivators during the indigo disturbances Sir Ashley was alienated by the Ilbert Bill agitation and turned against educated Bengalis in his later years. Sanjivani (18.6.1884) wrote :

"Englishmen are trying to create ill-feeling against the Bengalis in different provinces. The other day a meeting was held at Patna to take steps for establishing a separate Asiatic Society for Bihar. Bengali scholars were not invited to this meeting."

Another paper of the same year commenting on the order declaring Bengali students studying at Patna Medical School ineligible for scholarship, wrote :

"The authorities, on the pretence of favouring the Biharis are creating ill-feeling between them and Bengalis."

What turn this anti-Bengali feeling took after the establishment of the Congress, in 1885, we shall see later.



## ROOTS OF MODERN ENGLISH LITERATURE

By PROF. DARSHAN SINGH MAINI

THE subject of our paper is so vast in its scope that it seems hardly possible to do full justice to it in a few pages. The comprehensive nature of this many-sided problem is baffling and we can, at best, trace very briefly the influence of modern thought and ideology on English Literature. The word 'modern' itself is rather a vague term, for it could mean anything that has been written after the Renaissance. For our purposes, we shall confine its meaning to the 20th century in general and our own times in particular. Moreover, although this survey pertains almost entirely to English Literature, yet, here and there, we will have to make a passing mention of literatures other than English. This is necessary, not only because of the advantages that comparative study yields, but because literature today is becoming more and more international or universal. Schlegel's definition of Literature as 'the comprehensive essence of the intellectual life of a nation' is as true today as when it was written, yet we feel increasingly that in the realms of thought and literature, there are no frontiers. There are so many currents and cross-currents in modern literature that no easy and brief stock-taking is wholly satisfactory.

We live in an age of bewildering complexity, when life has become so feverish and fitful. Naturally this complexity is reflected in our thought and literature, which are only a representation or interpretation of life. Moreover, the thoughts and ideologies on which modern English Literature feeds itself are yet not completely rounded off into fixed symbols or philosophical truths. There are too many loose philosophical ends that are yet to be harmonised and integrated in the pattern of our modern life. Thoughts do not take roots till they are clothed in symbols of universal character. There are so many sparkling ideologies that catch our attention, but till we feel their truth on our own pulses, we can, at best, have only an academic interest in them. Thoughts remain barren and lifeless without the human touch. When ideas that are foreign to the genius of a people or ideas divorced from actual life are grafted upon literature, the result is seldom happy. Fortunately, English life, in spite of its reputed insularity, has remarkable powers of adaptation and in recent history, no life or literature anywhere in the world has been so completely affected by foreign influences and ideologies as English Literature.

### I

Basically, the themes in English Literature even now are as old and deep as the rich, crimson history of its people: themes, such as the love of sea, the love of the country-side, the respect for the individual being and love of human liberty. But since the turn of the century or more precisely since the First World War, literature in England, as elsewhere, has become more consciously a reflection of some particular thought or ideology. Most

of the serious writers are vigilantly and unsleepingly in pursuit of an ideal or a myth, which should put them in tune with life on this planet. This serious grappling with thoughts or ideologies is a typical feature of modern literature, though, it is true that no age in English Literature has been devoid of its own philosophical roots or links. The Elizabethan Age was permeated with the philosophy of Platonism on the one hand and a spirit of wonder and inquiry, following the discoveries of Galileo and Copernicus, on the other. Similarly the 18th century, 'our indispensable 18th century' as Matthew Arnold called it, was the age of good sense and reason. Its literature and thought were moulded by the philosophical of Natural Science and Natural Religion, by Locke and Spinoza. The Romantic Revival in the first part of the 19th century was as much due to the reaction against the stifling traditions of 18th century classicism as the influence of the ideals guiding the French Revolution and the influence of German idealism. The literature in the Victorian Era was influenced by a medley of opposing forces such as Imperialism, Utilitarianism, the Oxford Movement, and Darwinism. Thus, every age has had its own reservoir of ideas to draw upon; its own heart-strings to tug at. The roots of our modern literature, though not so securely settled in the sub-soil of our life, are yet quite clear and vital. English Literature during the last few decades has had the impact of many diverse and mutually antagonistic forces, such as Darwinism, Marxism, Freudian psychology, Spengler's Fascism, Bergson's Vitalism, Edward Carpenter's Unanimism, Croce's Aestheticism, Buddhism, Vedantic Philosophy and Gandhism, etc. In the following paragraphs we shall try to sift them out one by one and trace the influence of the major forces on modern English Literature.

### DARWINISM

Perhaps no man in the history of mankind knocked down so completely the pathetic illusion of man's divine origin as Darwin. Mankind felt bewildered and lost, when Darwin, armed with scientific facts and figures, destroyed this myth or illusion. This shock was as big as the one given by Copernicus, when he abolished the primacy of man's planet in the universe. *The Origin of Species* published in the year 1859 was a bombshell in the snug and complacent atmosphere of the Victorian Age. Before Darwin, Lamarck had practically said the same thing but it was left for Darwin to give these ideas a 'habitation and a name.' Darwin proved that man was not created in the image of God and planted in the idyllic atmosphere of the Garden of Paradise. He has a very humble and insignificant origin. This man, who has conquered space and water and air and who has climbed the daring and dizzy heights of thought, began his life as a jelly-fish. Through millions of years of evolution,

waging a keen battle for his survival, man has at last reached the present stage. In this struggle for existence, the weaker species have gone to the wall and have either adapted themselves to the changing environment or else have perished in this process. This keen struggle for existence goes on relentlessly even now and is as much visible in the kingdom of animals and plants as in the various institutions of man. In the light of all these damaging facts man has ceased to be the heir of the Biblical Adam and Eve. The scales have dropped from his eyes and he views himself as a pathetic little thing, too insignificant to make any tall claims in its own behalf. Thus Darwin knocked the bottom out of this rock-bottom, fundamental belief of Christianity. Such a great shock, as the Victorian gentlemen received, was bound to be reflected or registered in contemporary literature and as well the literature that followed this period.

T. H. Huxley, the grandfather of Aldous Huxley and Julian Huxley, was the first to come under the influence of Darwin and Lamarck. In his writings he clearly recognised the inescapable conclusion of man's humble origin. But Huxley had the scientific temper and was, in his own right, an original thinker. Tennyson, however, was a pious, God-fearing Christian at heart and the theory of Evolution appealed to his critical sense. Under the circumstances there was bound to be a tragic conflict in his mind. This conflict is recorded in the most serious and philosophic poem of the period namely *In Memoriam*. His lacerated soul yearns for some spiritual haven and he feels like a child crying in the wilderness of the night. He finds like Darwin that the keen struggle for existence is going on in nature, which he finds "red in tooth and claw." The theory of evolution, on the other hand, gives him a very precarious foothold to hang on. Reconciling, in his own naive logic, the scientific theory of Evolution, with the Christian belief in the final redemption of man, Tennyson consoled his heart that was torn with conflict. The theory of Evolution finds a Christian garb in such lines as

"The old order changeth, yielding place to new  
And God fulfils Himself in many ways,  
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world."

After Tennyson, Hardy came under the influence of Darwinism. He depicted the pathetic struggle of man, against forces that are too powerful for him. In his novels, especially *Jude The Obscure* his pessimism reaches stark and utter defeatism. Such bitter words as the dying and hunted Jude utters, leave a stunning effect on the minds of the readers. Quoting the Bible inversely, the dying Jude mumbles, "Cursed was the day, when it was said, a man child is conceived." In his poetry, Hardy pointed out more forcibly the ruthlessness of nature and the keen struggle for existence in the domain of animals and plants. This despair or defeatism, sometimes tempered by Stoicism, finds its way into the works of Mark Rutherford and A. E. Housman. Housman's lines set the seal on this defeatism :

"The troubles of our proud and angry dust  
Are from Eternity and shall not fail."

In the 20th century, Darwin's influence is visible in the works of H. G. Wells and even Bernard Shaw. But the theory of Evolution becomes more philosophic in this age and tempered by idealism, it assumes a different shape. Biology, like modern Physics, becomes idealistic and although it recognises the theory of Evolution and the struggle for existence, it seeks to find some meaning in all this vast process of creation. Samuel Butler was the first man, who adumbrated in his works the modern theory of Creative Evolution. The writer of *Erewhon* and *The Way of All Flesh* is thus the forerunner of George Bernard Shaw and H. G. Wells. Bergson's theory of Creative Evolution or Vitalism has also its roots in Darwinism. Vitalism is a philosophical rather than a biological theory and it believes in the flux of life and the blind life-force that drives man on towards an ultimate goal. Bernard Shaw's *Back to Methuselah* and *Man and Superman* show his belief in this life-urge or life-force, which need must find its fulfilment. Along with Butler, Shaw believes that struggle and endeavour are the means by which development is achieved. Human effort at one level of emergence prepares the way for the jump to a higher stage. Emergent evolution also influenced Robert Bridges' *Testament of Beauty*. Edward Carpenter influenced by the anthropological discoveries of Sir James Frazer, developed his own philosophy of Unanimism, i.e., merging our individualities in the 'cosmic self.' D. H. Lawrence was another great literary figure, that was influenced by Darwinism and its philosophical counterpart Vitalism. But Lawrence was also influenced by Freud and we shall take an account of his work, when we come to discuss Freudian influence on literature.

#### FREUD AND HIS INFLUENCE ON LITERATURE

The influence of Darwin and his successors on modern English Literature is mostly indirect and is not half as potent as the influence of Freud, Jung, Adler, Prince, Pavlov and McDougall. Let us, therefore, try to understand in some details the basic ideas of Freud and other psychologists. Freud, who was an Austrian, had come to settle down in London in the later part of his life. His work, therefore, has had profound effect on contemporary English Literature. However, Freud's influence is not confined to English Literature. Practically every literature of the world has been affected by it in some degree, except perhaps modern Russian Literature, which, for different reasons, has had little to do with Freud and his school.

Freud regards the unconscious as the spring of all human actions and motives. And the unconscious, according to him, is nothing but a dark lumber-room full of repressed desires and brute forces. These repressed desires are essentially of a sexual character at bottom, though outwardly they may assume different shapes. From this, he elaborated his theory of the dreams and showed how our dreams are nothing but the expression of the repressed desires. Dreams, are, therefore, a vital part of human life. Freud also showed how things were distorted in the dreams and how the dream-symbolism could be

truly interpreted. Man, he found to be essentially an animal—a selfish brute who is kept in check by the artificial devices of our civilization, such as religion, art, literature, culture and philosophy, etc. Whenever the brute in man can find an opportunity, it breaks loose from these chains of civilization and creates a havoc in society, which is built on false and precarious foundations. And when the brute is suppressed with an iron hand, the victim-man develops strange complexes, inhibitions and abnormalities. His life goes to pieces and his mind is utterly diseased. In his book, *The Future of An Illusion*, Freud tried to show the origin of religion. Tracing it back to the pre-historic days, when man had no mastery over the elements, he proved that the helpless, bewildered man, awed by earthquakes and other natural convulsions, sought refuge in a self-created myth—that is the myth of the Heavenly Father. Since then, this myth or illusion has been fortified by ritual, superstition and bigotry. Conscience, in Freud's opinion, is thus no divine spark or heavenly voice in us, but 'society's policeman, implanted in the mind of the individual.' Art and literature are nothing but the devices on the part of man to compensate himself. Art is, therefore, nothing but wish-fulfilment. It serves as an escape from the hard and bitter realities of life. The artists and the writers create an illusion, which serves as a narcotic to lull them into wishful day-dreaming. Poets are thus, to use the words of John Keats, only 'dreaming thieves.' This view of life and art has had very serious and damaging effect on all contemporary literature. But before we assess the influence of Freud on Literature, we may also take into account very briefly the opinions of his co-workers in this field. Most notable amongst them is Adler. He developed the idea of the 'inferiority complex.' For him the true way of understanding human psychology lies in the recognition of an unconscious feeling of inferiority, which keeps lurking in our mind. This unconscious feeling requires some gratification or compensation—hence the complexes that make life so tortuous and monstrous. A Napoleon or a Hitler or a Mussolini is thus explained in the light of this theory of the inferiority complex. Pavlov with his experiments on dogs established the theory of the 'conditioned reflex,' thus reducing human will to nothing. Dr. Watson in America established the school of psychology, known as Behaviourism. And McDougall with his theory of the Instincts completed this process of psychology. Behaviourism denies the existence of mind. Philosophically speaking, it leads us towards Determinism. Strangely enough, while Physics and Biology are becoming idealistic in their approach to human life and natural phenomena, modern psychology is becoming deterministic. The vast influence of psycho-analysis, Behaviourism and consequently determinism, cannot be minimised in modern literature. This approach to life has produced, according to C.E.M. Joad, 'scepticism, anti-authoritarianism, fatalism and insistence upon the right to the unfettered enjoyment of the pleasures of the moment' in modern young men. All these features we find in post-war literature in England.

D. H. Lawrence, as we have mentioned above, came directly under the influence of modern psychology. His best work *Sons and Lovers* is the illustration of what the psychologists call 'Oedipus Complex.' Paul Morel, the hero of this semi-autobiographical novel, finds his life thwarted because of his mother, whose sex-life was lopsided and unsatisfied. In his *Lady Chatterley's Lover*, Lawrence delves deep into the mysteries of sex and in a language which is at once naked and powerful, he brings into bold relief the unconscious sex desires of Tony and her lover. Similarly in *The White Peacock* and other novels Lawrence tries to show the stifling influence of modern civilization and culture. Unfortunately, this great artist was a confused thinker and in his search for happiness, he went to the other extreme, namely, the glorification of a blood cult. Reason and intellect are discarded by him as of no use. In his escape to primitive nature, he is nothing but a reactionary dreamer.

Other novelists who at some time or the other came under the spell of Freudian psychology are James Joyce, Virginia Woolf, Dorothy Richardson, Gertrude Stein, Aldous Huxley, Ernest Hemingway, Theodore Drieser, James Hanley, Nigel Balchin to name only a few. James Joyce with his novels, *Portrait of an Artist as a Young Man*, *Ulysses* and the unreadable *Finnegan's Wake* created a storm in the literary world. In *Ulysses*, which is a phantasmagoria at once shocking and revealing in its realism, Joyce reveals the life of his hero for twenty-four hours in Dublin. It is a jarring medley of irrelevant speeches, dreams and unconscious desires. Joyce, however, carried the psychological portrayal of the unconscious mind to such an extreme degree that the whole thing becomes vague and confused. He will, however, be remembered for the prose style that he has evolved. He has shown the hidden meanings of words and how they could be used as symbols for the repressed desires. Virginia Woolf, who committed suicide during the last World War is an active member of the school of Fiction, known as the 'Stream of Consciousness.' Less obtrusively, though quite forcibly she has revealed in her novels the strange, mysterious, yet gripping life of the unconscious mind. Nothing that happens to an individual is insignificant. It has its own value and importance in the scheme of things. Thus, in her novels, we find that she tries to put everything in. A sneeze, an inadvertant cough, a scratching of the toe, a snapping of the fingers, a biting of the nails — all these apparently insignificant acts are pregnant with hidden meaning. In her essay on 'Modern Fiction', she describes beautifully the stuff with which a novelist should deal :

"Examine for a moment an ordinary mind on an ordinary day. The mind receives a myriad impressions—trivial, fantastic, evanescent, or engraved with the sharpness of steel. From all sides they come, an incessant shower of innumerable atoms; and as they fall, as they shape themselves into the life of Monday or Tuesday, the accent falls differently from of old; the moment of importance came not here but there...."

And further on she says ;



"Life is not a series of gig lamps symmetrically arranged; life is a luminous halo, a semi-transparent envelope surrounding us from the beginning of consciousness to the end."

Her novels, *Jacob's Room*, *To the Light House*, *Oriando* and particularly *The Waves*, in which the readers look at reality through the consciousness of six school-children, are books that reveal the influence of Freud and other modern psychologists. Life in her later novels is presented as a series of separate moments and not as a continuous flow. Gertrude Stein, while describing the unconscious, is lost in the jugglery of words and ceases to be an artist. In his earlier work, such as *Those Barren Leaves*, *Point Counter Point*, *Eyeless in Gaza*, etc., Aldous Huxley was also influenced by the theories of psycho-analysis and Behaviourism. In *The Brave New World* we find a fantasy of the future, in which the people become thoroughly indoctrinated by the ideology of its state. Their responses become conditioned. Huxley and Hemingway and Dreiser, however, use these theories sparingly and more intelligently. James Henley's *No Directions* and Nigel Belchin's *My Own Executioner* are two war-time novels dealing with the fears and the unconscious emotions evoked during the last terrible war.

Thus we find that Freudian psychology has not only changed the themes and the content of modern fiction, it has also changed the form and the technique of the novel. As far as contents are concerned, we find that the unconscious life finds a prominent place in the modern novel. Moreover, we find that there is an absence of memorable and outstanding characters in modern fiction. The 19th century novel created such great characters as Mr. Micawber, Sam Weller, Mrs. Poyser, Heathcliff, Rochester, Becky Sharp and a host of other such characters. The modern novel, as a result of these psychological influences, is incapable of producing such static or 'flat characters,' as E. M. Forster puts it. The hero in the sense of the Victorian Age is dead and buried. Psychological treatment requires a probing beneath the surface and it is alleged that the so-called heroes are nothing but a bundle of complexes. It was thus Freud who prepared the way for the Stream-of-Consciousness novel, the internal monologue, the head-line style, symbolism, impressionism and surrealism. Under the influence of the modern psychology, the short story has also considerably changed in its content and technique. The short story now presents only a thin slice of life—the 'significant insignificances' as Galsworthy puts it. Tchekhov in Russia and Katherine Mansfield in England represent broadly this tendency of the modern short story. In the field of painting this influence produced the Futurists and the Cubists. All this tendency towards complexity, escapism and defeatism is the sign of the decadence that has set in. By denying reason its due and rightful place in life, these writers and artists are setting back the clock of civilization. Art has its roots in the broad masses; it springs from them and should feed them in return. Unfortunately all literature and art under the influence of

Freud, etc., is becoming more and more esoteric. Its appeal is limited and it has no universal value.

But this influence is not limited to fiction or painting. In Drama, which by its very nature is objective and more clearly connected with the people than any other form of Art, we also find the traces of Freudian influence. Whereas, it has enhanced the interest of the reader by giving him a peep into the unconscious working of the minds of the protagonists, it has at the same time robbed the play of its action, movement and dramatic intensity. From the spectator's point of view, too many soliloquys and too much of loud thinking, come in the way of the natural progress and movement of the story. This is specially evident in the powerful plays of the American dramatist Eugene O' Neill. His *Great God Brown*, *The Strange Interlude*, *Desire Under The Elms*, and *Mourning Becomes Electra* will illustrate this point. These are great plays and in their tragic intensity, they sometimes touch Shakespearian heights. But, all the same, the action, is halting, especially in *The Strange Interlude*. *Mourning Becomes Electra*, as its title reveals, deals with the psychological problems known as the 'Oedipus Complex.' D. H. Lawrence, as we have observed above, worked out this theme in his novel *Sons and Lovers*. The secret sexual passion of the mother for her son and the daughter for her father form the subject of this great play 'Mourning Becomes Electra.' The sense of guilt and sin runs throughout the texture of this series.

Even criticism has not been free from the influence of the theories of contemporary psychology. Criticism tends to become more subjective and hence personal and undependable. Such critics as Middleton Murry, I. A. Richards, Croce, and the Shakespearian critic Wilson Knight apply subjective standards to art and literature. However much deep and incisive might be their study of the mind of a particular author, yet the method being the reverse of empirical and inductive method, it cannot be relied upon for its judgment. However, the subjective method has increased the scope of criticism, and applied in a moderate degree with the classical and objective standards it can yield rich results. But before we end our account of Freudian influence on literature, let us also examine very briefly Freud's influence on the form and substance of modern English Poetry.

Up to the Georgian period, English Poetry is fairly traditional and shows little evidence of such influences as Cubism, Imagism, Impressionism, Post-Impressionism, Futurism and Surrealism. French poetry came earlier under these influences than English poetry. Rimbaud, Baudelaire, Verlaine, Mallarmé and other French poets had direct effect on the poetry of T. S. Eliot, Ezra Pound, The Sitwell Group and even the writers of the 'New Signatures' such as Auden, Stephen Spender, C. Day Lewis, Louis Macneice, Thomas Dylan and a host of minor poets. As John Devonport in one of his poems writes:

"Eliot, Rabelais, Dryden, Donne,  
Bless the bed that I lie on,  
Blake, Rimbaud, Marvell, Voltaire,  
Swift, Joyce, Proust and Baudelaire."

Poetry ceases to be direct and telling. Its appeal becomes indirect, involved, ratiocinative and highly personal. Hence this obscurity in modern poetry. No doubt this obscurity is partly the result of the complexity of modern life, yet we find that very often the obscurity is unreal and lacks any compelling quality. On the other hand, it serves as an excuse for the poverty of imagination and thought. The mere fact that T. S. Eliot had to add notes to his ambitious poem. *The Waste Land* shows how tortuous and obscure are the ways of the modern poetry. Much of the poetry of Ezra Pound, Thomas Dylan and other imagists and surrealists is simply unintelligible to the average reader. Under the influence of Freudian psychology, the subject-matter of poetry also changes. Now no occasion is considered to be irrelevant or unimportant for the purposes of poetry. Chunks of forgotten experiences are resurrected from the dark, unfathomable recesses of the unconscious mind and presented raw to the readers of poetry. Private jokes, irrelevant dreams and all sorts of insignificant knick-knacks find their way into modern poetry. The technique or the form of the poetry also undergoes a revolutionary change. We have new and novel experiments in metre, rhyme and rhythm. The traditional technique gives place to the new cinematographic cut-line technique, with its elliptical jumps and obscure allusions. This cerebral poetry appeals to a coterie of sophisticated high-brows and leaves the

general reading people indifferent and cold. Consider for example, the following lines of a surrealist, David Gascoyne :

"We see an elephant killing a stag-beetle  
by letting hot tears fall into the small of its back  
we see a large cocoa-tin full of shapeless lumps of  
wax  
there is a horrible dentist walking out of a ship's  
funnel  
and leaving behind him footsteps which make  
noises  
on account of his accent he was discharged from  
the Sanitarium  
and sent to examine the methods of cannibals."

Thomas Dylan, the typical representative of surrealism says, "Poetry must drag further into the clear nakedness of life more even of the hidden causes than Freud could realise." This attitude towards poetry however, if pursued to its logical extreme, would only result in a meaningless jumble and jingling of words. Art is not simply an X-ray of human body or the unconscious mind. It has a purpose to fulfil. It has to sort out, select and neatly arrange all that it presents. The anarchy of the unconscious mind, if literally transported into the realm of literature and art, will only result in confusion, obscurity and bourgeois decadence. There is already a reaction against this sort of approach to life and this brings us to the next important influence on modern literature, namely Marxism.

*To be continued.*

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## THE IDEA OF THE CHARACTERISTIC : GOETHE

BY PROF. P. S. SASTRI, M.A.; M. LITT.

EVER since the intellectual consciousness was alive to its purpose, the human mind has been groping after a full comprehension of the Universe. Alive to all the fields of experience, it had, at times, glimpses and intimations of the Unknown; for the experience of man is always elusive. Attempts are made from time to time to penetrate the skein of existence, and many pathways to Reality were discovered. The beautiful is one such pathway to Reality. The great minds of the past laid their hands on the essential problems and admitted their failure in the end. Artists of a former age were human beings and were proud of that. But the historian and art-critic have made us believe that the artist is so different from a normal human being that he is no longer human; that art is the exclusive monopoly of a coterie; that the appreciation of art is the privilege of the intellectual bourgeois; and that, therefore, art is the pastime of the idle and the rich. The great artists and the great aestheticians, on the other hand, are never tired of reminding us of the essential human nature of the Beautiful. And Goethe was one such.

A great awakening swept the minds of the Germans in the second half of the 18th century and brought forth the greatest period in human history. It was an age of

critics like Lessing, Winckelman, Herder, Schiller and the Schlegels; of poets like Goethe, Schiller, and Heine; of musicians like Gluck, Haydn, and Mozart; and of philosophers like Kant, Fichte, Schelling, Hegel, and Schopenhauer. These great minds came at a time when Germany was in a deplorable condition. People were loyal to the dim half-light of tradition and empty formula. These men brought into existence the bright and populous throughfare of human life which binds the ages together. This phenomenal change is symbolised in the life and thought of Goethe.

Goethe is generally taken to be a Romantic till his 37th year, when he visited Rome. Then we are told of the Classicist. These strange vicissitudes are read into all his works including the *Faust*. When Goethe was 15 Winckelman, published his *History of Ancient Formative Art*, and Kant came out with his *Observations upon the Feeling of the Sublime and Beautiful*. Four years later Winckelman was murdered, and Lessing's *Literatur-briefe* appeared raising a cry and emphasising the need for another Winckelman who should apply the new conception of organic and scientific history in the sphere of Greek poetry and philosophy. Goethe attempted to answer it. But when he was 32 three great and signi-

ficant events took place. The first was the death of Lessing marking the beginning of the new epoch. The second was the publication of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*. And the third was the arrival of Schiller's *Raubar* which continued the inauguration of the period of Genius. By this time Goethe already published his *Gatz von Berlichingen* (1773) and an essay on *German Architecture*.

"My poetic rapture," says Goethe, "was very small, so long as I only encountered good; but it burnt with a bright flame when I fled from threatening evil. The tender poem, like the rainbow, is only drawn on a dark ground; hence the genius of the poet loves the clement of melancholy."

This is the melancholy born out of profound suffering, out of an intense experience of the pangs of humanity. Goethe was a human being who struggled intellectually and morally. He was no partisan. Though a narrow nationalist in his early youth, he lived to outgrow it. To him his country and his language were far below humanity. And throughout his long life he never lost touch with human suffering. We can apply the words of his Prometheus to himself:

"Here sit I, form mankind  
In my own image,  
A race like to myself,  
To suffer and to weep,  
Rejoice, enjoy,  
And heed thee not,  
As I."

As early as 1773, when he was only 24, Goethe contributed a paper on "Deutsche Baukunst" to a volume entitled *Von Deutscher Art and Kunst*. The subject of the essay is the famous Strasburg Cathedral. It opens thus:

"It is in petty taste," says the Italian, and passes by. 'Quite childish,' lisps the Frenchman, and triumphantly taps his snuff-box a la Grecque. What have you both done, that you should despise it?

"Has not the genius of the ancients, arising from their grave, cast yours into captivity? You crawled under the mighty ruins to steal their proportions, you built your patchwork palaces with the sacred fragments, and deem yourself custodian of the arcana of art, because you can give account of colossal buildings by inch and line. If you had felt more than measured, if you had caught the spirit of the masses which astounded you, you would not simply have copied, because they did it, and it is beautiful; you would have made your designs necessary and true, and living beauty would have sprung from them with the creative power. So you have painted your wants with a show of truth and beauty. The splendid effect of the columns impressed you; you wanted to have columns too, and you built them into walls; you wanted to have colonnades, and you surrounded the forecourt of St. Peter's Church with marble passages which lead nowhere, so that mother Nature, who detests and despises the useless and unnecessary, impelled your populace to prostitute them to public cloacae, till you avert your eyes and hold your nose before the wonder of the world.

"All this goes on its way; the artist's whim serves the rich man's caprice; the tourist stares, and our beaux esprits, called Philosophers, elaborate their art-principles and art-histories out of protoplasmic fables

while true men are murdered by the evil genius in the forecourt of the mysteries."

This is a significant passage. Goethe is voicing his protest against St. Peter at Rome, which was held to be the touchstone of Renaissance feeling. But as William observed, St. Peter's stands for "the very type of pride and tyranny, of all that crushes out the love of art in simple people, and makes art a toy of little estimation for the idle hours of the rich and cultivated." (*Lectures on Art*, p. 131). This aesthetic fashion owing allegiance to St. Peter's, but in reality representing pseudo-classicism, this fashion has no consideration for the human spirit in art. It is the exclusive representative of the privileged classes, the rich and the idle. The dynamism of art gave way to mere passivity and leisure. The "roughness and strength" of humanity has been ignored, and in its stead there stands an effeminate vision of the dreamland. It is a barren intellectual tradition. But for Goethe the Beautiful is to be conditioned and determined by the human touch, by the spirit of the masses, not by meticulous perfection of design. Art should spring direct from popular impulse, from the partnership of all men—great and small—in worthy and exalting aspirations. The absence of this appeal is being applauded by the aesthetes. And if any one points to the truly Beautiful, he is murdered like Winckelmann. Hence Goethe proceeds to say:

"Beware of dishonouring the name of your noblest artist, and hasten to contemplate his excellent work. If it gives you an unpleasing impression, or none at all, why then fare you well; harness your horses and away to Paris."

This art-feeling of Goethe was sincere and deep, though crudely racial. Art to be Art should be true to life. The impossible, the rare, or the out-of-the-way, do not and cannot determine the aesthetic nature of the object.

"The column is in no sense an element of our dwellings; it contradicts the essence of our buildings. Our houses do not arise out of four columns at four corners; they arise out of four walls on four sides, which serve instead of columns, and, where you add them, make them a burdensome superfluity."

The Beautiful in Art cannot be converted into an intellectual proposition. Goethe, therefore, is here emphasising the integral unity and synthesis of Life, Nature, and Art. He perceived this synthetic unity in the Gothic Art. With the profound insight of a genius he unravels the beauty of Gothic Architecture and puts an end to the disparaging use of the term.

"When I first went to see the Cathedral, my head was full of general conceptions of good taste. I revered, from heresy, harmony of masses and purity of form and was a sworn foe to the confused caprices of Gothic decoration. Under the rubric 'Gothic,' like an article in a dictionary, I had collected all the mistaken synonyms that had ever come into my head, 'undefined, disordered, unnatural, a heap of odds and ends, patchwork, overloaded.' No wiser than a people that called the whole world 'barbarians,' I called everything Gothic that did not fit my system, from the



elaborate doll and image work with which our bourgeois aristocracy decorate their houses, to the grave remains of old German architecture, which in view of a few bizarre curves, I censured to the old tune as 'quite over-loaded with ornament'; and so, on my way, I shuddered at what I expected to see, a misformed, curly-bristled monster."

This was the young Goethe speaking as a Classicist who is insisting here symmetry, harmony and rhythm. As a Classicist, he demanded unity in variety, a formally perfect art. But observe this Classicist as he entered the Cathedral :

"How unexpected was the feeling with which the sight amazed me, when I stood before the building. My soul was filled by a great and complete impression, which because it was composed of a thousand harmonious details, I was able to taste and enjoy, but in no way to understand and explain. How constantly I returned to enjoy this half-heavenly pleasure, to comprehend in their work the giant-spirit of our elder brothers !.....How often has the evening twilight interrupted with friendly rest the eye fatigued by its exploring gaze, when the countless parts melted into complete masses, which, simple and great, stood before my soul, and my powers arose gladly at once to enjoy and to understand....How freshly it greeted me in the morning brilliance, how gladly I observed the great harmonious masses, vitalised in their numberless minute parts, as in the works of eternal nature, down to the smallest fibre, all of it form, and all bearing upon the whole; how lightly the enormous firm-based building rises into the air; how broken it is, and yet how eternal !....And so do I not well to be angry when the German art-scholar, giving ear to envious neighbours, mistakes his own advantage, and disparages this work with the unintelligible term 'Gothic,' when he should be thanking God that he is able to proclaim aloud, 'This is German building, *our* building of which the Italians have none, still less the French.' And if you will not concede yourself this privilege, prove that the Goths really built like this, in which proof you will find some difficulty.....But you, dear youth, shall be my companion, you who stand there in emotion, unable to reconcile the contradictions which conflict in your soul; who now feel the irresistible power of the great totality, and now chide me for a dreamer, that I see beauty, where you see only strength and roughness."

This is a remarkable confession. On the one hand, Goethe is drifting here to a narrow nationalism; on the other, he is moving to a true understanding of Art. A thing may be savage, clumsy, or grotesque. But it will not be ugly if only it has arisen sincerely from the fullness of a man's heart. It is the external extravagance, the external appearance of an object, considered in isolation from the human heart, that condemns a work of Art. It is its relation to the human heart that determines its beauty and worth. And this aesthetic emotion refuses to be intellectualised or canonised. According to Goethe, beauty converges on the whole excellence of fine art *qua* fine art, and is appreciated by aesthetic perception *qua* aesthetic. He is transcending the distinction between, the perception of beauty, and the perception of strength and roughness, between the Classical and Romantic conceptions. And yet he holds that the beautiful is distinct from the 'true' and the 'great.' This can refer only to a

narrow concept of beauty. However, he admits that the experience of beauty is rich, varied and complex, transcending our powers of comprehension and explanation. The human spirit, he observes, vitalises the work of art. Yet he has come to feel, though vaguely, that the work of art is a totality, a synthesis of diverse elements. This is the beginning of a new dialectic of Aesthetic that he amplified a quarter of a century later. Beauty is, after all, not opposed to strength and harshness; nor is the Gothic, in any sense, the ugly.

Next, Goethe proceeds to an analysis of the essential principle of the beautiful, and here he comes out with the doctrine of the Characteristic, a doctrine that marks the beginning of a new epoch. He writes :

"Do not let a misconception come between us; do not let the effeminate doctrine of the modern beauty-monger make you too tender to enjoy significant roughness, lest in the end your enfeebled feeling should be able to endure nothing but unmeaning smoothness. Then try to make you believe that the fine arts arose from our supposed inclination to beautify the world around us. That is not true. For in the only sense in which it could be true, it may be asserted by a citizen or artisan, but not by a Philosopher.

"Art is formative long before it is beautiful, and yet is then true and great art, very often truer and greater than beautiful art itself. For man has in him a formative nature, which displays itself in activity as soon as his existence is secure; so soon as he is free from care and fear, the demi-god, active in repose, gropes round him for matter in which to breathe his spirit. And so the savage remodels with bizarre traits, horrible forms, and coarse colours, his 'cocos,' his feathers, and his own body. And though this imagery consists of the most capricious forms yet, without relations of shape, its parts will agree together; for a single feeling has created them into a characteristic whole."

Here we are told that only those who include all formative work under beauty, they alone can speak of the art-impulse as the impulse to *beautify* things. Thus the construction of a machine and the laying out of a new street would have to be treated under beauty. The popular conception of Beauty is mixed up with the ideas of utility and grace. Dignity enters, if at all, rarely into the conception. The artist does not beautify things, draws our attention to the Beauty *of* and *in* the Universe around us. At the same time, a thing of Beauty may not be 'true' or 'great,' for truth and greatness have a reference primarily to the value or utility of the object. The need for beautiful art is felt only when the soul is disturbed and agitated, only when the soul is aware of its *deficiency*. The spirit of mankind reveals itself in Beautiful Art through those 'primary affections' and eternal yearnings. In this revelation feeling acquires a unique place by being immanent in the Beautiful. Thus the unity of the Beautiful is realised through feeling; and this is the Characteristic or the essence of Fine Art. So Goethe continues :

"Now this characteristic art is the only true art. When it acts on what lies round it from inward,

single, individual, independent feeling, careless and even ignorant of all that is alien to it, then whether born of rude savagery or of cultivated sensibility, it is whole and living. Of this you see numberless degrees among nations and individuals. The more that the soul rises to the feeling of those relations which alone are beautiful and eternal, whose main chords can be demonstrated, whose secrets can only be felt, relations in which alone the life of the god-like genius rushes forth into happy melodies; the more that this beauty penetrates the being of a mind, seeming to be of one origin with it, so that the mind can tolerate nothing else, and produce nothing else; so much the happier is the artist. . . . Here stands his work; approach, and recognise the deepest feeling of truth and beauty in relations issuing from a strong rough German soul, on the narrow and gloomy sacerdotal arena of the middle age."

He concludes the essay, after attacking the effeminate paintings of his day, with an apostrophe to "masculine Albert Durer, whom the moderns mock at, the most wooden of your forms please me better." This Durer (1471-1528) was an engraver and painter. His portraits like those of *The Portrait of the Artist's Father* are characterised by accurate draughtsmanship and clean sharp contours. His art is boldly linear and hence he was attracted to drawing stiff draperies and decisive shadows. This is the truly beautiful art; it is complete in itself, self-sufficient, autonomous, and living, for it is the creation of the inward feeling of man. It is a feeling which makes us keenly aware of the kinship and place of man in this varied and richly inter-related universe. Here the sympathetic self enters into the world-life. In short, it is the expansion of the self. The content operates through this expansion and is revealed to us in expression. Consequently, the deepest feelings are enshrined in aesthetic creations, where Beauty is characterised by Feeling.

In his Autobiography (1811), written when he was 62, Goethe records that this early love for Gothic architecture gave place to "a more developed art," the art of the Greeks. Faust, which is another record of the development of his mind, tells us how the devotion to Helena was superimposed on the basis of northern life, and how it left its influence on him. The essay on German Architecture shows us the change or transition from Classicism to Romanticism and it also indicates how he is passionately clinging to both, still idealising the Romantic aspect. Yet in all his writings he is trying his best to comprehend these twin principles. Rhythm, harmony, and symmetry gave the idea of the Beautiful to the ancients. With Goethe we have begun to relate Beauty to the idea of significance, of expressiveness. This expressiveness draws attention to the inner content of art; it draws us away from pure formalism. But Goethe, however, observed:

"The highest principle of the ancient was the significant, but the highest result of successful treatment, the beautiful."

Here he makes a distinction between the content and the form of representation. In a work of art we apprehend first that which presents itself to us immediately.

Then we begin to consider its content or significance. The content has a value for us, and this is revealed by the external appearance. These are inseparable. And the "Significant" of the ancients, therefore, appears to be the "Characteristic" of Goethe. But why did the ancients insist on formal perfection? The Characteristic, according to Goethe, has many degrees and phases of expressiveness. Starting with this idea Goethe developed a new approach to Beauty by 1798, when he was 49, in a dialogue entitled *Der Sammler und die Seinigen*. A year earlier he conveyed the content of this dialogue to Schiller in a letter. Goethe puts the problem squarely in this dialogue.

The Characteristic is the essential factor in the Beautiful. But are these two identical? The *Character* appears, he argues, "only in the most general lines which permeate the work like a spiritual skeleton." That is, the skeleton or the framework is the correlative of the characteristic. He writes:

"Let an artist have wrought a bronze eagle which fully expresses the generic conception of the eagle, and let him now desire to place it on the sceptre of a Zeus. Will it be suitable? No, it must have in addition what the artist imparted to the Zeus to make him a God. I see, interrupts the 'Characteristicker'; you are referring to the grand style of Greek art; but I only value it in as far as it is characteristic."

That is, whether it be Greek or Gothic, Art carries with it the significance which the artist breathes into it. To be Beautiful, Art must have both Form and Content, and there should be the agreement or synthesis of the two. This is of supreme importance.

Then Goethe proceeds to discuss whether Greek Art can be the highest possible, and says: "It satisfies a high demand; but not the highest." Why? What has happened to the Classicist Goethe? Goethe has laid his fingers on the weak spot in Classicism. For in Greek Art the *Idea*, rather than the *human feeling*, reigns supreme. So he argues:

"The generic conception leaves us cold, the ideal (of the Greek grand style) raises us above ourselves; but we want more; we want to return to a full enjoyment of the individual, without letting go either the significant or the sublime. This enigma can be solved only by beauty; it gives life and warmth to the scientific; and softens the significant and lofty; so that a beautiful work of art has gone through the whole cycle, and is again a sort of individual, which we are able to make our own."

This is a simple formula. Beauty transforms the characteristic and the ideal into an individual. The ideal or the sublime of the Greeks is only one facet of the Beautiful, much in the same manner as the Characteristic. Beauty arises out of the fusion of the two, a fusion of Classicism and Romanticism. It is because of this conception that Goethe did not bring his great work to a close after the third act of the second part, i.e., after the Helena Act. He had to continue it, for his thought has discovered a nobler synthesis. The fusion brings life and warmth to the formal art, while toning down

strength and roughness of the modern art. This fusion is purely dialectical. Goethe presents at the end of this dialogue a tabular statement of the qualities of artists and aesthetic percipients, and these are said to be the essential elements in the excellence of Art. Two mutually exclusive factors are to be fused to arrive at a synthesis known as the Beautiful. Thus the 'serious' and the 'playful' are both only one-sided mannerism, while 'style' represents their synthesis. 'Imitation' and 'fancy' are at the basis of 'artistic truth' which is a wider concept. 'Minute accuracy' and 'expressive sketchiness' make up 'finish'. 'Formal' or 'decorative art' is united with 'characterisation' in 'Beauty'. And the excellence of Art is based on the unity of Artistic Truth, Finish, and Beauty.

Till the advent of Goethe to the arena, the study of Aesthetic meant the acceptance of the data of aesthetic enjoyment as ultimate. And Goethe was one of the first to insist on the organic evolution of the arts. He was not satisfied with the discovery of the two principles, the Significant and the Characteristic, which respectively determine the Classic and the Romantic. Nor was he content with pointing out their synthesis in the dialectical process. He was more interested in the problem of the relationship between the human spirit and the Beautiful. Wherein does Nature come in this process? How and why does the spirit of man unravel itself in the artistic creations? In his conversations with Eckermann, he observes :

"Our spirit is a being of a nature quite indestructible, and its activity continues from eternity to eternity. It is like the sun, which seems to set only to our earthly eyes, but which, in reality, never sets, but shines on unceasingly".

This is an article of deep religious faith with Goethe. He set the world of inner experience beside the larger cosmos revealed to us in perception. And he justifies the popular identification of the Divine with the best that we know or can conceive :

"Im Innern ist ein Universum auch,  
Daher der Völker loblicher Gebrauch,  
Dass jeglicher das Beste was er kennt,  
Er Gott, ja seinen Gott, benennt".

And yet the world of sense and the world of understanding have to be resolved into a unity. Goethe felt that the dualism inherent in Kant can be bridged only by a proper understanding of the principle of Nature, a principle which had the unique distinction of being misunderstood and misinterpreted by Hegel and the post-Hegelian philosophers of all systems of thought.

Speaking of Schiller's relation to Kant, Goethe wrote towards the end of his long life :

"How curious it was appeared fully when my connection with Schiller became animated. Our conversation dealt entirely with our work or with our theory, usually both together ; he preached the gospel of freedom, I defended the rights of Nature from curtailment. Out of good will to me, perhaps, rather than from conviction, he refrained from treating the good mother (Nature) in the Aesthetic Letters with the unkind expressions which made the paper *Anmuth und Wurde* (1793) so odious to me. But I on my side *obstinately and perversely* extolled the advantages of the Greek mode of Poetry, and of that founded upon it or derived from it, and not only so, but asserted that manner to be exclusively right and desirable one he was forced to more precise reflection, and it was to this very dispute that we owe the treatise, *Über naive und sentimentale Dichtung* (1795-1796). The two modes of poetry (i.e., the naive and the sentimental), he concluded, were to be co-ordinate and acknowledge each other's claims.

"By this he laid the first foundation of the whole new development of Aesthetic ; for 'Hellenic' and 'Romantic,' and any other synonyms that may have been invented, are all derivable from that discussion, in which the original question had concerned the predominance of real, or of ideal treatment".  
—*Einwirkung d. neueren Philosophie.*

This passage reveals the gradual process through which these two friends transcended the dualism between Classicism and Romanticism, between sense and understanding. Nature opened the new vistas and gave the principle of Imagination to Goethe and that of Play to Schiller. And Goethe could then arrive at the truth that

"No evil can touch him who looks on human beauty; he feels himself at one with himself and with the world."

The Beautiful is the meeting place of the Individual and the Universal. This new approach to the world of Beauty, this comprehensive understanding and interpretation of the Beautiful has been achieved by Goethe, who, in the words of Bernays, has "liberated the century." This Beauty can be realised by the true self of man, the true self which itself has "to be made and won, to be held together with pains and labour, not something given to be enjoyed." As Faust declares a few moments before his passing away,

"Nur der verdient sich Freiheit wie das Leben,  
Der täglich sie erobern muss."  
("He only earns his freedom and existence,  
Who daily conquers them anew.")\*

\* A paper read at the Goethe Bicentenary celebrations held in the University of Saugar, on 28th August, 1949.







# Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

## ENGLISH

**FALL OF THE MUGHAL EMPIRE**—Vol. IV (1789-1803): By Sir Jadunath Sarkar. Published by M. C. Sarkar and Sons Ltd. Pp. 355. Price Rs. 10.

Sir Jadunath Sarkar began his study of the Mughal Empire in 1901 with his *India of Aurangzeb*. With the publication of Vol. IV of the *Fall of the Mughal Empire* this long survey of India's history from about the middle of the seventeenth century to the beginning of the nineteenth has been completed.

We can form some idea of the magnitude of scholarship involved in this volume from the section on sources at the end. We feel, as we proceed from one section to another, how history becomes an art by a harmonious ordering of its parts. The past was full of passions long cold and dead. Sir Jadunath Sarkar writes with a warmth which enables us to understand and realise them—Mahadji Sindhia's financial distress, Tukoji Holkar's cantankerous opposition, Nana Fadnis's double-dealing, Ismail Beg's dare-devil bravery, Daulat Rao Sindhia's self-indulgence and indecision, Jaswant Rao Holkar's relentless revengefulness and ambition, Baji Rao II's cruelty and folly, Raghuji Bhonsle's jealousy and selfishness, Perron's duplicity and treachery and Shah Alam II's avarice and other vices. We knew in a confused way that "while all was struggling against all the Briton rushed in and was enabled to subdue them all." This impression of rottenness all round becomes vivid, concrete and complete.

The last volume of the *Fall of the Mughal Empire* is really the history of the downfall of the Marathas. They were then the dominant Indian power. Shah Alam II was one of the most pitiful of the pitiful *rois fainéants* in history. The discords of the royal family, "breeding with the fecundity of rabbits"—Shah Alam II had 70 children and 500 women in his harem—are naturally of no interest to the historian. But the volume gives us the criss-cross of personal rivalry and political antagonism among the Maratha chiefs because history was undoubtedly influenced thereby. Rajput opposition to Maratha ascendancy in Northern India failed completely in the battlefields of Patan and Merta. The death-ride of the saffron-clad Rajput desperadoes was in vain. The historian takes care to point out that in the truly military sense the British victories at Aligarh and Delhi in 1803 were not more glorious than those gained by De Boigne for Mahadji Sindhia in 1788-90. But these Maratha victories resulted merely in military occupation for a short period whereas British victories resulted in the establishment of British sovereignty. The causes of this difference in

their political effects are analysed very convincingly. The causes of Rajput decadence are also analysed—the degradation of Rajput chivalry, baronial anarchy in Mewar and domestic discords in Marwar, relieved only by the futile heroism and devotion of Dumraj and some others. About the part played by the Charans in Rajput history we find the following estimate: "The Charans whose poetry used to throw Tod into ecstacy only helped to ruin the Rajput kings and nobles by inflaming their pride of family and clan and antipathy to other races in Hindustan and even other Rajput clans than their own. These false bardic poems blinded their Rajas and common people alike to the true lessons of history."

Sindhia-Holkar quarrel which Nana Fadnis deliberately kept open, was decided finally in favour of Mahadji Sindhia in the battle-field of Lakheri. The victory was hard-won and the detailed narrative enables us to understand how civil wars drained away all the life and energy of the Maratha power. Mahadji Sindhia's personality and achievements very much impress the reader and the historian's conclusion that "on 12th February, 1794 in the ashes of his funeral pyre outside Puna perished also the hope of a Maratha empire in Hindustan" is certainly much more convincing than the assertion of the British Resident that "with the death of Nana Farnavis departed all the wisdom and moderation of the Maratha government." The next batch of Maratha leaders spent their energies in fighting each other. The Widows' War and the battle of Seondha between Daulat Rao Sindhia and Lakhwa Dada, the battles of Newri and Satwas, Ujjain and Indore between Daulat Rao and Jaswant Rao Holkar, the battles of Baramati and Hadaspur between Jaswant Rao and Baji Rao II are described vividly with a wealth of topographical and personal details. A picture is drawn first of the lampless desolation in Malwa and then of the ruin even of the Maratha homeland. The loss of national liberty was the last fruit of civil war. Chapters 48, 49, 50 deal with the second Anglo-Maratha War. Here we get added depth and substance to the understanding of Maratha history in its last phase. Daulat Rao Sindhia, after his fatuous delays began the conflict when British preparations for the destruction of the Marathas were complete. In the words of the historian, "he was like a moth that buzzes round a candle and at last blindly rushes into the flame only to destroy itself." The helpless campoo or regular forces of Daulat Rao betrayed and abandoned by the French Commanders were unable to improvise a general staff that could guide the defence of Aligarh and lead the battles of Patparganj and Laswari. Ambaji's disgraceful leadership is contrasted with the

inspiring leadership of Lake who left the quivering body of his wounded son to mount his charger and lead his infantry to the charge. In connection with the battle of Laswari English despatches are silent about the part played by the Jat and Alwar troops in giving *coup de grace* to Ambaji's force. It is pointed out that the Marathi letters admit this and this is also mentioned in two contemporary Persian letters written by Hindu clerks to be found in the British Museum. The battle of Assaye is described in all its stages and much new light is thrown from Marathi and Persian sources. As he himself puts it, "The historian can now visit both the rival camps." Treachery, lukewarmness, irresolution and half measures in the Indian camp are described very fully for the first time. The historian concludes: "Wellington with his fiery steeds did not clash against the myriads at Assaye but only against a small section of the bloated Maratha Army; in the actual clash of arms only five battalions of Sindhia stood up against the English."

In the last chapter the historian of the Mughal Empire compares the old order and the new and analyses the role of England as the unconscious tool of history in bringing about a social revolution.

N. K. SINHA

**EDICTS OF ASOKA** (Priyadarsin): *Translated into English by G. Srinivasa Murthi and A. N. Krishna Aiyangar. Published by The Adyar Library, Madras. 1950. Pp. 147.*

The title of the present work is slightly inaccurate, as it presents the text (with English transliteration) and its English translation (with a Sanskrit *chhaya*) regularly arranged on the left and right sides of each page. The object of the authors, as stated in the Foreword, is "to present a popular edition of the edicts of the Great Emperor and to give the precepts contained therein the widest publicity possible." This is laudable enough. One cannot, however, but regret the liberties which the authors have occasionally taken even with well-established readings of the texts and their translations. We quote below a few examples, putting the text with the Sanskrit rendering and the English translation side by side.—*alopitam, ajnapitam*, ordered (R.E.VI); *nikhamitha sambodhi, nirakramit sambuddhah*, 'became well-enlightened in wisdom' (R. E. VIII), *Lummini-game kate athabhagiye, Rukmini-gramah krito'shtabhagi*, the village Rukmini was assigned 'the right to enjoy the eighth share due to the Crown' (Rummindei PE), *Kota-visavesu, Koshthavishayeshu*, 'to garrisons' (Sarnath PE). On page 104, *vadhiya* is left out after *dharmma-vadhiya*. The paper, print and get-up are satisfactory.

U. N. GHOSAL

**THE SECRETS OF THE HEART**: *Selected works by Kahlil Gibran. Translated from the Arabic by A. R. Ferris and edited by M. L. Wolf. Jaico Publishing House, New York and Bombay. 1947. Price Rs. 9-12.*

Kahlil Gibran (1883-1931), the Arabic poet, is an original mind and he is appreciated by lovers of poetry for his blend of simplicity with magnificence. He is not a mere poet, but there is in him a streak of prophecy as well. There is no doubt about the sincerity of the writer, even when he condemns civilization as a "symmetrical monstrosity erected upon the perpetual misery of human kinds." Can we not respond to his sentiment even in the immediate context of our

circumstances when he says: "The West is not higher than the East, nor is the West lower than the East, and the difference that stands between the two is not greater than the difference between the tiger and the lion?"

The first essay, the *Tempest*, had been well-selected for its place. It strikes the key-note of the whole. *The Day of My Birth* is a poem which deserves more than a passing notice. The passion and the vision make their impression felt in spite of the moderation which the author carries with him.

It is not nationalism, nor our present-day civilization which the poet extols, but something higher, something which has more of life. The book will find a sympathetic response in every thoughtful mind that may be untrammelled by tradition.

P. R. SEN

**INDIA—1915-1950—ALL THROUGH THE GANDHI ERA**: *Reminiscences by A. S. Iyengar. Published by Hind Kitabs, Bombay. Pp. 327. Price Rs. 4-12.*

It is a pleasantly-written book of reminiscences of the India that spurted on to a new struggle for freedom from British control with the emergence of Gandhiji as the leader.

Associated with Reuters and Associated Press News agencies, the writer, stationed at Simla and Delhi, had opportunities to watch personalities, Indian and British, who have moulded India's destiny during the last 35 years. And the things told here but make our curiosity keener to have a fuller inside view of this period, assured as we are that he has an almost inexhaustible knowledge of these epoch-making events.

In this hope, we look forward to his interpreting the cause or causes that had induced Lord Wavell to accommodate Muslim League representatives in the "Interim" Government formed in September, 1946. This is an omission that detracts from the praises showered on Lord Wavell by the author. As Principal Information Officer of the Central Government during the last period of British rule we expect of him many such reminiscences.

S. C. DEB

**ECONOMIC GEOGRAPHY**: *By W. S. Thatcher, M.A. Published by the English Universities Press Limited, St. Paul's House, Warwick Square, London. Price 6 shillings net.*

It is an excellent book on economic geography and forms one of the five books in a series entitled *Teach Yourself Geography*. For those who are conversant with standard publications, the delineation of the subject in the present volume would seem to be a departure. But it must be said that the method followed in the book to serve as a students' guide for their study of the subject is to be unequivocally commended for acceptance. It will encourage inquisitiveness in students for fuller knowledge and hunt for other publications from which he can collect the information he desires. And very intelligently a list of original publications has been appended at the end of the chapter where found necessary. The students who will read the book for acquisition of facts and will look for suggestive notes within its pages will be disappointed. He has to do with a lot of thinking and research work to complete his study of the subject. In many places, just to help the students, "there is no argument but only a series of *obiter dicta*—hints have been thrown out for proper use." A dispassionate study

of the book gives one the idea that it "leads to the top of the mountain whence they could get that view, rather than just give them a series of peeps at individual parts of the landscape." We commend this book to the students for careful study which will afford them a sound foundation whereon he can build up the superstructure of their knowledge of a subject, so vital to all who intensely feel for the economic welfare of their country.

KALI CHARAN GHOSH

**COTTAGE INDUSTRIES AND THEIR ROLE IN NATIONAL ECONOMY:** By Prof. R. V. Rao, Ph.D. Published by Messrs Vora and Co. Publishers Ltd., 3, Round Building, Bombay 2. Pages 98. Price Re. 1-8.

The author of this book gave four talks from the Nizam's Broadcasting Station at Hyderabad (Deccan) in 1943 on the subject of cottage industries and these pages are the outcome of those talks, and later additions were made in the subsequent two editions. There are two opinions as regards the proper place cottage industries occupy in our national economy but the real problem is how to fit in these in an industrial sphere. Some large-scale industries are not only necessary but unavoidable in the present-day world economy. The author in seven chapters and four Appendices have discussed the problem from various points of view and have come to the conclusion that Gandhiji's solution of our economic problems is the best suited for India of the present times. According to the author, Gandhian Plan of Economic Development should be the New Economic Policy for Free India. It will solve unemployment, infuse new life into our villages and create a New India of Mahatmaji's dream. In this connection the author has cited the examples and experiments of All-India Village Industries Association and work of the Nizam's government and expressed hope that given a fair chance and real encouragement by the State, prospects of success for the cottage industries are bright. He also supports the idea by arguments as a modern economist.

#### BENGALI

**KHANDITA BANGLA:** By Dinendra Kumar Mitra, M.Sc. Published by Bhattacharyya Gupta and Co. Ltd., 1-B, Russa Road, Calcutta 25. Pages 211. Price Rs. 2-12.

*Khandita Bangla* or Bengal Divided is the record of the author's feelings after the partition of this province on the 15th August 1947. The entire book was written between 15th August and 15th December, 1947, when the disturbances and unhappy situation created by the division of India were at its worst. Best sentiments have been recorded for the Bengali as a race, pioneer of modernism in India and martyr for India's freedom. This is no book on history but the entire material for sentiments is based on historical records of the last one hundred years. This is a book which will inspire the young.

A. B. DUTTA

#### SANSKRIT

**NYAYAVATARAVARTIKAVRITTI OF SANTISURIN:** Singhi Jain Series No. 20. Edited by Pandit Dalasukha Malavaniya, Singhi Jain Sastra Siksapitha. Bharatiya Vidyabhavan, Bombay. Price Rs. 16-8.

The volume contains editions of the texts of the Nyayavatara of Siddhasena Divakara along with the

Vartika and the Vartikavritti thereon by Santisurin. The text of the Nyayavatara is primarily based on Pandit Sukhalalji's edition published in the Jain *Sahitya Samsodhaka* (III, 1). Occasional help has been received from Siddharsi's commentary on the work. The editions of the Vartika and the Vritti are the results of the collation of a number of manuscripts. The text portion is followed by notes in Hindi which incidentally contain much valuable information gleaned from the wide range of Indian philosophical literature. There are thirteen appendices, the first of which compares the text of the Nyavatara with Brahmanical and Buddhistic works on epistemology citing parallel passages from different works. The learned introduction in Hindi covering 150 pages gives an exhaustive account of the development of Jain philosophy. The Agama era receives here a comprehensive treatment. There is also a section on Jain philosophy after the Agamas which presents a well-connected history of the contributions of Umasvati, Kundakunda, Siddhasena and Santisurin.

The volume as a whole reminds one of the learned editions of Jain philosophical works by Pandit Sukhalalji under whom the present editor received his training and it is a matter for gratification that the former has found an able lieutenant in the latter in the propagation of Jain philosophy.

ANANTALAL THAKUR

#### HINDI

**TARON KE GITA:** By Mahendra Bhatnagar. Published by Gayaprasada and Sons, Agra, U. P. Pp. 39. Price Re. 1-3.

A collection of twenty-one songs, in a variety of verse-forms, inspired by the beauty and beatitude of the stars, those vigilant watchmen and ever-burning bright lanterns in the night. They are full of fantasy, touched with philosophy of life and feeling, fringed with felicity. The price is, however, unusually high.

G. M.

#### GUJARATI

(1) **SHREE NETRAMANIBHAINE:** By Kaka Kalelkar. 1947. Pp. 101. Paper-cover. Price fourteen annas.

(2) **MANDIR PRAVESH ANE SHASTRO:** By Chandra Shanker P. Shukla. 1947. Pp. 349. Paper-cover. Price Rs. 3.

(3) **KHADI VIDYA PRAVESHKA:** By M. P. Desai. 1948. Pp. 186. Paper-cover. Price Re. 1-4.

No. 1 and No. 2 published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir and No. 3 by Navjivan Karyalaya, Ahmedabad.

In letters to Netra Manibhai, Kaka Kalelkar is at his best in comforting the addressee. He is chatty and guileless. They are so couched, that one feels as if one was talking with Kaka Kalelkar himself—the *summum bonum* of the art of Letter-writing. In the second book Mr. Shukla has laboriously collected all the religious texts and other opinions for and against Temple Entry by Harijans, and produced a scholarly and comprehensive work. The third book is the third edition of Mr. Desai's book, first published in 1940. During the last eight years, the technique of Khadi production has undergone useful changes; they are all embodied in this the latest edition and are calculated to help the worker greatly.

K. M. J.





# INDIAN PERIODICALS



## The Problem of the Refugees

Mehr Chand Khanna, Rehabilitation Adviser to the Government of India, writes in *The Indian Review* :

Frequently, I am asked by friends anxious to follow the progress of rehabilitation: "How much of the problem has been solved? How much remains?"

An answer to these questions is not easy to give. One thing may, however, be borne in mind. The losses suffered by the displaced persons now living in our midst, in terms of broken homes, of relatives lost and killed, of properties abandoned and looted, and of manifold other kinds of sufferings, will for all time defy measurement. They can never be made good—never, even if the Government of India were the richest Government on earth—which it is not.

With the best will in the world, therefore, Government can only undertake repair work.

If the will to solve this problem and the sincerity of effort behind it were the sole factors required for success, the problem would long ago have been resolved. Unfortunately for all of us, this is not so. Like any large-scale repair work, this one has had its attendant vexations, delays, mistakes, even blunders. To some extent, these have been inevitable. Inexperience in handling such a colossal job must claim its toll.

What has been Government's record any way?

### UNFLINCHING WELCOME TO REFUGEES

It is wellknown how, when refugees from Pakistan rolled into India by the hundred thousand, day after day, the Government of India, unflinchingly, "took on" every one who did not have a relative or a friend to go to, fed him, clothed him, and looked after his other primary needs—and did this for months on end. There were days in 1948 when Government were thus maintaining free of charge nearly a million individuals living in 200 refugee camps which dotted the whole country. Even now, the Government of India have accepted unlimited responsibility in regard to those who are coming from East Pakistan.

The Centre bears practically the *entire* expenditure on evacuation, reception, relief and rehabilitation of the displaced persons—from West or from East Pakistan. Already, a sum of Rs. 25,00,00,000 has been spent on evacuation and relief up to March, 1950. We have by no means seen the end of this totally unproductive expenditure. For instance, for migrants from East Pakistan alone, in the current financial year, to begin with, a sum of Rs. 2,00,00,000 has been earmarked for expenditure on evacuation, reception and relief. This brings the total expenditure on these heads to about Rs. 27,00,00,000. This is quite apart from the vast sums that have been spent and continue to be spent on rehabilitation.

### WHAT "REHABILITATION" MEANS

Now, about rehabilitation. How much of the problem has been solved? A straight answer to this question cannot be given. As I have stated above, "rehabilitation" in its true sense is difficult to achieve. Government can at best build houses for those without shelter, explore avenues of gainful employment; place financial wherewithal at the disposal of displaced traders, businessmen and industrialists; render financial assistance to displaced lawyers, doctors, and teachers to make a new start in life; assist students to continue their studies; look after unattached women and children and the aged and the infirm amongst the displaced persons, provide land and other facilities to agriculturists; and arrange for the maintenance of those unattached old who depended solely on income from property in Pakistan and who are not able to maintain themselves because of old age, illness or infirmity. All this is being done—to the limit of the Government of India's capacity.

From East Pakistan, the exodus of refugees still continues. Over 3,700,000 of them have already come from there since Partition. Obviously in such conditions, there cannot be a "Master plan" for their rehabilitation. The problem has necessarily to be dealt with piecemeal and rehabilitation schemes devised for blocks of displaced persons as they arrive. The Government of India is committed to go to the utmost length in rehabilitating them, and neither effort nor money will be spared in doing so.

The case of displaced persons from West Pakistan is different. Mass migration ceased long ago, although a small trickle continues from Sind. Movement within the country has, to a large extent, ceased. Comparatively speaking, it has been easy to plan for their rehabilitation.

### NINE MILLION REFUGEES

Taking the country as a whole, we have now on our hands about nine million refugees. This is equivalent to three-fourths of the entire population of Canada. It requires little imagination to visualize what would happen in a situation in which three-fourths of the entire population of Canada had to be physically uprooted and rehabilitated elsewhere!

### RURAL REHABILITATION IS EASIER

Rural rehabilitation has been easier than urban. Evacuee land was available in the Punjab, Pepsu and other places in India and displaced persons are being resettled on this land and provided with financial assistance and other facilities to make a new start in life. The quasi-permanent allotment of land in Punjab and Pepsu has been completed. Nearly 4,735,000 acres or 2,500,000 "standard acres" of land have been allotted to approximately 500,000 claimants. This quasi-permanent allotment has been a vast operation, which required something like 15,000 *patwaris* hard at work for several months to complete the job.

Displaced agriculturists have also been settled on land in Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Madhya-bharat, Saurashtra, Uttar Pradesh, Vindhya Pradesh, Bomray, Ajmer, Delhi and Himachal Pradesh. The number of displaced families settled on land in areas other than Punjab and Pepsu exceeded 44,300 as at the end of May 1950, involving more than 2,20,000 displaced persons.

As most of the displaced agriculturist families were without resources of any kind, Government have had to bear the expenditure of feeding them until their first crop is ready, give funds for the purchase of bullocks, seeds, implements and for constructing and repairing houses and wells attached to the lands on which they are resettled. Rehabilitation loans are also advanced to rural artisans and petty traders who form an integral part of rural economy in India.

Up to the end of April 1950, Rs. 5,37,00,000 had been disbursed by way of rural loans to displaced agriculturists in 19 different States.

#### WHY URBAN REHABILITATION IS DIFFICULT

A much more complicated affair, bristling with difficulties, is the rehabilitation of urban displaced persons. It is sometimes argued that the number of refugees who came into India from West Pakistan being approximately equal to the number of those who left India for West Pakistan, better planning could have secured more satisfactory results in this field. Those who argue thus overlook an important fact.

Speaking generally, the economic status of the population which came into India was radically different from that of the population which went out of India. The bulk of those who went out from here belonged to the lower middle classes and working classes. Those who came in were traders, shopkeepers, businessmen, industrialists and others who could not straightaway fit into the economic vacuum created by the outgoing Muslims.

Take, for instance, the case of the Hindus and Sikhs who came from the North-West Frontier Province in West Pakistan. They constituted a bare seven per cent of the total population of the Province before Partition: yet it was this seven per cent which paid about 80 per cent of the income tax in that Province before the country was divided. In other words, these men must have been in the forefront there in the services, in business and in industry. How can they, on their arrival in India, take up the petty vocations followed by the outgoing Muslims? Where were the palatial houses and the *mohallas* to which they were accustomed and which they had left behind in Pakistan? Here came the rub. The inevitable readjustment is taking place, but this, necessarily, will be a lengthy process.

#### SOLUTION OF LIVELIHOOD PROBLEM

What have the Government of India done for the displaced persons in the way of employment?

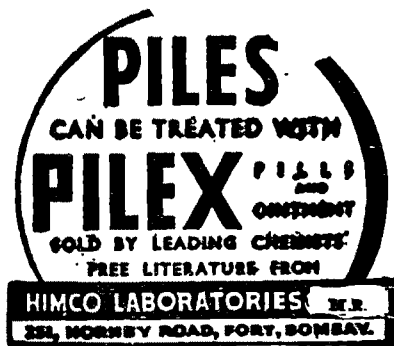
A four-point solution has been attempted: (1) finding employment in Government and private offices; (2) making large-scale arrangements for technical and vocational training; (3) constructing shops and markets and advancing small loans to serve as capital; and (4) providing financial and other assistance to middle and upper class businessmen and industrialists and men of professions who wish to begin life again.

Let us take these one by one. (1) Through the Transfer Bureau and the Special Employment Bureau set up shortly after Partition by the Government of India and through the Employment Exchanges, it has been possible to absorb nearly 1,41,000 displaced persons in Government and private jobs, ensuring livelihood to a displaced population of over 6,30,000.

(2) About 20,000 displaced persons have completed training and another 16,000 are undergoing training at the training centres run by the State Governments and the Director General of Resettlement and Employment, Ministry of Labour. In addition to these training centres, technical and vocational training is imparted also in work-cum-training centres, where training is combined with production. At eight training-cum-work centres run by the Central Ministry of Rehabilitation at Azadpur and Arab-ki-Serai in Delhi; Gandhi Nagar in Bhopal; Bhatinda, Patiala and Samana in Pepsu; Yol in Punjab and Rampur in U. P. 500 persons are engaged in production. Similarly in work centres run by States 4,000 persons are engaged in production. Training is altogether given in nearly 100 different vocations and trades.

(3) Various State Governments have allotted nearly 27,000 evacuee shops and constructed another 25,000 shops for displaced persons. A sum of Rs. 7,63,00,000 had been sanctioned up to April 1950 under the Small Loans Scheme to individuals and co-operative Societies for setting up small trades, re-engaging in professions or, in the case of students, continuing their studies. Under this scheme the maximum loan sanctioned is Rs. 5,000 to individuals but this limit does not apply to co-operatives.

(4) Loans above Rs. 5,000 and up to Rs. 50,000 in the case of individuals and up to Rs. 100,000 in the case of companies and co-operative societies are sanctioned by the Rehabilitation Finance Administration, specially set up by an Act of Parliament in 1948 to finance displaced businessmen and industrialists belonging to the middle and upper classes. The Administration had up to April 15, 1950 sanctioned applications of 3,750 such parties, the total sum sanctioned being Rs. 4,04,14,000. The average amount sanctioned works out to very nearly Rs. 11,000 per recipient. Through the loans sanctioned by it up to December 1949, the Administration claims that it has helped to rehabilitate, directly or indirectly, 1,12,000 displaced persons.



### HOUSING

A much more difficult problem is, of course, that of housing. Here, the Ministry of Rehabilitation has had to contend with serious limitations of finance and building materials.

Under a scheme of assisting State Governments with building materials, the Government of India have so far been able to allocate 132,000 tons of building materials comprising of 47,000 tons of steel, 76,000 tons of cement and 9,000 tons of A.C. sheets. Two and a half million feet of galvanised iron pipes have also been allocated. This material is valued at Rs. 4 crores.

Statisticians of the Ministry of Rehabilitation have estimated that, of the two and a half million urban displaced persons who are believed to have come from West Pakistan, more than two million, or 80 per cent, now live in roofed accommodation allotted by the Central and State Governments. This figure of two million is composed of 14.5 lakhs living in evacuee houses, 2.1 lakhs living in houses and tenements newly constructed by the Central and State Governments, and 3.41 lakhs living in barracks in camps, Government quarters, etc.

During 1950-51, the Rehabilitation Ministry has been able to earmark a sum of Rs. 9 crores for expenditure on the housing programme. This is much too inadequate to meet the needs of the situation. Hence, the Government of India have set about exploring means of attracting private capital to supplement their efforts. State Governments are being urged to negotiate with private firms, like banks and insurance companies, for the purpose of launching housing companies in which both Government and private capital will participate. One housing company has already been formed in Delhi and negotiations are in progress for setting up one in Bombay. It is estimated that through large-scale employment of private capital in this direction the output of new houses for displaced persons can be doubled or trebled.

### UNATTACHED WOMEN AND CHILDREN

Another responsibility of the Central Government is the maintenance of the aged and the infirm and the unattached women and children

amongst the displaced persons. Sixty thousand persons belonging to these categories are at present living in about 35 Homes and in a number of camps, infirmaries and training centres. The Centre at present bears, in full, the expenditure on their feeding, clothing sanitation and medical, educational and other facilities.

### AID TO STUDENTS TO CONTINUE TILL 1953

From the beginning of the refugee problem the education of displaced children has claimed the special attention of Government. Countless new schools have sprung up, in camps and outside, and extensions have been made to existing schools and colleges and other educational institutions. Financial assistance has been given and continues to be given to displaced students in need of it, both in India and abroad. Two hundred and fifty stipends have been

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sanctioned for training displaced girls in nursing and midwifery.

Recently, it was announced on behalf of the Government of India that financial assistance to displaced students will continue till March 31, 1953. For expenditure on education in 1950-51 a sum of Rs. 155 lakhs has been provided. (This is exclusive of Rs. 54.5 lakhs provided for technical and vocational training.)

#### "NEW" REFUGEES FROM EAST PAKISTAN

The number of refugees who have come from East Pakistan after the disturbances of early 1950, together with those who came earlier, is now in the neighbourhood of 3,700,000. A special allocation of Rs. 5 crores has been made for expenditure on relief and rehabilitation. Roughly 200,000 are living in camps. Rehabilitation schemes so far sanctioned will cost more than Rs. 152 lakhs. Many more schemes are under consideration. Refugees are being spread over to several States to facilitate rehabilitation work.

### The U. N. Flag at Seoul

*The New Review* observes :

The Korean War is entering its third phase. Phase One had been marked by a dismal series of retreats to a beachhead which some way or other could be defended. Phase Two had been establishing and holding the beachhead with all resources at hand. Phase Three was supposed to be the build-up preparatory to a break-out. It looked a desperate task; and the fight along the defence-box was turning into a war of attrition, which would be expensive, disheartening and endless. It was necessary to break this attrition deadlock and resume the war of movement; superior mobility and firepower would then give the U.N. armies the possibility of concentrating force on the enemy's weak points and wrench an early decision.

General MacArthur did it with bold vision and thorough efficiency and his masterly manoeuvre will be quoted as a classic of strategy. His diversion landings at Pohang, Yongdok, Kumsan and later at Samchok, and his bold amphibious operation at Inchon are modern answers to the ancient precepts of Sun Tzu, the Chinese strategist (500 B.C.) : 'The chief things in war are swift chariots and unexpected attacks upon an unprepared enemy by unexpected routes at undefended points'.

Another dictum of the classics is Napoleon's 'the whole secret of the art of war lies in making oneself master of the communications.' A wide manoeuvre round the rear obliges the enemy to fight in reverse, in disarray and depression. Often such operations are mere raids of a fleeting importance. The irruption at

Inchon and Seoul was a decisive stroke which the greatest generals of history could but rarely achieve.


It is well to note that the first direct objective of such moves is a mental rather than a physical objective: viz., the paralysis of the enemy command. For an army without methodical orders, without supplies, without co-ordination, rapidly becomes a panic-stricken mob, disorganised and powerless. As Clausewitz said, 'The independent will-power of the opponent is the least calculable and the most formidable of the factors with which a commander has to deal.' Foch said the equivalent in his own way: 'A general is never defeated till the moment he admits he is'. The offensive on the enemy's rear is meant first of all to shatter the will of the command and troops, and force them to admit they are defeated. The process may take some time to work and may be final only after a desperate last fight of the vanquished. In Korea the delay may be longer than usual, because the manoeuvre was far in the rear and immediate supplies reached the North Korean troops by roadless ways. The latest reports show signs of rapid disintegration and impending rout. We can only quietly watch for a modern version of Sun Tzu's advice: 'If you surround an army, leave one outlet.'

### The Failure of a Mediation

*The same Review* observes :

At Lake Success, Sir Owen Dixon submitted his report on his efforts at mediation between India and Pakistan. The mediator frankly confessed his total failure, and made suggestions which take the problem back to 1947. His report can be summarised in a few words. As the parties could not agree among themselves, I was commissioned to get them to agree; as I could not get them to agree, let them agree among themselves. The U.N.O. is directly concerned in the problem, but should not directly intervene. The best that can be done is to keep the cease-fire line as quiet as it is now, and to cut down the occupation troops on both sides. An all-Kashmir plebiscite is impossible; partition would be possible but the allocation of the Kashmir valley to either party is impossible.

The Indian and Pakistani Governments knew what was coming. Public opinion in Pakistan is dismayed and angry. Indian opinion takes comfort from one formidable admission of the mediator. Sir Owen Dixon admits in his report that the invasions of Kashmir by tribesmen in November 1947 and by Pakistan's regular troops in 1948 were in contravention of international law, which admission suggests that the U.N.O. should have declared Pakistan to be an aggressor and ordered withdrawal as in Korea. Both cases may not be on all fours, but India will rightly press her demand with renewed insistence.




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### Pioneer of Hindi in Bihar

"Plain Spoken" writes in *Behar Herald* :

On July 4, 1817, a meeting was held at Calcutta by some European and Bengali scholars with the object of preparing suitable text-books in various languages. It was decided to start, for this purpose an organisation known as Calcutta School Book Society with Raja Radha Kanta Deb as its Secretary.

Babu Tarini Charan Mitra and Mr. E. M. Montague were expert Hindi writers and they wrote a number of Hindi text-books for the benefit of Hindi Pathshalas. In particular, Tarini Charan's *Niti Katha* became very popular among Hindi students.

In 1837 Persian was abolished as the court language in Bengal. A storm of protest was raised everywhere against this decision. From Tirhoot, for example, came a lengthy petition signed by local Zemindars, Pleaders, Muktears and other Urduwallas pointing out the difficulties of Devnagri script and the advantages of Persian script. Probably this petition frightened the Government into restoring Persian in the courts of Bihar.

Forty years later, that is in 1877, Babu Bhudeb Chandra Mukerji came to Bankipore as Inspector of Schools for Patna, Bhagalpur and Tirhoot Division. [This date has been taken from *Prabasi* of Jaistha, 1356 B.S. But in the records of Baldev Palit School, Dinapur, I find an inspection note by Bhudev Babu, dated December 1, 1876. Evidently, then, he must have come to Bihar at least a month before January 1877]. It was he, who advised the Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Ashley Eden to introduce Hindi in Devanagari script in the law courts of Bihar. At the same time he worked hard and with success for the establishment of Hindi schools. He also arranged the translation of a fairly large number of Bengali books into Hindi and helped Hindi writers in publishing their works.

In a letter written from Bankipore in 1880 addressed to his friend Pandit Ramgati Nyayaratna (author of the first *History of Bengali Literature*) he said :

"In 1837 Persian ceased to be the court language in Bengal. It was after this that the cultivation and the enrichment of the Bengali language began. Don't you think that Hindi will make a similar progress in Bihar? I hope that what Bengal has achieved in 40 years will be done in Bihar in 15 or 16 years."

Bhudeb told as much to Sir Ashley Eden too.

When Hindi in Devanagari script was introduced in Bihar, the common people appreciated the benefits of this measure spontaneously.

Bhudeb sought to propagate Hindi not in Bihar alone but throughout India. Long before the Rashtrabhasha Prachar Samiti of Wardha (originally sponsored by Gandhiji) came into existence, Bhudeb advocated Hindi as the pan-Indian language. In this he was supported by his contemporaries like Keshub Chandra Sen (in *Sulabh Samachar*, 1874), Rajnarayan Bose (in his *Old Hindu's Hope*, 1879) and Kali Prasanna Kavyavisharad (in *Hitavadi*, 1901).

Bhudeb was in favour of Sanskritised Hindi. In his *Samajik Prabandha* (1892) he reasoned that a common dependence on Sanskrit vocabulary would keep the different Indian languages close to one another and facilitate the study and understanding of Hindi the common language of the nation. Bhudeb believed that the best means of achieving stable national unity was inter-provincial marriage and propagation of Hindi in all parts of the country.

Bhudeb's view in respect of Sanskritised Hindi has been upheld to-day by eminent linguists like Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Dr. Amarnath Jha and Dr. Bhagwan Das. The last-named scholar refers to the journal which the late Justice Sarada Charan Mitter used to bring out in Devnagari script for publishing articles in Hindi, Bengali, Marathi, Gujarati, Tamil, Telugu, Kannada and Malayalam; and he says, "I could understand almost all the Bengali, Gujarati, Marathi, and could also make guesses at the meanings of sentences in Telugu and Kannada, which are full of Sanskrit words". This, in the opinion of the learned writer, establishes the superior claim of Sanskritised form of Hindi over its other forms.

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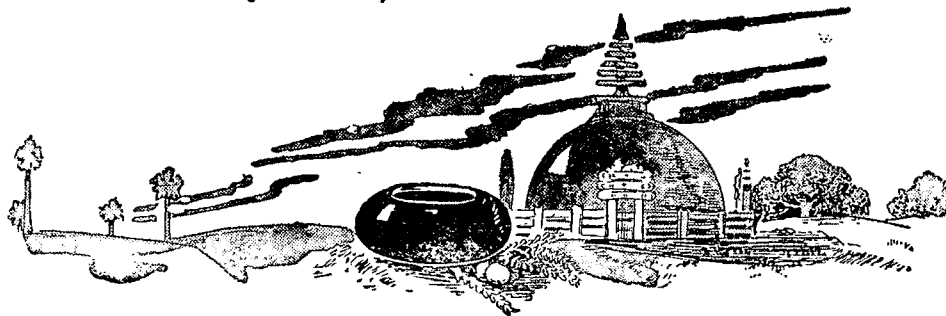
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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## The Industrial Applications of Atomic Energy

M. L. Oliphant, F.R.S., Professor of Physics, University of Birmingham, forecasts the following industrial applications of atomic energy in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, April, 1950 :

Any attempt to forecast the ways in which atomic energy will be applied for the good of mankind is as unreal as to prophesy the future of a five-years-old child. It is certain that the new source of power will be applied in ways which cannot now be envisaged. It is possible that a scientist who has spent his life in the study of nuclear physics and the unexpected and monstrous child to which it gave birth, after fifty years as a purely academic discipline, is as much entitled as anyone to guess how it will develop in the years ahead, but, as a parent of a "problem" child, he is as unlikely to guess correctly. Fortunately for me the blanket of secrecy which covers some aspects of development in this field has been pulled aside, by official declassification of information, by the reports and news releases of the United States Atomic Energy Commission, and by the indiscretions of American senators, sufficiently for a picture of the general lines of thinking and experimenting to be available.

### ARTIFICIALLY RADIOACTIVE SUBSTANCES

In the early days of public knowledge of atomic energy much was said and written about the great value of the radioactive by-products in medicine, agriculture, chemistry and other branches of scientific investigation. The advances in our knowledge of natural processes which can be gained in this way are very real, and scientists all over the world are using the materials made available through the American and British Atomic Energy projects. However, the total amount of radioactive material required to satisfy all needs is so trivial in relation to what can be produced, that it can provide no economic justification for the development of atomic energy. All the radioactive materials needed could be produced at a very small fraction of the cost by means of cyclotrons and other tools of nuclear physics; and their use in research was widespread and growing long before they were made available from atomic energy reactors. Probably scientists were apt to stress the importance of these substances because their consciences were uneasy after Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and they welcomed an aspect of atomic energy, the humane and intellectual implications of which would offset some of the horrors of atomic warfare. Official releases of information used the facts about them because they were non-secret and made a good story. These materials, which were available more than ten years before the realization of the release of atomic energy, cannot justify the development of the atomic bomb or the colossal sums spent on atomic energy. Justification must, and I believe will, come from applications of atomic energy of immensely greater economic and industrial significance.

### INDUSTRIAL POWER

The most obvious and the most important application of atomic energy which we can envisage at the moment is the production of industrial power. The tactical or strategic applications of atomic energy in warfare, some of which have received attention in the press, form no part of this lecture, for they are anything but economic and represent merely a diversion of effort from development of greater and more permanent human value. Accordingly, I shall not discuss such special problems as the use of atomic energy for the propulsion of submarines or for the acceleration away from the earth of the so-called "spaceships" with which some enthusiasts propose to develop luxury holiday traffic between the planets. I propose to confine myself to the possibility of generating, in large fixed reactors, industrial power which is distributed as electrical energy.

I want to emphasize that the users of industrial power in factory, office or home, will notice no difference whatever from their present use of electricity derived from water-power or coal. Atomic-energy reactors will merely replace the furnaces of power stations burning coal. The most noticeable difference at the generating station will be the absence of coal dumps, coal-handling equipment, coal waggons or barges, ash-disposal systems and smoking chimneys. The boilers and steam turbines, the electric generators and other equipment will remain, though the boilers and turbines might later be replaced by heat exchangers and gas turbines. Thus the successful application of atomic energy will pass almost unnoticed by most people except that there may be fewer interruptions of supply; restrictions on the use of electricity may be replaced by a positive urge to use it, and electric clocks will really tell the time.

It seems to me that all industrial power should be distributed as electrical energy, except for some special purposes where gas is essential, and that there is no excuse whatever for the use of solid fuel in the home. The average efficiency of domestic appliances burning coal does not approach the overall efficiency of generation and distribution of electric power, and there are important reasons why efficiency should not be the only criterion of choice. Anyone who has considered the dirt and grime created by the distribution of coal and its use in the home, the domestic drudgery it causes and the fog which it brings in winter, must agree that from the viewpoint of the housewife without domestic help, the all-electric house is essential, if she is to share the forty-hour week of her husband. Those who advocate the use of solid fuel in central-heating systems or in open fires are either well supplied with domestic servants or oblivious to the elementary rights of womenfolk.

The cost of coal for the generation of electricity is only part of the cost of electric power. Where industrial power costs one penny for a kilowatt hour, the coal will cost about one-third of a penny and the cost of generation and distribution will account

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for the other two-thirds. If the coal were free the cost of electric power would be reduced by less than 30 per cent. Distribution costs fall rapidly as the average load on a system increases. That is why electricity is cheaper in towns than it is in the country. Thus, the complete electrification of the country and the abolition of domestic heating by solid fuel would so increase the load factor on the distribution system that the cost of electricity would fall. If atomic fuel proves cheaper than coal, and we will see that this may well be the case, the price of electricity would be appreciably reduced still further.

#### WHAT IS ATOMIC ENERGY?

The name "atomic energy" is a misnomer. The energy obtained from burning coal or other fuel is more properly called atomic energy since it arises from the combination of the atoms of carbon and hydrogen in the fuel with atoms of oxygen in the air. This chemical energy results from the hooking together of atoms of carbon or hydrogen and atoms of oxygen, to produce carbon dioxide or water. The "hooks" or chemical bonds, arise from the interaction of the outermost electrons (negative charges of electricity), which form the relatively soft and tenuous "skin" of the atoms. The energy set free when coal is burnt is considerable, one pound of coal liberating 3-4 kilowatt-hours of heat which, by use of steam turbines in an electrical-generating station, will produce about 1 kilowatt-hour of electricity, i.e. one and one-third horse-power for an hour. Approximately two-thirds of the heat produced in burning coal in a power station is wasted, mainly to warm the water from the river or cooling tower, owing to the unfortunate inefficiency of the heat engines.

Heat energy is simply violent agitation of the atoms of which substances are made. These heat motions are random in direction and amount and can only be converted into organized motion, such as the rotation of machinery, i.e., into useful power, by means of heat engines. It is an immutable law of nature that the transformation of heat into useful power can be carried only by processes which waste the larger part of the heat energy.

The inner parts of atoms are the seat of forces far greater in magnitude than those associated with the outer "chemical" part. An atom is similar to a solar system, with a minute sun, or nucleus, at the centre, surrounded by satellite electrons. Approximately 100 million atoms placed side by side measure one inch and the nucleus of an atom is so small that one million million nuclei placed side by side are needed to measure one inch. Yet this nucleus contains all the positive electric charge and practically the whole of the mass of the atom. Despite its small size, physical science has gained, by indirect methods, a great deal of information about its properties and structure. The existence of the nucleus was discovered by Lord Rutherford when he held the Chair of Physics in Manchester, and its properties were unravelled by him and his collaborators in Manchester and Cambridge. In fact, nuclear physics, the study of this minute world, is a peculiarly British creation, and remained so until the successful release of nuclear energy and the colossal expenditure necessary to provide the equipment for research in this field, moved the centre of achievement to U.S.A. Those of us who worked in this fruitful field of human intellectual endeavour, harbour nostalgic feelings for

the days when it was of purely academic interest and work was stimulated by the knowledge of the structure of matter which it brought, rather than by the desire to make bigger and better atomic bombs or to provide the world with a new source of power.

We believe the nucleus to be built up from entities to which we give the name "elementary" or "fundamental" particles, because, at the present time, we are unable to demonstrate that they possess any sign of structure. This belief may be as mistaken as the idea of the Victorian scientist that atoms themselves were elementary particles which had existed as hard, round billiard balls ever since they were created. The elementary particles in the nucleus are protons, which carry a positive charge of electricity, and neutrons, which have no electric charge. The forces holding these particles together are very large indeed, many orders of magnitude greater than the forces holding together the atoms of ordinary matter. If the atoms in a spider web were held together as strongly as the component parts of the nucleus, a single thread would support a battleship. The number of protons present in a nucleus determines its positive electric charge and hence the number of electrons which must rotate about it in order that the atom, as a whole, may be electrically neutral. Thus the number of protons determines what the atom is—if one, the atom is hydrogen; if 8, oxygen; if 92, uranium. The number of neutrons varies, so that there may be several kinds of atoms of a given substance, called isotopes. For example, hydrogen has three isotopes, the nuclei of which contain one proton with 0, 1 or 2 neutrons, while uranium has two principle isotopes of mass 235 and 238 times the mass of elementary hydrogen, consisting of 92 protons with 143 or 146 neutrons.

The protons and neutrons in a nucleus may be altered in number by bombarding with energetic charged particles, which can penetrate inside against the repulsive forces due to the electric charge, or neutrons may be added with greater ease since these do not experience electrical repulsion. If the number of protons is changed, the atom transforms into some other substance, and modern methods of alchemy, using cyclotrons and other accelerators to produce atomic projectiles, enable us to change one substance into another at will, though not yet in commercial quantities.

Since the nuclear constituents are so tightly bound together, addition of particles to a nucleus leads, in general, to a release of energy corresponding to this binding force. The energy released for every atom undergoing a nuclear transformation is a million or more times greater than the energy released in chemical combination. Thus, if the nuclei of 4 atoms of hydrogen could be made to combine to produce the nucleus of a helium atom, the energy released by 1 lb. of hydrogen undergoing the reaction would be equivalent to 100 million kilowatt-hours, as compared with 3 or 4 kilowatt-hours produced by burning 1 lb. of coal. We shall return to this possibility later.

The element uranium is the heaviest and most complex of the substances existing in the earth. Elements with more than 92 protons in the nucleus are too unstable to have survived since the earth cooled down about 3,000 million years ago. When a neutron is captured by one of the two isotopes of uranium, the transformations which take place differ from



these occurring in other elements. The rarer isotope of mass 235 undergoes a process which is called fission, splitting into two large fragments which separate with great velocity, the energy released being about 10 million kilowatt-hours for 1 lb. of U235 undergoing fission.

The U235 atom, after absorption of a neutron, splits into two atoms of simpler structure and smaller mass, which separate with high velocity, their energy being dissipated as heat in the surrounding atoms with which they collide. In addition, several neutrons are set free, and if the surrounding material is also U235, these neutrons will be absorbed and will produce several fresh fissions. Thus it is clear that in a mass of U235 large enough to absorb the neutrons from a fission process taking place at the centre, a chain process can build up, and since the neutrons are moving with high velocity, the number of fission processes taking place multiplies with great rapidity. A mass of U235 in which this chain process will just take place is said to be of critical size, and the greater the extent to which the mass exceeds the critical size, the more rapid is the multiplication, so that if the critical size is exceeded appreciably an atomic explosion takes place. The critical mass for U235 is officially stated to be between 2 and 400 lb., and since it is a very dense substance this corresponds with a sphere of metal less than 12 inches in diameter. Since the neutrons released with high velocity in the fission process are absorbed directly, a nuclear chain reaction of this type is called a fast fission process.

#### ECONOMIC COST OF NUCLEAR POWER

It is not easy to estimate, as yet, the economic cost of nuclear power. The energy derived from 1 lb. of uranium, completely utilized in a breeder reactor, is equivalent to that produced by burning 1,500 tons of coal. The cost of uranium is about 1,000 times the cost of coal. This leaves a factor of about 3,000 to cover the cost of converting the uranium to a form suitable for use in a reactor and the greater cost of a nuclear reactor over a coal furnace. In the absence of precise data it is possible only to guess the ultimate answer. You will find that many British scientists and engineers of repute believe that the cost will always be too great for atomic energy to compete with coal as a source of power, and that the new form of energy is of purely military and scientific interest. I do not share this view. I feel confident that atomic energy has a very important part to play in the production of industrial power and that the cost will ultimately be found to be competitive with, and probably much less than, the cost of power from other sources. The time required to reach this stage of development is unlikely to be less than 10 to 15 years and clearly it depends on the relative efforts devoted to the military and industrial objectives. Uranium is more widespread in occurrence than was thought to be the case and, with the development of methods for extracting it from low-grade ores, there should be sufficient available to provide a great contribution to the power resources of the world if it is not used for the manufacture of military weapons.

#### HYDROGEN AS A NUCLEAR FUEL

Finally, we must consider the possibility that industrial power may one day be produced from

hydrogen. Long before the discovery of the fission process it was realized that under conditions of extremely high temperature and pressure, such as exist in the interior of the sun and stars, hydrogen nuclei, or protons, might combine together to give nuclei of heavier elements, and that because the component parts of heavier nuclei are very tightly bound together, sufficient energy would be released to maintain the temperature of the star. If it were possible to find a method by which heavier atoms could be synthesized from hydrogen at will and under controlled conditions, very large amounts of energy would be available. Thus, if four atoms of hydrogen condense to form an atom of helium, the energy set free is about five million times as great as that produced when an atom of carbon is burnt. In other words, 1 lb. of hydrogen transformed into helium would produce about 100 million kilowatt-hours of heat energy, or about 130 million horse-power for an hour. Thus hydrogen as nuclear fuel would be about 10 times as good, weight for weight, as uranium. There are possible ways in which an explosive reaction of this type can be produced by utilizing the very high temperature and pressures developed in the explosion of an atomic bomb, but so far there is no clue to a method for bringing about the reaction in a controllable way. However, it is interesting to speculate on the possibility that nuclear scientists may discover how to do this in the future.

There is enough hydrogen in the sea, if it were all converted into helium, to raise the temperature of the whole earth to at least 1 million degrees Centigrade, i.e., over one hundred times the temperature of the surface of the sun. Fortunately for us the possibility of bringing about such an explosion can be ruled out, if for no other reason than that if it were possible it would have happened in the past history of the earth. However, if we accept as the desirable power level for civilization that every individual should utilize, on the average, 1 kilowatt of power continuously, we can calculate that 3,000 million inhabitants of the earth could be supplied with power from the hydrogen of the sea for 1,000 million million years, or for about a million times the age of the earth itself. Thus, if this remote possibility is realized, mankind would have no need to look elsewhere than to the sea for all the power he can conceivably use in the lifetime of the solar system.

#### CONCLUSION

In conclusion I would emphasize that industrial power from uranium is on the doorstep and will almost certainly be used successfully, while power from hydrogen is only a remote possibility in the light of existing knowledge. In any case, the probability is small that any nuclear power will be available for useful purposes unless the problems of war can be solved, and that is a question for all mankind and not for the scientist alone. There is danger in all knowledge of nature. Scientific information can always yield guns as well as butter. It is a source of great regret to men of science that their work is made the basis of the indiscriminate destruction of man and his civilization, instead of contributing to the well-being of all.

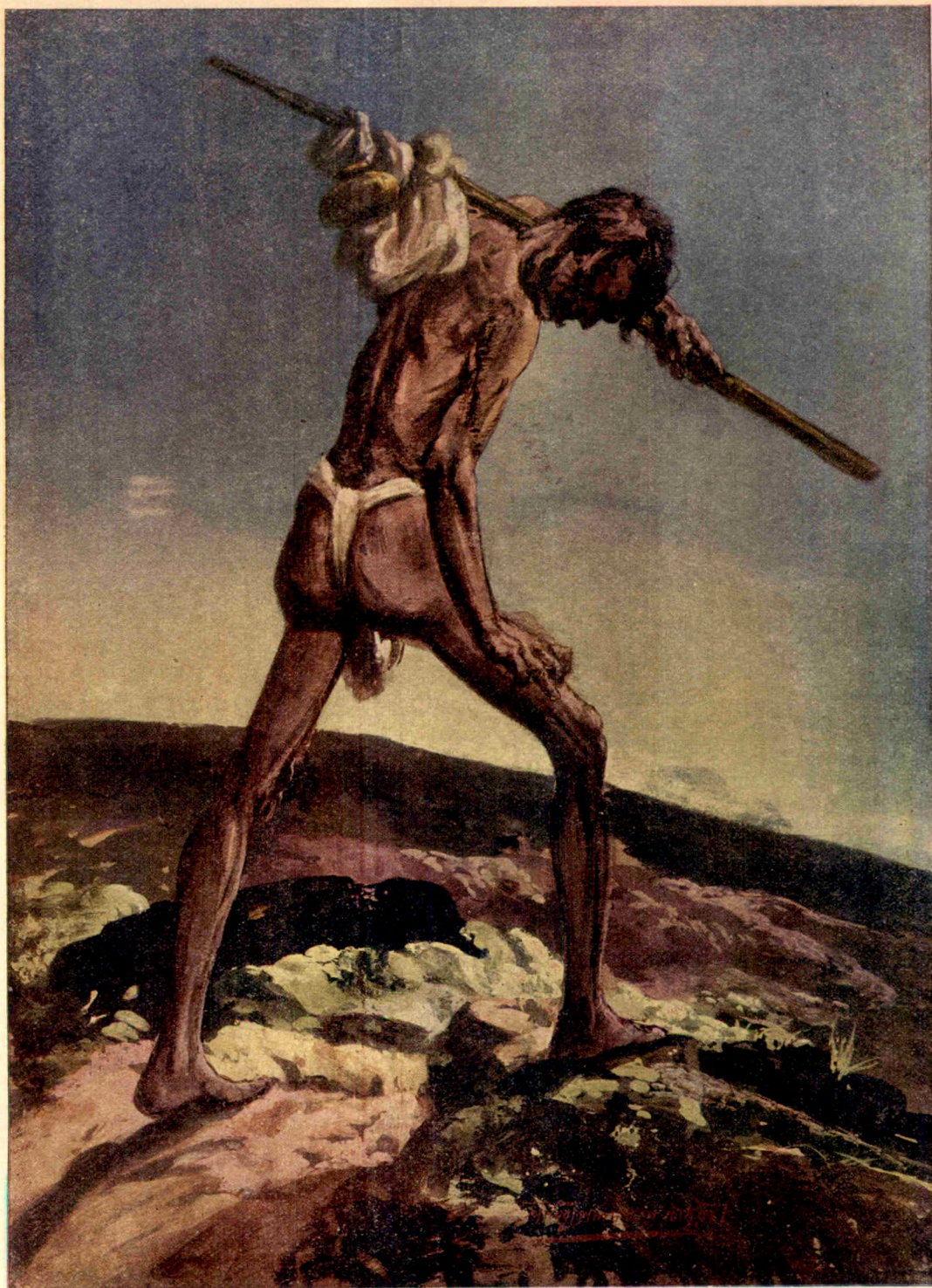


William Faulkner, U. S. novelist, has been awarded the  
1950 Nobel Prize for Literature



Dr. Philip S. Hench, head of the Mayo Clinic, Rochester,  
Minnesota, has been awarded the 1950 Nobel Prize for  
Medicine jointly with Dr. Kendall and Dr. Reichstein





Prabasi Press, Calcutta

HE HAS A LONG WAY TO GO  
By Deviprosad Roy Chowdhury



# THE MODERN REVIEW

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## NOTES

### *World Crisis*

Last year, in the editorials of the December issue, we expressed deep concern at the portents of a major crisis, at home and abroad.

Another year has passed. At home, we are even more deeply enmeshed in the toils of black-marketeers and disruptionists while our nationals are being bled white due to soaring prices and shortage of vital necessities. Abroad, in the Far East, we see the World facing the possibility of a conflagration of the magnitude of the last world-war, while nearer home, our northern frontiers are menaced by warlike disturbances that tend to jeopardise the integrity of our nation.

The time has come for the setting aside of all petty considerations and to look to the safety of our country. Our leaders must be called upon to stamp out all anti-social and disruptionist elements inside the land with a firm hand. The nation must be called upon to help the Government to put our house in order.

Realism must enter our Foreign policy. Prime Minister Nehru must declare openly that we have no designs on the independence of Nepal, and that our only desire is to see a stable and popular government enthroned there through the will of Nepal's own nationals. Further abroad our policy must become more coherent and more in keeping with hard realities. The Chinese gambit must be studied dispassionately and without any abstract inhibitions. We must make it clear to China that most reluctant as we are to disturb the millennium-old friendly relations between us, we must insist that this friendship be reciprocal.

Our President drew a very sombre picture in his opening address. It deserves deep and sober consideration by all true patriots. But he should have warned the administration that as yet they are falling short in their service to the common man.

### *The President's Address*

A summary is given below of the opening address of President Rajendra Prasad at the third session of the Parliament :

"Members of the Parliament,—We met here three and a half months ago at a special session of Parliament

to consider a crisis that had arisen in international affairs. That crisis led the United Nations to face aggression in Korea and, after many trials and difficulties, the forces of aggression were checked and thrust back. But recent developments have deepened that crisis and the world, hungering for peace, appears to stand perilously on the verge of war. In our own country we have had to face unparalleled calamities. A great earthquake and subsequent floods brought disaster to our north-eastern State of Assam. In many other states there were also mighty floods bringing destruction in their train; lack of rain in certain other areas ruined not only the present harvest but gravely affected the season to come. Thus we meet today at a moment of grave trial, both external and internal, and it will require all our wisdom, courage and restraint to face these perils and dangers and work for the good of our people and the peace of humanity.

"During these difficult months that have passed my Government have laboured consistently in the international sphere for the preservation of world peace and to prevent the extension of the Korean war. Peace is recognised by all to be the paramount need of humanity and yet fear drives nations in a direction which endangers peace. World peace can only be assured if the great nations of the world seek it and work for it; war may come even if one of them considers it unfavourable.

"My Government have been consistently following a policy of friendship with our great neighbour country, China. It was a matter of deep regret to us therefore, that the Chinese Government should have undertaken military operations in Tibet, when the way of peaceful negotiations was open to them. Tibet is not only a neighbour of India, but has had close cultural and other ties with her for ages past. India must, therefore, necessarily concern herself with what happens in Tibet and hope that autonomy of this peaceful country will be preserved.

"Recently, His Majesty the King of Nepal sought shelter with his family in our Embassy in Kathmandu, as certain differences had arisen between him and his Government and expressed a desire to come to India. His Majesty has now come to Delhi and we have wel-

comed him as our honoured guest. Nepal is a country with the closest relations with India and a treaty of friendship was signed between India and Nepal only a few months ago. *It has been and remains my Government's desire to respect the independence of, and to maintain friendly relations with Nepal and see her people achieve political and economic progress.*

"The recent natural calamities and disasters in our country have seriously affected the food situation. Ripening harvests have been destroyed by floods and in some cases even stores of foodgrains have been washed away. What is more disturbing is that even the coming harvest has been seriously affected by drought over wide areas. Notably in Bihar, where a calamity of such magnitude has not occurred in living memory. This has necessitated large imports of foodgrains from foreign countries. But, even so, we are likely to experience grave difficulties during the concluding weeks of this year. Private hoarding, in such circumstances, is a crime of the first magnitude. States which have some surplus foodstuffs must share them with other less fortunate areas. *All of us must avoid every kind of waste and try to help those in need.* The situation is grave. It does not help to minimise it; it helps still less to exaggerate it or to use the language of panic about it.

"To meet the situation arising out of the rise in prices, my Government have taken steps to control the supply and prices of eleven articles to liberalise imports, and to check anti-social practices. These steps can only succeed with the full co-operation of the people themselves.

"I regret to say that trade between India and Pakistan has largely been at a standstill because no decision has yet been reached about the par value of the Pakistan rupee. It was hoped that this question would be settled immediately after the recent meeting of the International Monetary Fund in Paris but its consideration was postponed. My Government have made a proposal to the Pakistan Government for the final decision of two of the major issues between India and Pakistan. They have suggested a tribunal of the highest standing to decide the issues of evacuee property and canal waters. I trust that this proposal will be accepted and thus two serious causes of conflict between the two countries will be removed.

"I am glad that as a result of the Indo-Pakistan Agreement of April 8, 1950, there has been a gradual improvement of conditions and a flow-back of migrants to their original homes.

"It has become even more necessary than before that we should apply our limited resources to the best advantage and that we should explore all avenues, which will help in developing the country. The problems that face us cannot be solved unless there is such development. The Planning Commission has been strenuously labouring, in co-operation with Ministries of the Central Government and the State Governments, to lay

down a preliminary plan as well as to prepare a plan for a longer term. It is hoped that the short-term plan will be placed before the country before long. Meanwhile, the three great river valley projects the Bhakra, Damodar and Hirakud are making substantial progress. Scientific research has also made considerable progress; and a number of new national laboratories have been opened.

"Progress has been made in the rehabilitation of displaced persons and some of the new townships, such as Faridabad, Nilokheri, Rajpura, Kandla and Fulia, have now taken shape and most of them are functioning.

"In regard to displaced persons from Eastern Pakistan, the position has been fluid because of movements of migrants in both directions. One million and one hundred thousand of such displaced persons have been settled under various schemes on land or in shops. There is still a camp population of 250,000, chiefly in West Bengal and also in Bihar, Orissa, Tripura and Assam. Steps are being taken to rehabilitate this camp population. Much remains to be done for the displaced persons from Eastern Pakistan.

"More accurate figures are available for the displaced persons from West Pakistan. These totalled about 5 millions. Of these 6,00,000 families, comprising about 3 million persons, were offered allotment of land with some help for equipment. Of these, 500,000 persons, who had secured allotment of land, preferred to live in towns. The displaced persons in towns thus came to about 2,500,000. Some of these showed enterprise and made their own arrangements. Government had to provide housing and gainful employment for others. In regard to housing, 2,070,000 have been given accommodation in evacuee houses, reconditioned barracks and in newly built houses. In addition, plots have been developed for private construction and houses are being built all over the country.

"In regard to providing gainful occupation, shops and business premises have been allotted to 54,000 persons and about 1,00,000 have been given assistance through loans or employment or vocational and technical training.

"My Government have been anxious to hold the General Elections for Parliament and the State Legislatures as early as possible in accordance with the new Constitution. These elections will be on a scale which has had no parallel in any country at any time and it is estimated that the electors will number over 170 millions. The preparation of electoral rolls and the delimitation of constituencies involve great labour both for the Central and State Government. Every effort has been made to complete all preparations so as to be able to hold the elections on April-May, 1951. It is important that a firm date should be fixed and adhered to, as changes at a later stage would be exceedingly embarrassing to all concerned. The present position is that Parliament has not yet finalised many matters connected with elections and progress has thus far been made on various assumptions which may or

may not be justified. This introduces an element of uncertainty. Some States have also informed us that it is not possible for them to be ready for elections by April-May, 1951. In Bihar the unprecedented deterioration of the food position has created formidable difficulties. My Government have carefully reviewed the situation in all its aspects and taken into consideration both official and non-official viewpoints. They have come to the conclusion that any date in April-May next will give rise to serious difficulties and cannot, in the circumstances, be considered a firm date. They have, therefore, decided to fix definitely the date for the General Elections in the second-half of November or early December, 1951.

### Nepal

On November 7, India was startled with the news that the King of Nepal, Tribhuban Bir Bikram Shah Dev accompanied by some members of his family had taken refuge in the Indian Embassy at Kathmandu. An official announcement from the External Affairs Ministry, after disclosing this news, said : "It is understood that His Majesty the King of Nepal is anxious to come to India for treatment and as the Government objected to this he sought the assistance of the Indian Ambassador." News also came that the second son of the Crown Prince, a three year old boy, was proclaimed King. The King had not abdicated. Mr. B. P. Koirala, the Nepali Congress leader, in a statement, said, "By this great act the King had placed himself on the side of the forces of freedom and denounced the present Government of Nepal as usurpers." Mr. Koirala indicated that the King was sympathetic towards the popular movement for democratisation of the Nepali Government.

Next day it was announced that the Government of India had decided to give asylum to the King and provide full facilities to him to come out to India as desired by him. This, it was explained by spokesman of the External Affairs Ministry, was in accordance with international convention. No objection to this had been raised by the Nepal Government. Suspension of the Calcutta-Kathmandu air service was announced on November 8.

On November 9, Sardar Patel, referring to Nepal, said, "In this country, our near neighbour, the Raja has sought sanctuary in the Indian Embassy. How could we refuse to give him refuge? We had to give it. Those who are wielding real power today in Nepal do not accept the Raja as the head of the State. They have installed the Raja's three-year-old grandson on the *gadi*. They want us to accept this position. How can we do so?" Sardar Patel did not elaborate on this point but emphasised that this "internal feud" in Nepal had laid India's northern frontier wide open to outside attack.

On November 10, news came that hundreds of thousands of leaflets in Nepali and Hindi were distributed throughout Nepal, including Kathmandu, on behalf of the Nepali Congress calling upon the people to rise in revolt against the present regime. The leaflets declared that

the struggle of the Nepali Congress had started for the liberation of Nepal from the shackles of the Ranas and for the establishment of a people's democratic government with King Tribhuban Bir Bikram Shah Dev as the constitutional head.

On November 11, armed forces of the Nepali Congress entered Birganj, second biggest town in Nepal and set up a parallel government. A number of casualties were reported on both sides. Nepal Congress forces were striking at nine different points into Nepal territory.

The King of Nepal arrived at New Delhi on November 11. He flew in an Indian Air Force Dakota. The Prime Minister of India received him at the airfield.

On November 12, suitable police measures were taken at Raxaul, Indo-Nepalese border town in Bihar, to prevent the Indian territory being used for armed operations against Nepal. Thirbhubon Malla, leader of Nepali Congress forces, who led the assault on Birganj, died on this day.

On November 13, the King of Nepal called on the President of India and met the Prime Minister. Denying the suggestion that India was "hand in glove with the insurrectionists in Nepal," authoritative quarters in New Delhi said that India had no desire to interfere in the internal troubles in Nepal. Nepali Congress forces were driving towards Kathmandu had captured the strategic railway terminus of Amlekhganj. Next day, Congress forces pushed beyond Amlekhganj.

On November 15, Government of India issued strict instructions to the Government of West Bengal, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh not to permit any movement of armed men, or of arms and ammunition in either directions across the Indo-Nepalese border.

On November 17, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Education Minister, said that the only way of resolving the "internal feud" in Nepal was the immediate introduction of both political and economic reforms there.

"Although we cannot interfere in the internal affairs of Nepal," he said, "we have to take cognisance of any discontent that arises there. Nepal is India's neighbour and any crisis there may give rise to forces that may endanger India's freedom. It is imperative, therefore, that the present Nepalese crisis should be resolved peacefully and without resort to arms."

"It is amazing," said the Education Minister, "that in the middle of the twentieth century naked autocracy should reign supreme in any part of the world. It is unthinkable and intolerable. There is not one Indian who today does not sympathise with the cause of the Nepalese people. Theirs is a just fight and we in India were fighting the same battle not long ago. Our sympathy is naturally, therefore, with the Nepalese people, many of whom made sacrifices in the cause of Indian freedom."

By November 18, there was a good deal of fighting in the Parwanipur area and the position of the Nepali Congress became uncertain.



### *After the Birganj Set-back*

While Birganj remained in Nepali Congress hands, the town was administered by a Provisional Government of the Nepali Congress. The emergency government was reported to be tightening its security measures. Scores of hastily equipped fighters were being rushed to Parwanipur bridge where decisive fighting was expected any moment. Nepali Congress volunteers, aided by hundreds of Kisan men and women, tried to consolidate their position before the proposed attack on besieged Bhairawa. The Congress forces tried to capture the state armours at Gaur, 30 miles East of Birganj but were repulsed by government troops with heavy casualties.

After a week of occupation by the Congress forces, Birganj passed back into the hands of the Government troops. While the defence at Birganj crumbled, there was spectacular success for Congress forces at Biratnagar. A key town, Haraicha, 10 miles north of Biratnagar was captured by the Congress. In the Central sector of Birganj Congress forces adopted guerilla tactics. Rajbiraj, headquarters of Saptari district in Eastern Nepal and Sarlahi, subdivisional headquarters of Mahotari, North of Jainagar in Darbhanga district, were captured. On November 21, Nepal Government posted sentries at Raxaul bridge linking Indian and Nepal territory to check unauthorised entry of persons. Vigilance of Indian Government authorities in this area also increased. Every person proceeding to and from Nepal were subjected to strict search. The Nepal-Jaynagar-Janakpur Railway service was discontinued under orders of the Nepal Government authorities. The last trains on this section, were run on November 16. Jaynagar is an important centre of Indo-Nepalese trade and the closing of the railway entailed a great loss.

On November 23, it was reported that the stage was being set for the second phase of the struggle of the Congress after their set-back at Birganj. On this day, the Nepalese Ambassador at New Delhi met the Prime Minister of India and handed over to him a sealed letter from the Prime Minister of Nepal. It was understood that the Nepalese Prime Minister had expressed a desire to discuss with the Government of India the Nepalese situation. It was also understood that the Nepalese Prime Minister was willing to discuss the question of political reforms in Nepal for which the nationalist elements in that state had been fighting. The Government of India's sympathy with the people's desire to be associated with the administration of the State were pronounced and they had made friendly suggestions in the past to the Nepalese Government that the State should proceed along democratic lines.

On November 24, it was reported that the Prime Minister of India told the Congress Working Committee that the King of Nepal enjoyed a wide measure of popularity with the masses of Nepal. Establishment of a popular democratic administration in Nepal with the King as its constitutional head was, according to him, the only solution of the present problem in that State.

Analysing the situation in Nepal following the flight of the king, Sri Nehru is understood to have emphasised that the installation of the three-year-old boy King could hardly provide any solution as it had no real support of the people. Sri Nehru mentioned the efforts made by the Nepalese Government to have the boy King recognised by India and other countries.

On November 26, it was reported that the Nepali Congress volunteers in Birganj sector had captured Tribeni on the Gandak in Butwal district, 30 miles North-East of Birganj.

On November 27, Senior Commanding General Kaiser Shumshere Jung Bahadur Rana, who holds the post equivalent to that of a Defence Minister in Nepal and the Director General of Foreign Affairs in Nepal, General Bijay Shumshere Jung arrived in Delhi for talks with the Government of India.

### *J. P. Narain on Nepal*

Sri J. P. Narain, the Socialist leader, speaking at New Delhi on Nepal said that before assuming office Sri Nehru was always very keen to help the democratic forces in their fight for freedom in every nook and corner of the world. He sent a medical mission to China and championed the cause of Republicans in Spain. How was it that now when he was the Prime Minister of India, he did not even extend a fair treatment to the democratic forces in Nepal?

It was a very puzzling state of affairs, said the Socialist leader, that the King of Nepal, instead of being a prisoner in Kathmandu, was now a virtual prisoner in New Delhi. While the Government of India did not recognise the three-year old king installed on the throne by the Rana, it also did not allow the King Vikram Shah to go and lead the democratic forces in Birganj after it had been liberated.

Sri Narain asserted that if at that moment, the King of Nepal had been allowed to go to Birganj, there would have been a lightning revolt inside the camp of Rana and democratic forces would have carried the day long ago. It was not too late even now, he said. The King of Nepal should be given a free hand to form a new Government and liquidate the reactionary Rana regime.

Newspaper reports, Sri Narain went on, said that the British Government was anxious to maintain the *status quo* in Nepal, because it was afraid that a democratic government in Nepal would not allow Gurkha soldiers to be used for spreading British imperialism. If India allowed her decision on this vital issue to be influenced by the opinion of the British Government it would, indeed, be extremely unfortunate, added the Socialist leader.

### *Tibet*

News from Tibet is as scarce as it is conflicting. On November 3 it was reported that the Dalai Lama accompanied by Regent Takta Rimpoche and the cabinet left Lhasa for an unknown destination. A PTI message

stated that the Regent had asked the Government of India to grant political asylum to the young Dalai Lama who wanted to come to India. Next day it was announced that the Tibetan administration had been taken over by the opposition group led by Sawong Lama, one of the seniormost monk officials in Lhasa. On November 5, Indian Mission in Tibet informed Indian Government that the Dalai Lama had not left Lhasa. Little reliance can thus be placed on news emanating from that land of mystery. Reports of the advances of Chinese Armed forces were also equally conflicting. The advance of the Red Chinese Army seem to have been halted due to winter conditions.

On November 10, a New Delhi message stated that the Tibetan Government had sent an appeal to the United Nations for intervention and aid in the situation created by the invasion of Tibet by the Chinese forces. The appeal was sent direct by Dalai Lama's Government on November 8. It had been known for some time that Tibet had approached India to sponsor the complaint against China in the Security Council but she was advised that she could lodge the appeal herself.

On November 12, Mr. Loy Henderson, U.S. Ambassador in India, made an important announcement at a Press Conference in Calcutta. He said that his government were still studying Tibetan developments and he considered that any "hasty" conclusion at this stage would be "unwise." He amplified his statement by saying that both with regard to Tibet and Nepal, a very wide responsibility rested with India. He stated, "My Government do not desire to do anything which may complicate matters for India." He also stated that Nepal had not approached the U.S.A. Government for any kind of help in this present crisis, nor had there been any request for arms and ammunition as had been aired in a section of the press. The Nepal Government had however informed the U.S. Government regarding enthronement of the new King. Regarding Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, Mr. Henderson said, "our historic past had been that we did recognise the suzerainty of China over Tibet."

On November 13, a Kalimpong message stated that the Chinese troops had entered Lhasa peacefully and hostilities had ceased and that the Tibetan National Assembly which had been in continuous session discussing the Chinese draft proposals about the future political status of Tibet, had finally accepted them. These proposals were believed to have stipulated that China would be responsible for Tibet's defence, communications and foreign affairs. They carried Peking's assurance that Tibet's internal administration would not be interfered with by China. According to *PTI* reports, official circles at New Delhi declined to give any credence to this news which was characterised as highly exaggerated. They quoted reports from the Indian Mission in Lhasa to say that conditions there had improved.

On November 20, Prime Minister of India stated in Parliament that map or no map, the MacMahon line was

the boundary between India and Tibet. He added that the Indian Government still stood by that line fixed by the Simla Convention of 1914. India would not allow any one to violate the boundary.

### *India-China Notes on Tibet*

The following is the full text of the diplomatic Notes exchanged between India and China over Tibet during the month of October :

"Government of India's note dated October 26, 1950, to the Foreign Minister of China.

"We have seen with great regret report in newspapers of an official statement made in Peking to the effect that "people's Army units have been ordered to advance into Tibet." We have received no intimation of this from your Ambassador here or from our Ambassador in Peking. We have been repeatedly assured of the desire of the Chinese Government to settle Tibetan problems by peaceful means and negotiations. In an interview which India's Ambassador had recently with the vice-Foreign Minister, the latter, while reiterating resolve of Chinese Government to "liberate" Tibet, had expressed continued desire to do so by peaceful means. We informed Chinese Government through our Ambassador of the decision of the Tibetan delegation to proceed to Peking immediately to start negotiations. This delegation actually left Delhi yesterday. In view of these facts the decision to order advance of China's troops into Tibet appears to us most surprising and regrettable.

"We realise that there has been delay in Tibetan delegation proceeding to Peking. This delay was caused, in the first instance, by inability to obtain visas for Hong Kong, for which the Delegation was in no way responsible. Subsequently, the Delegation came back to Delhi because of wish of the Chinese Government that preliminary negotiations should first be conducted in Delhi with the Chinese Ambassador. Owing to lack of knowledge on part of the Tibetan delegation of dealing with other countries, and the necessity of obtaining instructions from their Government, who in turn had to consult their assemblies, certain further delays took place. The Government of India do not believe that any foreign influences hostile to China have been responsible for the delay in the delegation's departure.

"Now that the invasion of Tibet has been ordered by Chinese Government, peaceful negotiations can hardly be synchronised with it, and there will naturally be fear on the part of Tibetans that negotiations will be under duress. In the present context of world events, the invasion by Chinese troops of Tibet cannot but be regarded as deplorable and, in the considered judgment of the Government of India, not in the interest of China or of peace. The Government of India can only express their deep regret that in spite of the friendly and disinterested advice repeatedly tendered by them, the Chinese Government should have decided to seek a solution of the prob-

blems of their relations with Tibet by force instead of by the slower and more enduring method of peaceful approach."

Reply from the Foreign Minister of China dated October 30, 1950 :

"The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China would like to make it clear that Tibet is an integral part of Chinese territory, and the problem of Tibet is entirely a domestic problem of China. The Chinese People's Liberation Army must enter Tibet, liberate the Tibetan people, and defend the frontiers of China. This is the resolved policy of the Central People's Government. The Central People's Government have repeatedly expressed the hope that the problem of Tibet may be solved by peaceful negotiations, and it welcomes, therefore, the delegation of the local authorities of Tibet to come to Peking at an early date to proceed with peaceful negotiations. Yet the Tibetan delegation under outside instigation, has intentionally delayed the date of its departure for Peking.

"The Central People's Government, however, has not abandoned its desire to proceed with peace negotiations.

"But regardless of whether the local authorities of Tibet wish to proceed with peace negotiations and whatever results may be achieved by negotiations, the problem of Tibet is a domestic problem of the People's Republic of China and no foreign interference shall be tolerated. In particular, the problem of Tibet and the problem of the participation of the People's Republic of China in the United Nations are two entirely unrelated problems. If these countries hostile to China attempt to utilize as any excuse the fact that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is exercising its sovereign rights in its territories of Tibet, and threaten to obstruct the participation of the People's Republic of China in the U.N.O., it is then but another demonstration of the unfriendly and hostile attitude of such countries towards China.

"Therefore, with regard to the viewpoint of the Government of India on what it regards as deplorable, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China cannot but consider it as having been affected by foreign influences hostile to China in Tibet and hence expresses its deep regret."

Government of India's note dated October 31, 1950, to the Foreign Minister of China :

"India's Ambassador in Peking has transmitted to the Government of India the note handed to him by the Vice-Foreign Minister of the People's Republic of China on 30th October. The Government of India have read with amazement the statement in the last paragraph of the Chinese Government's reply that the Government of India's representation to them was affected by foreign influence hostile to China, and categorically repudiate it. At no time has any foreign influence been brought to bear upon India in regard to Tibet. In this, as in other matters, the Government of India's policy has been entirely

independent and directed solely towards a peaceful settlement of international disputes and avoidance of anything calculated to increase the present deplorable tensions in the world.

"The Government of China are equally mistaken in thinking that the Tibetan delegation's departure to Peking was delayed by outside instigation. In their previous communications the Government of India have explained at some length the reasons why the Tibetan delegation could not proceed to Peking earlier. They are convinced that there has been no possibility of foreign instigation.

"It is with no desire to interfere or to gain any advantage that the Government of India have sought earnestly that a settlement of the Tibetan problem should be affected by peaceful negotiations, adjusting legitimate Tibetan claim to autonomy within the framework of Chinese suzerainty. Tibetan autonomy is a fact which, judging from reports that they have received from the Indian Ambassador in China and also from other sources, the Chinese Government were themselves willing to recognise and foster. The Government of India's repeated suggestions that Chinese suzerainty over Tibet and Tibetan autonomy should be reconciled by peaceful negotiation was not, as the Chinese Government seem to suggest, unwarranted interference in China's internal affairs but well-meant advice by a friendly Government which has a natural interest in the solution of problems concerning its neighbours by peaceful methods.

"Wedded as they are to ways of peace the Government of India had been gratified to learn that the Chinese Government were also desirous to effect a settlement in Tibet through peaceful negotiations. Because of this, the Government of India advised the Tibetan Government to send their delegation to Peking, and were glad that this advice was accepted. In the interchange of the communications which had been taking place between the Government of India and the Government of China, the former had received repeated assurances that a peaceful settlement was aimed at. In the circumstances, the surprise of the Government of India was all the greater when they learnt that military operations had been undertaken by the Chinese Government against a peaceful people. There has been no allegation that there has been any provocation on any resort to non-peaceful methods on the part of the Tibetans. Hence there is no justification whatever for such military operations against them. Such a step, involving an attempt to impose a decision by force could not possibly be reconciled with a peaceful settlement.

"In view of these developments the Government of India are no longer in a position to advise the Tibetan delegation to proceed to Peking, unless the Chinese Government think it fit to order their troops to halt their advance into Tibet and thus give a chance for peaceful negotiations.

"Every step that the Government of India have taken in recent months has been to check the drift to war all over the world. In doing so they have often been



misunderstood and criticised but they have adhered to their policy regardless of the displeasure of great nations. They cannot help thinking that the military operations by the Chinese Government against Tibet have greatly added to the tensions of the world and to the drift towards general war which they are sure the Government of China also wish to avoid.

"The Government of India have repeatedly made it clear that they have no political or territorial ambitions in Tibet and they do not seek any novel privileged position, for themselves or for their nationals in Tibet. At the same time they have pointed out that certain rights have grown out of usage and agreements which are natural between neighbours with close cultural and commercial relations. These relations have found expression in the presence of an agent of the Government of India in Lhasa, the existence of trade agencies at Gyantse and Yatung and the maintenance of post and telegraph offices at the trade route up to Gyantse. For the protection of this trade route a small military escort has been stationed at Gyantse for over 40 years. The Government of India are anxious that these establishments, which are to the mutual interest of India and Tibet, and do not detract in any way from Chinese suzerainty over Tibet, should continue. The personnel at the Lhasa Mission and the Agencies at Gyantse and Yatung have accordingly been instructed to stay at their posts.

"It has been the basic policy of the Government of India to work for friendly relations between India and China, both countries recognising each other's sovereignty, territorial integrity and mutual interests. Recent developments in Tibet have affected these friendly relations and the interest of peace all over the world; this the Government in India deeply regret. In conclusion, the Government of India can only express their earnest hope that the Chinese Government will still prefer the method of peaceful negotiations and settlement to a solution under duress and by force."

### *Text of Peking's Final Note on Tibet*

The New China News Agency has released the full text of the correspondence exchanged between India and China over Tibet. The final Note as declared by the Agency is as follows :

"On November 1, 1950, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People's Republic of China received from His Excellency Ambassador Panikkar a communication from the Government of the Republic of India on the problem of Tibet.

"The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, in its past communications with the Government of the Republic of India on the problem of Tibet, has repeatedly made it clear that Tibet is an integral part of Chinese territory and the problem of Tibet is entirely a domestic problem of China.

"The Chinese People's Liberation Army must enter Tibet, liberate the Tibetan people and defend the fron-

tiers of China. This is the first policy of the Chinese Government. According to the provisions of the common programme adopted by the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, the regional autonomy granted by the Chinese Government to national minorities inside the country is an autonomy within the confines of Chinese sovereignty.

"This point was recognised by the Indian Government in its Aide Memoire to the Chinese Government dated August 26 this year. However, when the Chinese Government actually exercised its sovereign rights, and began to liberate the Tibetan people and drive out foreign forces and influences to ensure that the Tibetan people will be free from aggression and will realise regional autonomy and religious freedom, the Indian Government attempted to influence and obstruct the exercise of its sovereign rights in Tibet by the Chinese Government. This cannot but make the Chinese Government greatly surprised.

"The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China sincerely hopes that the Chinese People's Liberation Army may enter Tibet peacefully to perform the sacred task of liberating the Tibetan people and defending the frontiers of China. It has, therefore, long since welcomed the delegation of the local authorities of Tibet, which has remained in India, to come to Peking at an early date to proceed with peace negotiations. Yet the said delegation, obviously as a result of continued outside obstruction, has delayed its departure for Peking. Further, taking advantage of the delay of negotiations, the local authorities of Tibet have deployed strong armed forces at Changtu, in Sikang province, in the interior of China, in an attempt to prevent the Chinese People's Liberation Army from liberating Tibet.

"On August 31, 1950, the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs informed the Indian Government through Ambassador Panikkar that the Chinese People's Liberation Army was going to take action soon in West Sikang according to set plans, and expressed the hope that the Indian Government would assist the delegation of the local authorities of Tibet so that it might arrive in Peking in mid-September to begin peace negotiations.

"In early and middle September, the Chinese Charge d'Affairs, Shen Chien, and later Ambassador Yuan Chung-hsien, both in person, told the said delegation that it was imperative that it should hasten to Peking before the end of September, otherwise the said delegation should bear the responsibilities and be held responsible for all the consequences resulting from the delay. In mid-September, Chinese Ambassador, Yuan, again informed the Indian Government of this. Yet still owing to outside instigation, the delegation of the local authorities of Tibet fabricated various pretexts and remained in India.

"Although the Chinese Government has not given up its desire of settling the problems of Tibet peacefully, it can no longer continue to put off the set plan of the Chinese People's 'Liberation' Army to proceed to Tibet. And the liberation of Changtu further proved that through

the instrument of Tibetan troops, foreign forces and influences were obstructing the peaceful settlement of the problem of Tibet. But regardless of whether the local authorities of Tibet wish to proceed with peace negotiations, and regardless of whatever results may be achieved by negotiations, no foreign intervention will be permitted. The entry into Tibet of the Chinese People's Liberation Army and the liberation of the Tibetan people are also decided.

"In showing its friendship with the Government of the Republic of India, and in an understanding of the desire of the Indian Government to see the problem of Tibet settled peacefully, the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has kept the Indian Government informed of its efforts in this direction. What the Chinese Government cannot but deeply regret is that the Indian Government, in disregard of the facts, has regarded a domestic problem of the Chinese Government—the exercise of its sovereign rights in Tibet—as an international dispute calculated to increase the present deplorable tensions in the world."

The Chinese Note added: "The Government of the Republic of India had repeatedly expressed its desire of developing Sino-Indian friendship on the basis of mutual respect for territory, sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit, and of preventing the world from going to war. The entry into Tibet of the Chinese People's Liberation Army is exactly aimed at the protection of the integrity of the territory and the sovereignty of China. And it is on this question that all those countries who desire to respect the territory and the sovereignty of China should first of all indicate their real attitude towards China."

"In the meantime, we consider that what is now threatening the independence of nations and world peace is precisely the forces of those imperialist aggressors. For the sake of the maintenance of national independence and the defence of world peace, it is necessary to resist the forces of these imperialist aggressors. The entry into Tibet of the Chinese People's Liberation Army is thus an important measure to maintain Chinese independence, to prevent the imperialist aggressors from dragging the world toward war, and to defend world peace."

"The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China welcomes the renewed declaration of the Indian Government that it has no political or territorial ambitions in China's Tibet and that it does not seek any new privileged position. So long as our two sides adhere strictly to the principle of mutual respect for territory, sovereignty, equality and mutual benefit, we are convinced that the friendship between China and India should be developed in a normal way, and that problems relating to Sino-Indian diplomatic, commercial and cultural relations with respect to Tibet, may be solved properly and to our mutual benefit through normal diplomatic channels."

The New China News Agency also circulated an editorial on Tibet by the *People's Daily* of Peking, dated November 17, which said: "The Chinese cannot but

feel amazement and regret that the Indian Government should try to hinder so just a step (the People's Liberation Army's march into Tibet). Tibet is as much an integral part of China as Wales is of England or Bombay of India."

The paper said that not only would the peaceful settlement of the Tibetan question not be damaged by the march of the People's Army into Tibet, but on the contrary "any peaceful settlement should involve the peaceful acceptance of the People's Liberation Army's entry into Tibet."

The paper alleged that "foreign aggressive forces have tried to undermine a peaceful settlement by every means in their power," and that the British Government deliberately procrastinated in giving the Tibetan delegation in India visas to travel via Hong Kong to Peking.

Commenting on the delay to which the Tibetan delegation was subjected, the *People's Daily* said: "We hear steps on the staircase but nobody ever appears. It is clear that the delay in the delegations coming to Peking for peace talks is due to foreign instigation and obstruction. It is this that should be held responsible for preventing and undermining peace talks."

The paper went on to comment that "the imperialists are afraid of the friendship between the Chinese and Indian peoples. They are deliberately undermining the efforts of the Indian and Chinese peoples to unite and work together."

Hence they are using the Tibetan question to excite opinion in India and are attempting to make a break in the great friendship between the Indian and Chinese peoples."

### *Britain on Chinese Action in Tibet*

The British Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. Ernest Davies, making a statement about the situation in Tibet in the House of Commons on November 20, declared that the Chinese action was "inexcusable and unforgivable."

"We regret," added Mr. Davies, "that the present international tension, which is unfortunately so great, should be increased by this unprovoked aggression of China against Tibet."

Replying to Sir John Mellor, Mr. Ernest Davies said: "His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom have no representative in Tibet and therefore no direct means of the information about the situation there."

"We have, however, been informed by the Government of India that they have received reports from their Agent in Lhasa which show that the Chinese invasion has not made as much progress as was at first believed. There have been rumours that the Chinese had entered Lhasa, that resistance had ceased and that peace negotiations were in progress. These rumours are quite without foundation."

Mr. Davies declined to give an undertaking that, "while this unprovoked and naked aggression is continuing against Tibet," Britain would not enter into

negotiations with the Chinese Communist Government "which is responsible for that invasion."

Mr. Anthony Eden asked whether the Government contemplated seeking any further information or any joint action or representation with the Government of India, or anything of the kind. Mr Davies replies: "We are in consultation with the Government of India on this matter, and a member of the United Nations is endeavouring to put it on the agenda of the General Assembly. Discussions on the matter are taking place in New York at the present time."

Mr. A. R. Blackburn said that, in view of the grave and urgent issue involved, he would raise the matter on the adjournment at the earliest opportunity.

Later Mr. Blackburn was called on to raise the subject. He said: "Even the Communists themselves have, for once, not dared to proclaim that the country the Communists are attacking is really the aggressor. This lie was too great even for Stalin; even Stalin could not say that Tibet had attacked China and the Soviet Union."

After dealing with the legal aspect of the situation, Mr. Blackburn continued: "Let us come to the basic principles. The sure way of avoiding war, as we have now learned, is to resist aggression at the moment it first occurs. There is greater moral justification for giving aid to Tibet than there was for giving aid to South Korea. Let the Communists take over Tibet, and they are on the borders of India."

"Tibet has in its centre a plateau between 12,000 and 15,000 feet above sea level. It is an ideal area for the establishment of airports of all kinds. It is an ideal area from which to conduct a radio war to dominate India and Pakistan. *On moral, strategic and political grounds, we cannot afford to let Tibet fall.*

"I further suggest that the Government should immediately get in touch with the Governments of India and Pakistan, although Pakistan does not adjoin Tibet, and ask the Governments of India and Pakistan, with support from us, to send a brigade by air to Tibet."

Mr. E. B. Wakefield, who has lived for many months in Tibet, said: "The Tibetans really are the most peace-loving nation on earth and are incapable of fighting. They have no wish to fight. They have no means where-with to fight. I have attended a military display in Gartok, the capital of Western Tibet, and the arms used were bows and arrows! Whether we British can help them I do not know, but I do know that many people in India and Pakistan would volunteer, if called upon. I do suggest that if we could associate ourselves with India in any physical protest that we could make against this violation of Tibetan independence, then we should be very wise."

The Under-Secretary for Foreign Affairs (Mr. Ernest Davies) replied: "I think that our position in regard to Tibet has been made quite clear in the replies which I have given to parliamentary questions which have been put to me in the last two or three weeks."

"As I stated this afternoon, this matter is now before the United Nations. Tibet has appealed to the United Nations, and the United Nations is considering whether it should put the matter on its agenda and take any action. I think that it would be very rash of us tonight to discuss the military possibility of going to the aid of Tibet, or whether that would be advisable and whether that would be successful. It is entirely a matter now before the United Nations, and I do not propose to discuss that aspect of it."

"As I have stated, we deplore the action China has taken. Tibet was prepared to negotiate with China and it was while the Tibetan representatives were actually on their way to Peking that the Chinese took the aggressive action they did against this autonomous country. This action was taken without provocation and while peaceful negotiations were in progress. I think that the action taken by the Chinese is inexcusable and unforgivable."

"We have recognised that China does have suzerainty over Tibet. We have taken that attitude for a considerable time, but only on the understanding that Tibet is regarded as autonomous. This suzerainty has been quite nominal for a considerable time and there has been no active interference from China as far as we are aware. It dates back to 1911, since when Tibet has enjoyed *de facto* independence within this framework of Chinese suzerainty. The independence of Tibet has not yet been lost. That fact must be kept in mind. It is tragic that she is being attacked, but she still remains autonomous and *de facto* independent."

Mr. Davies added: "At this stage we are not in a position to say whether or not our legal attitude towards the country is affected by this. We are not prepared to have it changed and this is a matter which we have to take into account. Further than that I am afraid that I cannot go at the present time."

"Tibet is an inaccessible country. It is a romantic country. It is cut off from India, Pakistan and Nepal by the great Himalayas and that makes it impossible, in our view, that she should be used as a base for aggression. Chinese alleged fears in this respect are, of course, quite absurd."

"The Tibetans are a most peaceful and pacific people. Tibet is one of the great centres of the Buddhist faith. They are remote from the world spiritually as well as geographically. I think we could refer to Tibet as Asia's ivory tower. Here are these people who prefer to contemplate as it were the eternal truths rather than the hurly-burly of 20th century ideologies."

"There is a great deal to be said for that attitude in this world torn with international tension. We all think that it is tragic that these people cannot be left alone to pursue their devotions and their ancient way of life. We think that the Chinese should go home and leave the Tibetans to carry on their own unique and contemplative way of life. How can one possibly credit



that this religious community, living in its ivory tower on the crest of the world, could possibly resort to provocation or to non-peaceful methods? It is sad to contemplate that the Chinese, with the culture and wisdom of centuries, should now disturb this peaceful haven of yesterday."

Concluding, Mr. Davies said: "I suggest that the House should rest assured that this matter is under the urgent consideration of His Majesty's Government in full consultation with those members of the Commonwealth who are concerned, and that we regret that the present international tension, which is unfortunately so great, should be increased by this unprovoked aggression of China against Tibet.

"We regret that the more so because, at the present time, we are endeavouring to bring China as an equal partner into the deliberations of the United Nations for the purpose of removing that tension and of restoring international peace. We still hope that the fact that a delegation is on its way to Lake Success may result in better counsels prevailing and some of this international tension being removed."

### *Food*

The Food Department of the Government of India has failed to keep its promise to make the country self-sufficient in food by March 1951. This date line has been extended by another year. Failure to keep official promises in a vital matter like food is bound to react unfavourably on the public mind, Mr. Munshi has laid the blame for food shortage on the vagaries of nature. If nature were to decide whether India should be self-sufficient in food or not, one wonders what utility the food Ministry serves. Sardar Patel has disclosed that the total food shortage amounts to 6 or 7 per cent. Little credit reflects on a government that cannot meet a deficit of 7 per cent by internal production. Britain doubled her production in the early years of war.

The official figures for food have been challenged during the food shortage. One calculation has not received the attention it deserves. India has a population of 320 millions; her per capita adult consumption of food is about half a seer per day. In order to calculate the total quantity of food required to feed 320 millions, the total population must be converted into adult population by multiplying with .8 according to the Famine Commission Report. This gives an adult population of 260 millions. Total food required at the rate of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  seers per week works out at about 43 million tons. Official figures for food production for the last three years, viz., 1948, 1949, 1950 respectively are 44.39, 44.26 and 45.84 million tons. Therefore the shortage means seed grain and waste.

Acharya Kripalani asked whether Government had fixed the target of March 1952 for attaining self-sufficiency in food out of intuition or inspiration or consulting "the science of astrology which is being rediscovered in modern days in high quarters."

Acharya J. B. Kripalani said that the President had talked of unparalleled natural calamities of flood, earthquake and drought in connection with the food situation. "These natural calamities," said Acharya Kripalani, "are with us always. We know that our agriculture depends on weather and rain. He will be a poor marksman who, while he is shooting, makes no provision for wind and the natural movements of birds and beasts. All these must be taken into consideration when responsible Ministers make statements about the food situation.

The 'Grow-More-Food Campaign' would fail, said Acharya Kripalani, unless Indian agriculture was placed on a co-operative basis. It could not be improved on the basis of private property in land. "In the days when we were fighting the British Government, we went into the villages and saw their condition. But after that we seem to have forgotten that our land is miserably subdivided, the holdings are not consolidated, some of the best land is used for crops that are worthless and some of the worthless land is used for crops that can be grown with benefit elsewhere. Unless we are willing to take revolutionary action in this direction, we will never be able to solve this food problem."

The Food Minister Shri K. M. Munshi told the nation that the food position was "difficult" and there should be grim determination to face "all privations and not to go on complaining."

Government, he added, were doing their best, but the "cure" was not with the Government but with the public. Leaders of public opinion must support the Government policy, he said.

The target to achieve self-sufficiency in food by March 1952 would be realised, Shri Munshi said, if people had faith in them and the whole nation put its best efforts. "After the Quit India movement, the biggest thing that the country has undertaken is to become self-sufficient by March 31, 1952, and if you go back upon it, I tell you that as a nation, you will have no confidence in yourself and no foreign nation will have confidence in you." He added, "You have no alternative; either you do it or go down."

The 'hathai' rain, he said, failed in Bihar and there was a drought in that province not experienced for many years. Had Bihar got two inches of rain more, there would have been a bumper crop. The result was that 75 per cent of the crop was destroyed in ten districts and 65 per cent in four other districts. Drought had brought difficulties to U.P., Orissa, West Bengal, Vindhya Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh. These calamities were of very much unusual character and "we are to consider the food situation against the background of these unfortunate circumstances."

Excepting three States, PEPSU, Madhya Bharat and Rajasthan there was no single State which had not been afflicted by one or the other of the natural calamities. On rough calculation six million tons of foodgrains had been either destroyed or wiped out or lost to the country

during this short period of 10th to 25th October. That was the position with which they were faced.

Proceeding Shri Munshi said the import target was 15 lakh tons. From July onwards it was raised and raised fast enough so that it would reach the neighbourhood of 31 lakh tons. Criticism that the Central Government was sticking fast to a pledge and refusing to be realistic was inaccurate. New contracts were made; new foodgrains were rushed. But when calamity came within the short space of three months no human effort could save the situation. If they had 200,000 tons of foodgrains more, there would have not been one single complaint. Nobody could have anticipated such calamity. In July, there was no starvation death in Bihar. Then came floods in the Kosi. At that time allotment was 40,000 tons. On account of the difficulties, 70,000 tons more were rushed to Bihar.

The "Grow More Food" campaign, Shri Munshi said, was not a failure. In 1949, India consumed about three million tons of foreign food. This year, eliminating the strain due to natural calamities, they required only 15 to 17 lakh tons of foodgrains. Therefore, there was an increase of 13 to 15 lakh tons against the schedule of 17 lakh tons.

Shri Munshi said the country's requirements in cotton were 40 lakh bales and in jute 72 lakh bales. By 1952, he added, Government hoped to produce cent per cent requirements in cotton and 61 lakh bales of jute. Thus the Government would save Rs. 107 crores per year.

On November 25, Mr. Munshi told the Congress Working Committee that India was faced with a total deficit of 8 million tons of foodgrain of which 6 million tons accounted for the loss estimated to have resulted from natural calamities.

### *Drought and Flood and Earthquake*

The following news was sent from Patna on November 3 last.

"Drought is still continuing in Bihar with devastating effects on the paddy and other crops.

"Nine out of 53 Subdivisions of the State reported what is officially described as a little rainfall during the week ending October 25. No rainfall returns were received from 20 Subdivisions, and there was no rainfall at all in the 24 other Subdivisions.

"The official weather and crop report for the period said: 'Shortage of rain caused damage to the *kharif* crops throughout the State. Sowing of *rabi* crops was held up for want of rain'."

The story of Orissa is no better. The *New Orissa*, the Cuttack daily, said in its issue of November 3:

"Drought has affected the production of some of the former State areas. This is natural. There is scarcely any irrigation system in these parts of Orissa. The rulers' administration never moved in that line. Possibly the former administration had no funds which could be used on any major projects. Even after two years of merger

things are scarcely any better. In some areas some minor irrigation projects have been undertaken by the Government, but they can scarcely touch the fringe of the problem. Only a planned programme can produce some results. But that, we believe, shall have to wait till the completion of the first stage of the Hirakud Project. The tragedy in Orissa is that its highland part is subjected to recurring drought, and its coastal area to floods, and both join to keep it as the poorest Province in India. And both the parts have this year been equally affected by drought and flood. The remedy is a long-term one, but something must be done to tide over a critical situation which Orissa will have to face during the next four months. The surplus in foodstuff has been wiped out and the rest shall have to be conserved with the utmost care."

In Madras certain Andhra areas are perennially drought-stricken; famine is endemic there. In Travancore and Cochin, bad weather destroyed crops. And to fill the cup of misery to the full, the cyclone and rains of 17 to 18 November that spread over from Andhra to Bengal have caused loss to crops the estimate of which will come out by the end of the month.

### *Irrigation Projects in Rajasthan*

We wish success to the projects indicated below. Apart from their value as instruments in the 'Grow More Food' campaign, these projects will help push back the desert that has been creeping towards the Uttar Pradesh, a danger to which Dr. Radha Kamal Mukherjee has drawn attention.

The Rajasthan Government propose to spend Rs. 4 crores on irrigation works in the State during the current year and the next. That will step up food production by one lakh tons.

Among the works to be completed are the Awai irrigation project in Jodhpur division, Todi and Chand-sarowar projects in Udaipur division, and Morel project in Jaipur division. The Awai project, estimated to cost Rs. 280 lakhs apart from hydro-electric installations and on which a sum of Rs. 80 lakhs has already been spent, is expected to yield 27,000 tons of foodgrains in years of good rainfall. The remaining projects are estimated to cost Rs. 70 lakhs and will yield 12,000 tons of food crops annually.

The Rajasthan Government are also a participant in the Bhakra dam to the extent of 18 per cent. The dam when completed will supply water enough to irrigate 10,00,000 acres and yield 300,000 tons of foodgrains in Rajasthan.

### *Milk and Ghee*

Shree Thakurdas Bhargava's Bill in the Central Legislature created a certain excitement in the country.

They held a conference at Nasik during the Congress session in support of this Bill. Since then everything appears to be quiet. But the problem raised by it is ever important, and the *Indian Social Reformer* (weekly) of Bombay in discussing the problem quoted certain facts which are of permanent interest. "In this connection, it will be interesting to note the following facts on *ghee* and milk: The latest official estimate of the production of milk and *ghee* in the Indian Union is made in a *Brochure on the Marketing of Milk in the Indian Union* (January, 1949). The estimates given in this brochure are as follows :

Total production of Milk in the Indian Union—1,71,93,211 tons.

Quantity of Milk converted into *ghee*—74,47,000 tons.

Percentage of Milk converted into *ghee*—43.

Rate of conversion specified in the brochure—17 seers of milk per seer of *ghee*.

Quantity of *ghee* produced.—4,50,000 tons.

The above estimate of *ghee* production is also borne out by Sir Datar Singh (Additional Secretary to Government of India, Ministry of Agriculture) in his article "A General Survey of the Milk Problem in India" in *Indian Farming* of November 1949. According to him, of the total milk produced, 36.2 per cent is used for fluid consumption, 19.5 per cent as curd, *khoa*, and table butter, while nearly 43.3 per cent is used for making *ghee*. Out of 4,50,000 tons of *ghee* produced, about half may be estimated to reach the towns, while the other half will be consumed by the villages. The *ghee* that is needed is some twenty times the amount that is available."

Our contemporary feels, however, that there is "little hope of more *ghee* being available to us." We do not share this feeling. The old social economy that made our country "flow with milk and honey" was not all a myth. Many of us can bear testimony from their boyhood's experience to the truth of this history. The revival of *Panchayat* Government in India's rural areas as indicated in Shree Satish Chandra Das Gupta's *The Cow in India* (1845-46) has become a possibility. It should be able to resuscitate that economy.

### "Go-Sadan" in Uttar Pradesh

The Uttar Pradesh Press has been publicizing the vast schemes of Animal Husbandry that its various departments have been co-operating to launch both. One of these is a mammoth 'Go-Sadan' to be built in the State. One of the long-felt needs of the U. P. has been a sufficiently large area, suitable in other respects, where young bulls could be bred up to maturity under the best possible conditions. The Forest Department in co-operation with the Animal Husbandry Department has provided an 8-10 mile belt, along the northern boundary of the Terai Colonisation Scheme, which extends to a depth of 800 yards northwards and is for the most part only lightly forested, being mainly grassland. Here the

'Go-Sadan' is to be built. All good timber trees will be marked and felling is to be confined to brush-wood and fuel trees, the others providing the shade for the grazing animals and timber for the State.

To this 'Go-Sadan' will be transferred the young stocks from various farms under the Agriculture and Animal Husbandry Departments and the progress of these animals will be carefully watched. Strict standards will be enforced and defective animals will be castrated and culled as bullocks. The fit ones will be kept to the age of about three years when they will be distributed for service as bulls. Emphasis will be laid on breed. It is hoped to build up statistics as the animals will be registered with the Animal Husbandry Department.

The animals will also be insured against various diseases like gad-flies, dinderpest, cow-pox, etc. Regular feeding will be based on scales laid down by the Animal Nutrition (Research) Officer, Bharari (Jhansi). Special grass, such as 'Sudan Grass' and 'Giant Star Grass' will be grown at this sanctuary.

Apart from these government activities, Mira Behn, Gandhiji's British disciple, proposes to devote the rest of her life to building up a "Pashu-Loka" where cows only will be cared for and the people shown how cow-protection and the supply of the best milk can be organized under ancient traditions. The Pashu-Loka was opened by Babu Rajendra Prasad during his visit to the Gurukul Golden Jubilee. We wish more of its activities were published in the Press.

### Cost of the Bombay Strike

The lesson of the abortive 60-days strike on the part of the textile-mill workers of Bombay has not taught Shree Jai Prakash Narain any lesson in sobriety and appreciation of social difficulties. Otherwise, he would not have held the threat of a railway strike for the satisfaction of certain unspecified grievances. But society in India apart from capitalists and organised labour has, we think, now reached a stage of exasperation where the ordering of its economic life should no longer be left to the whims and caprices of these two groups of people who constitute less than 4 per cent of the population. It is time that the population of India in general should assert themselves. Otherwise, their well-being will be wrecked by the shouters of foreign slogans and the imitators of alien ways of solving social problems. The time has come when strikes and lock-outs should be put under ban. These are expensive methods as the following letter published in a recent issue of the *Delhi Organizer* from its Bombay correspondent throws light on this strike that reveal human nature, both labourite and capitalist, in its meanness and blindness and utter selfishness.

1. The Industrial Court awarded the Textile Labour of Bombay 2 months' wages as bonus.

2. Labour appealed to the Appellate Tribunal for 3 months' wages plus allowances as bonus.

3. Before their appeal was decided or even heard, the politicians-controlled labour struck work.



The Bombay Government declared the strike "illegal," and thought it has done all it need do.

4. While more than one-tenth of the total labour population of Bombay (2,00,000) throughout defied the strike-call, less than one-tenth the total number of textile labourers met the other day at Bandra (Bombay) and decided for *all textile labour*—that the strike shall continue."

#### WHAT STRIKE HAS COST

"1. On October 12, the strike entered its 60th day.

2. The country has lost over 22 crore yards of cotton cloth in non-production so far.

3. Labour has lost over Rs. 3.5 crores by way of non-receipt of wages.

4. The citizens of Bombay have had to suffer the tension of frequent lathi-charges, tear-gas, bombing, and firing."

#### VESTED INTERESTS IN STRIKE

*"Addressing a press conference the other day Bombay's Home Minister Morarjibhai Desai hinted that a certain Marwari multi-millionaire was financing the strike to embarrass the Government.*

1. Some people have suggested since that the said merchant prince was no other than Seth Dalmia.

2. *It has also been openly alleged that Ahmedabad Mill-owners are financing the Bombay strike to create an artificial shortage of cloth in the country and thereby sell their cloth at extortionate rates.*

3. The socialist leaders are charged with precipitating the strike just to time it with the harvest season so that labour may find easy employment in rural areas, escape the financial consequences of a prolonged strike, and thus kill two birds with one stroke.

4. *Bombay Mill-owners are said to be not unhappy over the strike. They are finding part production more profitable than full production."*

### Labour Shortage in India

Ministers, Central and Provincial, are often found bemoaning labour shortage in the country. This is hard to explain when the world sees millions of men and women, about 60 millions, jobless in the country eking out a miserable existence. The explanation of this mal-adjustment will take us into the region of psychology. There appears to be an inclination in India's human nature to spare oneself the strain and labour that are demanded of modern men and women in order to lead a better life.

### Calcutta Port's Trade and Facilities

Calcutta Port handled 8,774,821 tons of sea-borne traffic in 1949-50 as against 8,163,067 tons in the previous year. About 1,280 vessels with an aggregate gross tonnage of 7,821,766 entered the port as against 1,214 ships with a tonnage of 7,385,320 in the year before.

The total tonnage of imports cleared was 3,844,991 as against 3,264,321 in the preceding year. The principal increases were in cement (97,806 tons), flour (40,108 tons), foodgrains (226,638 tons), iron and steel (107,935 tons) and salt (106,819 tons).

Exports during the year totalled 4,929,830 tons as against 4,898,746 tons in the preceding year. The princi-

pal increases were bone and bonemeal (9,965 tons), coal (144,539 tons), jute (10,053 tons), and ores (16,965 tons). Exports of gunny and jute amounted to 969,841 tons and 215,717 tons, respectively. Iron ore exports were much below the estimated figure, as the anticipated shipments to Japan of 350,000 tons did not materialise.

Calcutta Port's total income for 1949-50 was Rs. 7,68,83,960 as against the original estimate of Rs. 6,84,04,374. About 40 per cent of this excess is accounted for by the increase in traffic in the port. The income from goods exceeded the estimated amount by Rs. 33 lakhs. Other notable increases were Rs. 17.31 lakhs under income from vessels; Rs. 13.36 lakhs in rent from lands and buildings; and Rs. 8.99 lakhs from railways.

During the year, total expenditure was Rs. 7,24,78,143 as against the estimated amount of Rs. 6,73,34,212. Expenditure under the head "Establishment" was Rs. 15 lakhs more than the estimated amount.

The result of the year's working was a surplus of Rs. 47,40,811 and, after meeting the cost of minor works chargeable to revenue and the loss on sale and depreciation of securities, a sum of Rs. 44 lakhs was appropriated to the revenue reserves and fire insurance fund.

According to the administration report for the year, construction of the pilot model of the Hooghly River has been completed at Poona. The construction of another model, known as the Port model, embracing the reach of the Hooghly from Konnagar to Budge Budge, has been taken on hand at the Poona Research Station.

### Gray Report

Mr. Gordon Gray's report, recently submitted to President Truman, has been released for publication, although not in its entirety. This report is a comprehensive analysis of the world economic situation from the standpoint of the U.S. Foreign economic policy. Mr. Gray was appointed by President Truman to draw a non-partisan programme for the alleviation of dollar shortage of the foreign democracies with the object of establishing a sound and prosperous trade relationship with them before Marshall Aid ends on June 30, 1952. The Report has been hailed as being eminently realistic in approach. It has focussed attention on the four outstanding problems facing the world to-day, namely (1) development of economically backward regions, (2) bridging of the dollar gap, (3) formulation of plans aimed at free and multilateral trade, and (4) international control over distribution of scarce materials.

Mr. Gray's Report thus lends support to the pressing need for the development of the undeveloped and the under-developed areas of the world. It acknowledges the need for the encouragement among the free nations of the world, for the attempts at the betterment of economic conditions and relaxations, essential for the development of stable democratic societies willing and able to defend themselves, and to raise the standard of living of their people. The Report has, accordingly, envisaged a provi-

sion of as much as 1600-2000 million dollars per annum in order to finance the development of these areas. The Report points out that private investment *alone* cannot solve the problem of financing all these development programmes, adequate funds for public capital assistance must be a part of any effective foreign policy. With a view to meeting this development fund, the Report proposes an expansion of the lending operations of the World Bank and the U.S. Export-Import Bank to provide, in the next few years, an annual net flow of investment funds of 600-800 million dollars. For this purpose, it has recommended an increase in the lending authority of the Export-Import Bank from 3500 to 5000 million dollars. The adoption of a general policy of permitting U.S. loans to be spent outside, as well as within the U.S., and of financing, in some selected areas, of some of the local costs of development projects has been suggested. The other recommendations of the Gray Report, which are of interest to India, are: (1) private investment should be considered as the most desirable means of providing capital, and its scope should be widened as far as possible, (2) negotiation of investment treaties to encourage private investment should be expedited, and the Bill to authorise government guarantees of private investments against risks of inconvertibility and expropriation should be enacted as a worldwide experiment, and (3) grants may be used for development and technical assistance in some cases, when development programmes, urgently needed from U.S. objectives, cannot be soundly financed by loans.

Laying emphasis on the last one, the Report estimates the dollar needs for such aids at about 500 million dollars per annum, apart from the emergency requirements arising from military action. The first two recommendations, the *Commerce* comments, have special relevance from the point of view of this country's policy in regard to foreign capital. The Government of India are alive to this problem and have outlined their policy in categorical terms, more or less on the lines indicated in the Gray Report. India will be keenly interested in this Report. This country wants foreign capital for the financing of her development projects, both short term and long term.

The Report favours the formulation of plans aimed at free and multilateral international trade. It urges continued efforts to establish an adequate system of international payments and to eliminate trade restrictions. It says, "Only in this way can the nations of the world achieve rising standards of living through sound and self-supporting economies." Thus it raises the biggest controversy on international economics once again.

Mr. Gray recommends the direct international control and distribution of scarce materials. Apparently the U.S. will be the biggest beneficiary of this recommendation, but if it is carried to its logical conclusion, i.e., if international control and distribution of defence and strategic materials can be successfully done, chances of war will diminish.

The comments of the *Observer*, London, deserve attention.

The *Observer* says: "The report is addressed to the American Government, but this does not mean that its guiding ideas have no application outside America. Its vision could never be realised if America refused to play the leading role which her wealth and power impose on her, but the full co-operation of other industrial powers is no less essential for the realisation of what is a world design. Britain's role is still clearly the second most important."

In a general assessment of the document the *Observer* says: "It is hardly possible to exaggerate the importance of this report."

Comparing it with the Marshall Plan, the *Observer* points out that the Marshall Plan, being a single short-term measure, had to succeed or fail at one go and would have ended had Congress rejected it. "The Gray Report is not so, this can at once and *in toto* be accepted or rejected.

"It makes no fewer than 22 concrete recommendations and each would require a major act of policy. Even the most willing Congress could hardly put them all into force during one session. On the other hand, the report offers a coherent and profoundly reasoned doctrine of international economic long-term policy which not even a total rejection by one Congress could kill."

"This doctrine," the *Observer* goes on, "proclaims the subordination of economic policy to foreign policy. *Prosperity is no longer viewed as an isolated end within a national framework but as a means of establishing peace and security in an international framework. The resources of the free world are to be considered and treated as a whole.* They are to be kept consistently fully employed, and applied to achieve the maximum effect in providing defensive strength, rising living standards and social contentment. This is almost incidentally seen also as the key to the winning of the cold war."

Thus "the report sets out to make possible the full absorption of the product of a fully employed America by the whole free world. This implies the extension in a modified form of aid to Western Europe and Japan and a liberalised American tariff and subsidy policy as a step to free trade. But the main stress is laid on attacking poverty in the under-developed areas by every means—private investment, technical aid, Government loans and grants—in permanent co-operation between America and the other Western industrial powers."

### *In Defence of Civil Liberty*

The *Hitavada*, English language daily of Nagpur, has quoted the following words of Judge Robert Jackson of the U.S.A. Supreme Court to drive home the point against the frequent use of ordinances and Public Safety Acts against men and organizations persistently critical of the Nehru Government and the States Government. Our Supreme Court has risen to the occasion and very often pulled up our Executive Government anxious for quick changes in human psychology. Our Nagpur con-

temporary asks them to "paste this extract on the back of their Public Safety Acts."

"If I assume that defendants are disposed to commit every opportune disloyal act, helpful to Communist countries it is still difficult to reconcile with tradition of American law, the jailing of persons by the Courts because of anticipated but as yet uncommitted crimes. Imprisonment to protect society from predicted but unconsummated offences is so unprecedented in this country and so fraught with danger of excesses and injustices that I am loth to resort to it even as a discretionary judicial technique to supplement conviction of such offences as those of which defendants stand convicted. But the very essence of constitutional freedom of press and speech is to allow more liberty than the good citizen will take. The test of vitality is whether we will suffer and protect much that we think false, mischievous and bad, both in taste and intent."

### *Hindi as State Language*

The decision of the Constitution Assembly making *Hindi* the State Language of India has not solved the problem yet. The following news from Madras, and the commentary on it in the *Bihar Herald* of November 4 show that there is exasperation silently gathering strength :

"S. R. Sastri, Chairman, Board of Studies in Hindi in the Madras University, has made a strange proposal: He suggests that 'if Hindi be introduced in schools in Madras, one of the South Indian languages, preferably Tamil, must be made a compulsory subject for study for the Hindi-speaking boys in northern India.'

One may note here that Hindi is merely an optional subject in Madras schools. As a reciprocal gesture, Sastri wants Tamil to be made a compulsory subject in North Indian schools.

What is the sense in making Hindi the *Rastrabhasa* of India, if we have to learn Tamil?"

On top of this comes the news that a section of Tamilians have started to preach boycott of North India shops in Madras. It has dangerous possibilities to which the Nehru Government should direct its utmost vigilance.

Propagandists on behalf of Hindi must understand that since Hindi speakers are in a minority in the Indian Union taken as a whole, their clamour for the adoption of Hindi forthwith is causing resentment and reaction which will end in negation of the *Rastrabhasa* resolution.

In all non-Hindi-speaking areas this campaign of Hindi protagonists is regarded with some considerable justification, as an attempt to establish a hegemony for those whose mother tongue is Hindi.

### *Tuberculosis Association of India*

The 11th report of this association has a record of progressive fight against a menace that has been growing apace in India. The report says in p. 2 that "although it is difficult to establish by figures a definite rise in the incidence of tuberculosis, there is reason to believe that the disease is spreading under the abnormal conditions created during the past decade by such events as the second world war, the Bengal famine and the recent mass

migration of people between Pakistan and India." This recognition is the surest way to awaken public opinion, to the danger and warn it betimes. And from this awakening will come the vigilance that will instruct us in preventive measures and readiness to adopt these. Dr. K. C. K. E. Raja, presenting the report on April 20 last has included all these in the "comprehensive national anti-tuberculosis programme." And in course of his speech on the occasion he indicated the value of one of these measures when he said: "It has, indeed, been demonstrated that, in communities living under conditions not far removed from those of our people, a 75 per cent reduction in the incidence of tuberculosis has been possible by intensive immunisation with BCG vaccine."

A perusal of the report and the proceedings of the annual report leaves the impression in the mind that its authorities will not lag behind in this good fight as Dr. Raja's words emphasized that they were determined to carry on the "BCG campaign for immunising the people, the establishment of certain Tuberculosis Centres for training medical and other personnel for anti-tuberculosis work and, above all, the prospect of increasingly active collaboration between India and the Specialised Agencies under the United Nations and more particularly among such agencies, the World Health Organisation and the International Children's Emergency Fund."

### *Centenary of the Hindu High School*

We publish the following with the greatest pleasure :

The Hindu High School, Triplicane, Madras, will be celebrating in February 1952, the completion of 100 years of service to the cause of Secondary Education in the State of Madras. This institution has produced distinguished young men who, in later life, have achieved success in different spheres of public activity. It has been serving the educational needs of the children of all classes in the locality. Under aided management, the school has expanded from small beginnings to its present stature.

The school has had a succession of distinguished Headmasters and teachers. The late Mr. K. B. Ramamatha Ayyar, the late Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri and Mr. P. A. Subramania Iyer were some of the former Headmasters.

### *Bettering Tribal Life*

The Nehru Government appear to be anxious to have quick results from their plans for bettering the life of 25 million tribals of India. On this anxiety Dr. D. N. Majumdar, Head of the Department of Anthropology in the Lucknow University had the following words of caution in course of his article entitled "Experiment in Tribal Life," published in the Bombay Quarterly—*The Indian Journal of Social Work*. It is the organ of the Bureau of Research and Publications of the Tata Institute of Social Science, a unique institute in India. Dr. Majumdar discussed the life and labour of the "Dudhis" of Mirzapur District in Uttar Pradesh, and speaking of the



recommendations of the Dudhi Enquiry Committee, he characterized these as "unreal in the context of the present condition of this tribal area." But he did not leave us with destructive criticism only.

"The establishment of factories and large-scale industries, in backward areas, without ascertaining the capacity of the people to accept and adopt such rapid change may recoil in the long run, on Indian industrialisation. A change from agriculture and co-operative farming into handicraft and cottage industries, may have a smooth transition, for the personal relationship that the tribals everywhere regard as indispensable to personality adjustments must not be superseded by a sudden change to factory production or large-scale undertakings. Irrigation by tanks and storage water must precede canal irrigation and a time lag must be allowed for the backward people to adjust to new methods of distribution. As long as tribal solidarity exists, it should be explored to aid adaptability, and the first steps towards technological advance, which must come sooner than later, must be co-operative and collective farming, multi-purpose co-operative societies, and tenancy legislation, declaring the tribal land inalienable from the tribes, and eliminating middlemen and usurpers who have merrily intercepted profits and reduced them to bond slaves and an essential 'must' or 'compulsive,' of wiping off debts, lock, stock and barrel. This is the experiment that must be given top priority, before any development schemes are planned and given effect to in tribal parts of the country. Mere knowledge of three R's is not the panacea as some devoutly think."

### *Soviet Union's Version*

We have got used to Soviet propaganda on and against men and measures and are not generally left impressed by it. The virulence of its vituperation is responsible for this reaction. Its propaganda sheets entitled *News and Views from the Soviet Union*, "issued by the Representative Tass News Agency of the U. S. S. R." find us interested readers when these describe the measures of uplift and enlightenment in their unit-States. Apart from obvious attempts to depict things in heightened colour, the story these tell constitutes records of some real achievement, of which the real test is that during crisis in the Soviet Union's life, the German attack, the Union Republics held fast to the anchor of their post-1917 life with its sacrifices.

This recognition does not, however, blind us to the fact that under the stress of an inner urge the Soviet ruling class finds itself impelled to do and say things that have become associated in our thought with "imperialism." The Soviet Foreign Minister, M. Andre Vyshinsky, may be authorized by his boss to say that capitalism or "free enterprise" may exist side by side with communism or "totalitarianism" during the present phase of human development, as he is reported to have done on November 18 at the General Assembly of the U.N.O. But human nature has never been able to tolerate a rival near the throne. Karl Marx's new theology even has not been able to work out such a miracle in human conduct. "Dictatorship of the proletariat" is not the way towards synthesis of philosophies or reconciliation in conduct.

This experience makes us a little sceptical with regard to Soviet or U.S.A. asseverations on peace and amity between peoples and States. Therefore, the Soviet version of the "cold war"—the "peace" that the Soviet propagandists have been giving shape to in their Peace Congresses and Conferences leaves us cold. But what is recorded in the *Soviet News*, New Delhi publication of November 2 last throws a certain light on the history of Soviet reaction to the anxiety for peace by the men and women of goodwill in all parts of the world.

On September 6, 1928, the Soviet Union joined the Briand-Kellogg Pact and made it effective before the specified date. The U.S.S.R. Government proceeded in this case from the fact that while the Briand-Kellogg Pact did not provide for effective measures of struggle against aggression, it nevertheless called for the rejection of war as a weapon of national policy.

On the initiative of the Soviet Union, Conventions on the definition of aggression were concluded in London in 1933 between the U.S.S.R. and eleven States. These Conventions, which have historical significance, served as a new link in the chain of measures undertaken by the Soviet Government in the interest of strengthening peace and universal security.

The definition of aggression presented by the Soviet delegation in 1933 to the League of Nations Security Committee at the conference for reducing and restricting armaments served as the basis for the definition of aggression. This Committee, which consisted of representatives of 17 States, including the USA, Britain and France approved in the main the definition of aggression proposed by the delegation of the Soviet Union. According to this definition, the invading party (the aggressor) shall be considered that State which is the first to take any of the following actions: declaration of war against another State; the invasion by its armed forces of the territory of another State even without declaration of war; bombarding the territory of another State by its land, naval or air forces, or knowingly attacking the naval or air forces of another State; the landing in, or introduction within the frontiers of, another State of land, naval or air forces without the permission of the Government of such a State, or the infringement of the conditions of such permission, particularly as regards the duration of sojourn or extension of area; the establishment of a naval blockade of the coast or ports of another State.

No considerations whatsoever of a political, strategical, or economic nature, including the desire to exploit natural riches or to obtain any sort of advantages or privileges on the territory of another State, no references to considerable capital investments or other special interests in a given State, or to the alleged absence of certain attributes of State organization in the case of a given country, shall be accepted as justification of aggression.

In particular, justification for attack cannot be based upon the internal situation in a given State, as for instance: revolutionary or counter-revolutionary movement, civil war, or any other events.

Such is the accepted idea of aggression incorporated in a number of international acts: the Geneva protocol on the peaceful settlement of international disputes of October 2, 1924; the Protocol on non-intervention in the internal and foreign affairs of other States, concluded in Buenos Aires in 1936; the Saadabad Pact of July 8, 1937, concluded by Turkey, Iraq,

Iran, Afghanistan; the American treaty on mutual assistance concluded in Rio de Janeiro in 1947, which specifies that the unprovoked armed attack by one State of the territory, nation or land, naval or air forces of another State is considered aggression and a number of others."

We are prepared to accept the truth of this story of the Soviet Union's long-drawn-out efforts for peace, though we remember to have seen other versions challenging it on material points. But one thing that strikes us as being curious, and that is, how in the light of this definition of "aggression," the Soviet propagandist can justify North Korea's incursion into the South as the "liberation movement of the Korean people"; how China's invasion of Tibet by its armed forces for "alleged absence of certain attributes of State organization." How it can justify what Mao Tse-tung has said in reply to India's remonstrance couched in the gentlest of words and with the best of spirit? We would wait for a reply to these questions before we venture again into the subtleties of Soviet controversy.

### "News From Dacca"

The latest issue of *United Empire* (September-October, 1950), Journal of the Royal Empire Society of London, has reached our hands a few days ago. It contains reports of two meetings wherein one Sir Frederick Bourne, first Governor of East Bengal under Pakistani dispensation, addressed members on "News from Dacca." The other was addressed by A. J. Elkins, President of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of India; the title of his address was "New India."

These addresses reflect the sentiments and opinions of Indo-British bureaucrats and their patrons of "Clive Street." Sir Frederick has been able to present a detached story of events in Pakistan, of East Bengal specially, where the last days of his regime had been darkened by Pakistani fanaticism and brutality. In our last issue we have quoted Dr. Jeelany, wherein he said that Sir Frederick had incurred Pakistani disapproval for his "sympathy" with the Hindus during the February experiences at Dacca. And we have heard it suggested that his resignation had been hastened by the feeling of helplessness in face of those aberrations. His address at London runs true to this story. And we feel that we cannot do better than tell his story in his own words. Naturally enough Sir Frederick had most to say on "communal disturbances," and his version of the beginnings of the last holocaust of the Hindus of East Bengal is worth knowing.

"In December of last year, an incident took place in the Bagerhat Division of the Khulna district of East Bengal, wherein a police man was killed and three others injured, while endeavouring to arrest the culprit. The area in which this incident took place has been for many years difficult to deal with from a police point of view, and as was inevitable when police officers have been killed and injured, the local population expected some form of reprisal. A number of villages were deserted, and a considerable number of

Hindus crossed the border into India. A great deal of capital was made out of this incident on the Indian side, and the Calcutta Press and the so-called Association for the Protection of the Rights of Minorities put out most inflammatory reports indicating a complete reign of terror in the Khulna district—a large proportion of whose population are Hindus.

The Secretariat at Dacca were for sometime quite unaware that India was taking such an exaggerated view of this incident, and in fact, it was not for some weeks that very much notice was taken of it on either side. But by the end of January, feelings in West Bengal had been inflamed, and reports began to arrive in Dacca—these also no doubt highly exaggerated—of oppression of Muslims in neighbouring districts of West Bengal, and in Calcutta itself.

"Early in February there were reports of actual murders, and of a good deal of arson and eviction in certain parts of Calcutta, and on the 10th February there was a most ill-advised procession in Dacca, organised mainly by Muslim clerks and others who had relations in West Bengal, and detonated the charge. Disturbances broke out that day at Dacca, and very shortly after in several other districts, and there was regrettable loss of life.

"The authorities on both sides did their best to restore order as soon as possible. At this stage, the number of murders in Calcutta was not very great; troops were immediately employed to restore order in Calcutta, as they were in Dacca; and on the East Bengal side, actual incidents had ceased by about the 14th February . . . But meanwhile the flow of refugees in both directions had started on a very large scale and later disorder flared up again on the West Bengal side."

Sir Frederick has tendered evidence with regard to the "peace-loving" nature of East Bengal Muslims, and he held responsible for the disturbances "well-known, bad characters who had taken part in old periodical riots in Dacca," or, "refugees from Bihar and elsewhere, who had been eking a precarious living in East Bengal for the last year or two"; or, "in the rural areas, Muslim cultivators who thought the opportunity of loot too good to miss." But he appeared to have held officialdom as the prime culprit. And in describing their contribution to increasing the tension between the two States, he uttered quite frank words.

"Dr. Johnson once observed that patriotism was the last refuge of a scoundrel. Rather a hard saying; but so far as East Bengal is concerned no one ever said a truer word. It is the petty tyranny of the small official in the rural areas particularly, which keeps antagonism alive. Sometimes he is acting, as he thinks, from the best motives: he believes it to be his duty to assert the power of State in and out of season. Sometimes he is just working off old scores with the idea of patriotism as a justification. At all times, like the Muslim public at large, he is liable to be influenced by highly exaggerated reports in the local press, and by deliberate preaching of hatred of other communities. . . ."

Sir Frederick made four suggestions with a view to easing tension. The last is most important, because its approach is psychological. ". . . the Hindu communities as a whole in India must be brought to accept the sovereignty of Pakistan."

"All men of goodwill look forward to a time when Pakistan and India will be on good terms with each other; when trade flows again; and the rule of law is fully established; but reunion with India is a measure which all Pakistanis will resist to the death. Until it is recognized in India and publicly accepted as a fact by genuine leaders in that country that Pakistan has come to stay, there will be no real security on either side."

An interesting discussion followed the address; old "Anglo-Indians" aired their views and anxieties in ways that made the report interesting reading. It showed that a "triling class" mind finds it difficult to forget the past. One of them, Sir Olaf Caroe, was kittenish in his curiosity; he appeared anxious to know of the "Mohammedan invasion of the lower districts of Assam which the Assamese did not like," of the "strongly Mohammedan" Arakanese. Sir Frederick Bourne replied that the "invasion" has created a problem that awaits to be solved, and there was not "much" trouble on the Burma side. But the real reply to these two questions came from the chairman of the meeting, Sir Robert Reid, sometime Governor of Assam. His words in this connection throw light on the subject, and the Indian public and the Nehru Government should not miss their significance.

"With regard to the remarks about the immigration of Mohammedans into Assam, he knew that when Sir Mahommed Saadullah was his Prime Minister he looked upon that immigration with a great deal of satisfaction. Though as a good Assamese he ought to have resisted this invasion from Bengal, yet he was decidedly lukewarm in his efforts to prevent those virile Muslims from pushing the easy-going Assamese from their ancient homes. For, as a Moslem, he rejoiced to see more and more Mohammedans going into Assam, so as to strengthen the case for including Assam in Pakistan."

Is that danger absent today? We ask this question of the Bengali-Hindu-baiting Assamese.

### *Afghanistan and Pakistan*

The so-called common bond of Islam has not been able to make these two immediate neighbours in Asia's map friendly to each other. Pakistan's Prime Minister, in course of his speech made in the Pakistan Assembly on the 7th of October last related the story of the ungratefulness of Afghans and the good deeds done by his State to these inimical fellow-believers.

"In many cases we are allowing the export of commodities to Afghanistan which Pakistan can ill-afford and for which we have spent our valuable foreign exchange. In the case of Afghan fresh and dry fruit India has imposed a 36 per cent import duty, but Pakistan has imposed no import duty. Pakistan Railways give priority to the movement of goods to and from Afghanistan; for instance, without the use of N.W. R. refrigerated van facilities, the valuable fresh fruit trade of Afghanistan would be ruined.

"Whereas Pakistan has applied its *visa* rules quite liberally in favour of Afghan nationals, the

attitude of the Afghan Government has been just the reverse. Thousands of Afghan nationals are carrying on flourishing business in Pakistan and are even opening new businesses. Nearly a lakh and a half Afghan tribesmen—Powindahs—come down every year with their flocks to winter in Pakistan pastures and these are permitted to enter without passports and *visa*. On return they are allowed to export cloth, sugar, tea, foodgrains and many other necessities, which they claim are not readily available in Afghanistan at prices which they can afford. In contrast to this, Afghan Government are refusing *visas* to almost all Pakistani nationals including some employees of the Pakistan Embassy.

"The process of squeezing out Pakistani traders in Afghanistan has been going on for quite some time. On account of harassment by Government officials and blackmail by the police, the flourishing Pakistani merchants of long standing, who at one time numbered several hundreds, have been reduced to a mere handful. Protests and representations made to the Government of Afghanistan have proved of no avail. Government institutions and private employers have been asked to terminate the services of Pakistanis in their employment. Many have had to come back losing large arrears of salaries, provident funds and pensions."

The last paragraph has a familiar ring to us in Bengal with "refugees" from East Bengal being victims of Pakistani methods of rule—of discrimination. The method has been adopted by Afghans. Pakistan's Prime Minister, the sufferer in this case, should now understand how the shoe pinches.

### *Indonesia and South Moluccas*

The *Press Trust of India's* correspondent at Amsterdam has done a distinct public service by cabling on November 2 summary of a judgment delivered on that date by the Amsterdam Court. We quote it below:

The President of the Amsterdam Court today ordered the Royal Dutch Steampacket Company, K.P.M. to cease forthwith the transport of Indonesian Government's troops and equipment to the self-proclaimed republic of South Moluccas.

The Court on a suit brought by the South Moluccas Republic through its bureau in the Hague, said that the company would be fined 250 thousand guilders for each trip made by K.P.M. ship in violation of the order. The Republic had alleged that five K.P.M. ships transported men and equipment of the Indonesian army for their action against the South Moluccas, and that this was a breach of the Round Table Conference agreements concluded in the Hague in 1949. The Court prohibited K.P.M. from putting her ships, either with or without a crew, at the disposal of the Indonesian Government for this purpose unless requested by the South Moluccas Government to do so. The K.P.M. was also ordered to pay the costs of the case.

The K.P.M.'s defence was that the South Moluccas suit was invalid because the Republic had no legal claim to be a State. But the Court declared that the right of "self-determination" had been recognised by both the Netherlands and Indonesia in the Round Table Conference agreements. Since



Indonesia had "prevented the South Moluccas from exercising this right," the South Moluccas Republic was "entitled by international law to exercise that right."

The Court held that the proclamation of the Republic of the South Moluccas was "no rebellion against the established legal authority."

The Court said the military action against the South Moluccas Republic "violates fundamental human rights and liberties, and Indonesian Government's Round Table Conference agreements." By making her ships available to the Indonesia Government for the transport of troops and equipment to the South Moluccas, K.P.M. participates in the violation of these rights and liberties and inflicts damage on the South Moluccas people.

The Amsterdam agreement of 1949 had been drawn up on the understanding that Indonesia should be a federative Republic. Since then there has come a change over the ideas of the new ruling classes; Indonesia has been transformed into a Unitary State. Certain of the units have accepted this dispensation with mental reservations. Their case was fought out at the Amsterdam Court by South Moluccas in a representative capacity. This is our interpretation of the contretemps; it will now be carried to the U.N.O. Considering that our Prime Minister played a significant role in the emergence of Indonesia as a State freed from Dutch imperialism, we will watch with interest how the Natsir Ministry of Indonesia react to this judgment.

### *Ceylonization*

For about twenty years there has been developing among native Ceylonese a feeling that no non-Ceylonese should be allowed a place under their sun. This was a denial of history, old and new. To confine ourselves to the latter only, it can be asserted with confidence that Ceylon is what she is today owing to the life and labour of non-Ceylonese. The ruling British had supplied the capital for her industries and skill to make proper use of it; others, Tamilians specially, have supplied the labour; her rubber and tea estates have been built up by them. These people, men and women, constitute about one-tenth of the island's population of seven millions. And by the laws of nations they are entitled to claim their rights as citizens of Ceylon equal to the natives.

But the newly-awakened Nationalism in Ceylon is unwilling to recognize this claim. The latest outburst of this feeling was an announcement made by a Ceylonese Minister that he proposed to insist on "Ceylonization" of all services in the island whether under public or private dispensation. This was challenged. And we are glad that the Minister has bowed to its justice as the following news from Colombo dated November 1 goes to show: "Ceylon's Minister of State, Mr. A. C. Goonesinha, said that he has decided to withdraw his proposal to mercantile and estate employers, that preference be given to Ceylonese nationals by birth over citizens by registration in Ceylon."

The Minister's decision follows representations by the Indian Government to the Ceylon Government that this proposal was contrary to an assurance given by Prime Minister Senanayake to Prime Minister Nehru during the December 1947 Indo-Ceylon talks that there would be no discrimination between citizens by descent and citizens by registration except in land development, omnibus, and fisheries Ordinances."

We cannot claim intimate knowledge of Ceylon's internal politics and party alignments. But this withdrawal by Mr. Goonesinha from an untenable position is the first step. Ceylon cannot have two classes of citizens—native and resident, permanent and temporary. The latter two have to demonstrate their loyalty by whole-souled devotion to Ceylon. How many generations does it take to develop this quality? Many Tamilians should have passed this test.

### *Lala Narain Dutt*

This "elder" of the Arya Samaj died full of years and honours at his Delhi residence on November 7 last. A man of commanding presence who had made good in worldly life and unstintedly rendered help to all good causes, he was, perhaps, the last link that binds us to the spacious days of Lala Hans Raj, of Lala Lajpat Rai, of Swami Shraddhananda—to the formative years of the Arya Samaj. The Arya Samaj was his first love, but not the only love. He joined the Congress Civil Disobedience in 1930 and suffered imprisonment for it. In later life he was a tower of strength to the Hindu Mahasabha.

### *Dwijendra Nath Moitra*

Dr. Dwijendra Nath Moitra died on the morning of November 26 at the age of 72. A medical man, he developed varied interests that took him from literature to Social Service. His Bangiya Hitasadhini Sabha thus revived in the Raja Bazar area of Calcutta the traditions of working men's education built up by Keshub Chandra Sen and Sashipada Banerji.

### *Prasanta Kumar Sen*

A good man, a great lawyer, an outstanding Bengali outside Bengal, has departed from this world. He was a man of scholarly habits. For some years he was Dewan of the Mayurbhanj State, and worked to maintain the traditions created there by Maharaja Sri Ram Chandra Bhanj Deo, father of the present Maharaja. He was judge of the Patna High Court, and during the last few years of his was a member of the Indian Constituent Assembly and later of the Parliament at New Delhi. Along with Sri Prafulla Ranjan Das, he was a leader of the Bengalis in Bihar facing a new challenge to their ways of life. He won respect from all quarters by the equipoise of his conduct. May his soul rest in peace!

### Hem Chandra Basu

The Bengalis domiciled in Bihar have lost in the death of Hem Chandra Basu of Monghyr, a valiant defender of their cause. Leader of the Bar, Hem Chandra was placed at the head of affairs in self-governing institutions and by his vigilance protected and advanced their interests during 40 years of public life. He had as his exemplar Guru Prasad Sen, a leader of public opinion in Bihar and a leader of the Congress during the last quarter of the 19th century. He was no politician but served the Bihar public in unobtrusive ways reminiscent of the older generation.

### Bibhuti Bhusan Banerji

On the 1st of November, 1950, departed from this world of mundane activities this Bengali literary man, in his 54th year. Bengal literature is the poorer for it.

Bibhuti Bhusan had carved out a place for himself in the love of his people by the sheer beauty of the patterns of natural life that were etched by his pen. The book that made him famous at one bound was *Peker Panchali* (The Story of the Path), tracing the growth of "Apu" amid sylvan surroundings through which he had intimations of "the light that never was on sea and land, the consecration and the poet's dream."

Bibhuti Bhusan had been a type apart; and it was no little credit that he became what he was in the age when Rabindranath Tagore and Sarat Chandra Chatterji bestrode the land. The circle that *Prabasi* and *The Modern Review* had created in Bengal welcomed his advent and smoothed his path to fame.

### George Bernard Shaw

Death has come to the author of *Back to Methuselah* who had prescribed 300 years as the human span of life; it came before he completed one-third of that period. The "life-force" that had been encased in a body known to the world as George Bernard Shaw was extinguished on the morning of November 2, 1950, at the 94th year of its existence here on earth.

This "life-force" has made for itself such a part of the modern educated person's mental make-up that he and she feels a void in their life at the departure of this teacher of humanity, moulder of its opinions. He was the clarion voice of its aspirations, of its dissatisfactions with things as these are.

He was an Irishman inheriting the views of the Celt for the Anglo-Saxon. Thus he took revenge on the despoiler of his country by making John Bull ridiculous before all the world, by making for himself a place as a mentor of this exploiter. The new morality that Britain has accepted was the creation of the Fabian Society in the making of which Shaw had played no inconsiderable part.

In this evolution, Shaw developed the British virtue of following "precedent", of hastening slowly; the Celtish ebullition of spirit suffered such a sea-

change that the British found no difficulty in acknowledging him as one of their major prophets.

And how could this mutual transformation take place? The secret was given out by Shaw himself: "In this world if you do not say a thing in an irritating way, you may not say it at all." This technique of teaching took a long time to seep through, but it did ultimately. All the same, Shaw was not the challenger of accepted values of life as he is represented to be. He accepted "modernism" with all its good and evil, denouncing the latter and by implication upholding the former. He helped propagate in the English-speaking world the teachings of Karl Marx without sharing the new gossellers' creed of hatred, of "class war."

By contrast, his contemporary and antagonist in debate and controversy, Gilbert Keith Chesterton, had been a rebel against "modernism," against what the world accepted as "scientific and progressive." Shaw challenged certain of the evil externalities of "modernism"; Chesterton challenged it whole—spirit and expression—and he went unheeded. The present generation has forgotten this history. We refer to it because the death of Bernard Shaw and the void created by it, cannot be properly understood without a knowledge of the great fight that he had to wage against the inertia of human nature. He irritated us into mental activity. That would constitute his title to remembrance by unnumbered generations.

### A Noted Tamil Scholar

Tamil literature has lost an eminent exponent in the death of Marai Malai Adigal (Swami Vedachalam) which took place at Pallavaram, Madras, on September 15 last. An outstanding literary genius of his age, Marai Malai Adigal led an eventful life, fruitful in accomplishment.

Early in life, he showed remarkable preference for Tamil grammar and language. Following this bent, he soon came to be known as an eminent scholar. The Trivandrum Arts College and later the Madras Christian College had the benefit of his services as lecturer in Tamil.

After retirement from service, Marai Malai Adigal took up research work in literary criticism, Saiva philosophy and mysticism of ancient Tamil literature. With Mr. J. M. Nallaswami Pillai he started the Saiva Siddhanta Maha Samajam in 1906. For a time, he was also a disciple of Srila-Sri Somasundara Ayyangar. From his *Ashram* at Pallavaram, Marai Malai Adigal published a number of books, which included "The Age of Manickavasagar" and "Thiruvagam." He was also interested in Yoga.

He founded the Tinnevely Saiva Siddhanta Publishing Company and he had a collection of more than 60,000 volumes. Drawing inspiration from Agamic Saivism, his contribution to the exposition of this philosophy will always be remembered, and his memory treasured by his people.

# STATE GOVERNOR IN THE NEW CONSTITUTION AND BEFORE

By Dr. A. K. GHOSAL, M.A. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Lond.),  
*Vice-Principal, Central Calcutta College*

In this paper I propose to discuss the position of the Governors of States under the new constitution of India with special reference to the changes introduced at the last stage by the Constituent Assembly in the Draft Constitution prepared by the Drafting Committee. (To understand the subject in its true perspective, it is necessary to study it in its historical setting. The office of the Governor has existed in what was called British India ever since the East India Company took upon itself administrative responsibility for vast areas in this country (and even before under the title of President), but from time to time it has undergone changes in its character. Without going into the details of this process of evolution of the office its history may be divided broadly into three periods: (1) 1773-1919, (2) 1919-1947, (3) 1947 and after. In the first two periods the office was characterised by authoritarianism to a greater or less degree and in the third period by democratic constitutionalism. In the first period we find the Government of the whole of British India centralised, with its nerve centre at Whitehall, the Provincial and Central Governments being knit together by the autocratic authority of "The Great Mogul at Whitehall"; the Provincial Governors are mere cogs in the wheel moved from England.)

(In the second period) we find at work the consistent process of devolution of authority from the centre and transference of responsibility from the people of England to the people of this country. As a result (the position of the Governor consistently undergoes a change from that of an agent of an autocracy to that of a constitutional headship. The first step is taken in the scheme of dyarchy promulgated in the Reforms of 1919 where the Governor assumes a mixed role in the dual government set up, with one face looking towards Whitehall and another towards the Provincial legislature.) But constitutionalism was diluted with such a strong dose of authoritarianism as to lose its true character. The Ministerial half of the Government was reduced to nullity under the heavy pressure of the other half and the overpowering influence of the Governor. It proved to demonstration that the marriage of authoritarianism and constitutionalism, autocracy and democracy, can never be happy.) In 1935, dyarchy was abolished in favour of provincial autonomy. (Dyarchy was, however, transferred to the centre in the event of the federal part of the constitution coming into force. As this did not materialise due to various reasons the Centre remained autocratic and unitary as before under the leading

strings of the Secretary of State. Even in the provinces autonomy was substantially neutralised by the reserve powers and special responsibilities of the Governor which made serious inroads on the principle of ministerial responsibility. The Governor was placed under the complete control of the Governor-General and through the latter of the Secretary of State in the exercise of his special powers and responsibilities. What was conceded to the principle of popular government with one hand was virtually taken away with the other in the shape of these reserve powers of the Provincial Governor.) With the transfer of power to the two newly created Dominions of India and Pakistan carved out of what was so long British India on August 15, 1947 under the Independence Act all the special powers of the Governor and Governor-General and all vestiges of control of British Government were swept off by a stroke of pen. Till the coming into force of the Draft Constitution the government of the country is regulated by the Government of India Act, 1935 as adapted by the India (Provisional Constitution) Order, 1947 which we shall call shortly the Adapted Act. (We shall discuss the position of the Governor of the States as the Provinces have now been renamed, as set forth in the Draft Constitution, contrasting it where necessary with what it was under the Act of 1935 and the Adapted Act. It may be noted here that the federal part of the Act of 1935 has been given effect to under the Adapted Act with necessary modifications so as to fit in with India's new status of a Dominion.)

The Draft Constitution provides for the constitution of India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic on a federal basis. India is to become a full-fledged federal Republic under the new Constitution described as a Union of States. Although all the units are designated as States the existing disparity between different administrative units (Provinces and States) is continued at least for the time being by dividing them into three categories and is indicated by enumerating them in three different parts of the First Schedule to the Constitution. What were previously Governors' Provinces are enumerated in Part I (A) of the Schedule while the Chief Commissioners' Provinces and the Indian States of the old order are enumerated in Parts II (C) and III (B). In this paper we shall be mainly concerned with the States of Part I.

(Up to 1935 the Provincial Governor was truly what his designation implies, a Governor—the real executive head of a Province, although since 1919 he had been consistently casting off this role. Even



under the Act of 1935 although the spirit of provincial autonomy required the Governor to be a constitutional figurehead, actually the plenitude of powers vested in him to be used at discretion and in his individual judgment rendered him by and large an irresponsible executive.) In the spheres of administration outside this field he was to play the role of a constitutional figurehead, but as governmental matters cannot be dealt with in compartments but impinge on each other it proved difficult for the Governor to play the role of a constitutional ruler strictly even where he was expected to. Attempts were made to explain away the powers of interference of Provincial Governors as not standing in the way of ministers in the carrying on of the day-to-day administration and as meant to be used only in extreme cases after exploring all possibilities of carrying the ministry with them.<sup>1</sup> Yet in actual experience these expectations were belied as they were bound to be in the very nature of things. Two parts of the Executive drawing inspiration from two different quarters and bearing responsibility to two different electorates were bound in the ultimate analysis to have interests more often than not opposed to each other. As Mr. Attlee, then the leader of the Opposition, very rightly pointed out in course of the debate on the Government of India Bill, 1935 on February 6, 1935:

"The keynote of the Bill is mistrust. There is no trust at all. India is not to have control of her foreign affairs and of her finances. Indians in the Provinces are not fit to deal with terrorism . . . In fact, the one thing which seems to be left out of the Bill is the Indian people."

1. Read the controversy raised over the question of Office acceptance by the Congress Party in the summer of 1937 and the Congress demand for assurance from Governors. The following review of the exact constitutional position in Lord Linlithgow's statement on the relations of Governors with Ministers, dated June 22, 1937, is particularly instructive:

"The executive authority of a Province runs in the name of the Governor but in the Ministerial field the Governor, subject to the qualifications already mentioned, is bound to exercise that executive authority on the advice of his Ministers. There are certain strictly limited and clearly defined areas in which, while here as elsewhere primarily responsibility rests with Ministers, the Governor remains ultimately responsible to Parliament. Over the whole of the remainder of the field Ministers are solely responsible, and they are answerable only to the Provincial Legislature. In the discharge of the Governor's special responsibilities it is open to the Governor, and it is indeed incumbent upon him, to act otherwise than on the advice of his Ministers if he considers that the action they propose will prejudice minorities or areas or other interests affected. The decisions in such cases will rest with the Governor; and he will be responsible to Parliament for taking it. But the scope of such potential interference is strictly defined—and there is no foundation for my suggestion that a Governor is free, or is entitled or would have the power, to interfere with the day-to-day administration of a Province outside the limited range of the responsibilities specially conferred to him. Before taking a decision against the advice of his Ministers even within that limited range a Governor will spare no pains to make clear to his Ministers the reasons which have weighed with him in thinking both that the decision is one which it is incumbent on him to take, and that it is the right one. . . . In

The whole idea behind the concept of reserve powers and special responsibilities of Governors was that popular Ministers could not be trusted in those matters without jeopardising imperial interests. The whole constitution smacked of the spirit of colonialism and imperialism which were sought to be entrenched behind these provisions.

The transitional constitution ushered in by the Independence Act and as embodied in the Adapted Act by effacing the provisions of the Act of 1935 giving special powers to the Governor-General and Governors and by abolishing the office of the Secretary of State and consequently the supervising and controlling powers of the "Home Government" removed the obnoxious features of the old constitution. Both the offices of the Governor-General and the Provincial Governor have been reduced for all practical purposes to constitutional figureheads. (In certain matters the Governor remains subject to the powers of superintendence and control of the Governor-General but as the Governor-General is now no longer under the control of British Government but is guided strictly by the advice of the Federal Ministry which in its turn is responsible to the Federal legislature it does not detract from the popular character of the Government.)

Coming however to the Draft Constitution we find evidence of retrogression in certain features to the position that obtained in 1935 particularly after the changes made by the Constituent Assembly in some of the provisions in the Draft Constitution.

The Governor is to be the head of the Executive in each State, all executive power of the State being vested in him and the Government of the State is to run in his name. As the constitution envisages parliamentary system of government which assumes co-operation between a formal and titular executive head and a real executive, viz., the cabinet, it is to be expected that the Governor should be made a perfectly constitutional ruler placed beyond the din and bustle of party politics, absolutely nonpartisan and discharging his limited duties in complete dependence on the advice of his Ministers who are to shoulder full responsibility for all his public acts. Let us examine how far this conception of the office has been actually realised in the final form of the constitution. The mode of appointment is a vital matter in this context. The Draft Constitution laid down two alter-

such circumstances, given the goodwill which we can, I trust, postulate on both sides, and for which I can on behalf of His Majesty's Government answer so far as the Governors are concerned, conflicts need not in a normal situation be anticipated."

It is significant that within a short time of the acceptance of office by the Congress Party in the Provinces after such liberal interpretation of those provisions of the Constitution relating to special powers of Governor a fresh deadlock arose in U. P. and Bihar over the question of the release of political prisoners leading to the resignation of the Ministries.

native procedures in this connection: (1) direct election by all enjoying the franchise for the Legislative Assembly of the State, or (2) appointment by the President from a panel of four candidates to be elected by the members of the Legislature of the State in accordance with the system of proportional representation by means of the single transferable vote. Both these procedures have however been rejected by the Constituent Assembly in favour of nomination by the President of the Republic. This can hardly be regarded as a change for the better. There is every chance of the appointment being dictated by partisan considerations as the President in making the appointment would be advised by the Federal cabinet which must necessarily belong to a political party. Even assuming the selection is made from the best of motives and free from all party considerations, which is too much to expect, still a cloud of suspicion would attach to the person nominated which is hardly desirable considering the neutral character of the office. Then again, being the nominee of the Federal Government he might feel himself to be a sort of agent of the centre particularly in cases of conflict of interests between the State and the Centre. Even if he is actually free from such a bias he would still be under a suspicion. The vesting of some discretionary powers in him has added to the potentiality of this danger. It may also be construed as placing the State Government in a position of subordination to the Centre contrary to the principle of Federation.) This is likely to be resented in view of the growing consciousness of individuality of the provinces. The person nominated may be viewed as being foisted by the Centre and may not be on that score quite acceptable to the Province. As regards the two alternative procedures suggested in the Draft constitution, the first alternative would not have been a desirable substitute, firstly as some members of the Committee themselves felt ("the co-existence of a Governor elected by the people and a Prime Minister responsible to the legislature might lead to friction and consequent weakness in administration".<sup>2</sup>)

(Moreover, the direct election of a pivotal office like that of the State Governor is hardly desirable. It would give rise to great popular excitement which apart from creating dislocation of normal life during the election campaign might affect the quality of the recruit by subjecting the election to all sorts of dubious practices connected with election particularly with an unenlightened electorate as in our country.) The case of U.S.A. with its highly intelligent and politically conscious electorate is not quite relevant for our purpose.

The second alternative suggested by the Drafting Committee appears to be the best method of appointment in the circumstances of our country. (The asso-

ciation of two independent authorities—the President of the federation and the State Legislature—in the process would serve as a mutual counterpoise to each other and is expected to secure the appointment of the best candidate.) (As regards the position of the Governor *vis-a-vis* the Ministry the Draft Constitution provides that the Governor would be aided and advised by a council of Ministers in the exercise of his functions; "except in so far as he is by or under the constitution required to exercise his functions or any of them in his discretion." As regards the interpretation of whether a particular matter falls within his discretion the Governor himself is made the final deciding authority, his decision being made at his own discretion.) This provision has to be read with Clause (3) of fourth Schedule setting forth Instructions to Governors of States which explains and elucidates the provision as follows:

"In all matters within the scope of the Executive power of the State save in relation to functions which he is required by or under this constitution to exercise in his discretion, the Governor shall, in the exercise of the powers conferred upon him, be guided by the advice of his ministers." (This is an exact reproduction of clause 9 of the Instrument of Instructions under the Act of 1935 omitting the part dealing with the exercise of his special responsibilities).

Article 143 (Revised Sec. 163) is almost a reproduction of Section 50 of the Government of India Act 1935 with slight modifications. It may be noted here that (Section 50 was amended in the corresponding section of the Adapted Act so as to eliminate the portion giving discretionary powers to the Governor. It is curious to find that this reactionary part eliminated in the transitional constitution is going to be restored in the new constitution. It looks like putting back the hands of the clock of progress. What adds to the potentiality of its danger is that under the new constitution the Governor is not subjected to control from any quarter in the exercise of his discretionary powers. Even under the Act of 1935 [Sec. 54(I)] in the exercise of these powers the Governor was placed "under the general control of" and required "to comply with such particular directions, if any, as may from time to time be given to him by the Governor-General in his discretion.") Under Section 14(I), the Governor-General again in his turn when acting in discretion was "under the general control of and required" to comply with particular directions, if any "as might be given by the Secretary of State" who again was responsible to the British Parliament and through Parliament to the British electorate. (So there was some sort of a check, though not very satisfactory from the point of view of the Indian people, on the arbitrary exercise of these powers by the Governor. But in the new constitution there is nothing to prevent a perverse Governor from the arbitrary exercise of these powers. Even the weapon of impeachment, a

2. Draft Constitution, p. 57, footnote.

clumsy method though it is of enforcing responsibility, provided for in the Draft Constitution, has been removed at the final stage by the Constituent Assembly. Nor is the President of the Republic although he would be the formal appointing authority, likely to be able to exercise any effective control over the Governor. (It may be argued that a person appointed to that exalted office is not normally expected to be exercising his powers arbitrarily in the teeth of opposition of his Ministry; but where is the guarantee that he would always be able to agree with them?) In case of disagreement he is thrown back on his unfettered discretion. Moreover, a system that depends on the good sense and moderation of the persons working it for its satisfactory working cannot certainly be regarded an ideal one. (We should always bear in mind that power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely. The absence of any device in the constitutional machinery to serve as an automatic brake on arbitrary exercise of these powers would by itself offer a constant invitation to abuse them.)

It might open up opportunities of conflict with the ministry and constitutional crises. This may very well be illustrated by a few hypothetical cases. Under Section 144 of the Draft Constitution, the Governor's ministers shall be appointed by him and shall hold office during his pleasure. Of course, it is provided under sub-clause (4) that in choosing his ministers the Governor shall be *generally* (i.e., not always) guided by the Instructions set out in the fourth Schedule which require the Governor to appoint his Ministers in consultation with the person who in his judgment is most likely to command a stable majority in the legislature. But as all the powers under this section are to be exercised in his discretion there is nothing to prevent him from appointing as ministers whomsoever he likes ignoring the terms of the instructions and also dismissing them at pleasure. Of course, the ministers are also under the control of the legislature. If a ministry is thrust by the Governor acting at his personal discretion on an unwilling legislature the latter can make it impossible for the ministry to function by throwing out the budget, refusing to pass necessary legislation and so on. In such circumstances if the Governor stands his ground instead of yielding to the Legislature, administration would come to a dead stop. What adds to the seriousness of the position is the fact that the Governor himself is authorised to decide finally at his discretion the limits of these powers.)

3. Since writing the objectionable feature in the provision pointed out above has been removed by recasting the section at the last stage of the proceedings of the Consenbly. The Governor is now bound to appoint other Ministers on the advice of the Chief Minister appointed by him, responsibility of the Ministry has been made collective statutorily and the subclause (4) giving discretionary power to the Governor in the exercise of his functions under the article has been omitted.

Similarly with regard to the power of the Governor, to be exercised at discretion in grave emergencies under Section 188, the Governor has simply to be himself satisfied (without even consulting his ministers) that a grave emergency has arisen threatening the peace and tranquillity of the State and that it is not possible to carry on the government of the State in accordance with the provisions of the Constitution and he is authorised to declare by proclamation that his functions shall, to the extent specified in the proclamation, (i.e., to any extent he chooses) be exercised by him in his discretion and to suspend in whole or part the operation of any provisions of the Constitution relating to any body or authority in the State with the only exception of the High Court. (In other words, he may suspend the Legislature, the Ministry or any other authority and rule despotically for a time.) There are, of course, certain conditions imposed on the exercise of the powers under this section. (In the first place the maximum life of the proclamation is fixed at two weeks only. In the second place it will have to be communicated forthwith to the President who may either revoke it or take action under Article 356 under which the President is empowered to assume to himself all or any of the functions of the State Government or the State Governor or any other authority of the State and so on. But these conditions are of little avail in preventing abuse of power by the Governor, as much mischief may have already been done before the President could intervene and revoke it.) (He might utilise the provision for getting rid of a ministry or legislature he fell foul of.) In this respect the corresponding section in the Act of 1935, viz., (Sec. 93 had greater safeguard against abuse of authority by the Governor inasmuch as it made the issue of the Proclamation by the Governor subject to the previous concurrence of the Governor-General in his discretion.) (It will be seen that the whole idea of vesting such unfettered discretionary authority in one man assumes a measure of honesty, integrity, sobriety and devotion to the welfare of the community which is not ordinarily found in any man. It is hardly consistent with the true spirit of parliamentary democracy.)

It is difficult to understand what made the Drafting Committee vest such authority in the Governor. Naturally it raised a heated debate in the Constituent Assembly and two amendments were moved which of course were turned down by the Congress majority. Yet it revealed a strong opposition to the proposal. The only defence that Dr. Ambedkar, the Chairman of the Drafting Committee, could put up was the precedent in the 19th Century Constitution of Canada and Australia—a very poor defence indeed! The vesting

4. This section has been omitted by the Consenbly at the last stage, emergency powers being vested in the President under Section 356 of the Constitution as finally adopted.



of such undiluted autocratic power in an officer who is himself not responsible to anybody in its exercise can hardly be justified on any legitimate ground whatsoever in this century at any rate. To the extent that the Governor will be exercising the powers that the Constitution has vested in him to be exercised at discretion the office has become almost a replica of its prototype in the days before 1935 or even worse,

because even in those days the Governor was under the control of some higher authorities though of a foreign origin, but now he would not be accountable directly to anybody. This is calculated to make a serious inroad on the working of responsible government in the States.\* )

\* A paper read at the Twelfth Session of the Indian Political Science Conference at Madras in December, 1949.

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## BRITISH LIQUOR CONTROL DURING FIRST WORLD WAR AND ITS LESSONS FOR INDIA

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D., M.P.

### I

In the life and death struggle with Germany during the First World War, Great Britain had to mobilise all her industrial and man power. By the second year, the mobilisation of man-power and the organisation of industry were completed. In addition to the permanent armed forces, four millions in round numbers passed from the industries into the combatant services. Another two millions, if not more, were subtracted from ordinary occupations and added to the munition trades. Then came a second labour army composed of Belgian refugees and a vast assemblage of British women and workers in addition to a host of skilled and unskilled workers. It is to be noted here that industrial workers engaged normally in essential staple industries who did not have to change their occupations are not included in the above figures.

This labour army was engaged in the manufacture of munitions which included not merely various types of arms and ammunition but also food and drink, foot-wear, clothing and bedding, building materials, canvas, leather and rubber equipment, chemicals, hospital requirements, electrical supplies of various types, engines of many kinds, ship-building, devices for trench warfare, artillery and aircraft, etc. Every one who could bring a pair of hands to the country's service found employment. Grown-up men and women, young men and young women had to work hard for the country.

### II

The increased earnings of workers especially where they were separated from their families which could no longer exercise a restraining influence on them encouraged larger consumption of liquor. In particular, many casual labourers whose services were not in continuous demand in normal times, found permanent employment and the high wages received regularly enabled them to at last quench their past unsatisfied thirst for liquor. Many people who had either observed extreme moderation or had been total abstainers were tempted and acquired the habit of drinking more than was regarded as good for them.

There was an unprecedented rise in arrests for drunkenness, for brawls and fights as well as absence and irregular attendance in mills, factories and munition works.

Drinking by women, so notable a feature during the war years, was largely due to the disruption of family life. Men enlisted or went to distant towns to engage in munition work and wives and mothers were left lonely with few or none for whom to keep house. For a woman to part with husband and son, often with husband, sons and daughters, frequently caused the collapse of the home as it gradually emptied when the dear and loved ones left it at the call of the service of the country. Lessening companionship, shrinking family duties united with increasing cares and fears were the lot of the mother and the older women of the family.

The only relief for the wives and mothers of soldiers, etc., consisted in meeting other women in the same unfortunate positions and sharing with them the latest news from the front, the camp and the industrial centres to which the younger generation had gone. It happened often that when these women visited one another, hospitality in the shape of liquor was extended to them which, in its turn, led to larger consumption and in some cases even to excessive drinking.

Women who were either young or strong enough to stand the strain took men's places in banks, offices, shops and in farms. Others went in their thousands to areas where different kinds of articles required for carrying on the struggle were being manufactured. There were few centres of social interest and fellowship for a majority of these women who had been sundered from home life. When they were sensible, they picked their friends and acquaintances from their own sex. The old alcohol tradition of linking friendship with the drinking of liquor led them to the public house or to join drinking circles in one or another of their lodgings.

The money spent on liquor came from higher earnings, from remittances from male relatives or from what are known as separation allowances given

to women separated from those male earners who had supported them in pre-war days.

In October, 1915, the *Birmingham Daily Post* conducted an enquiry through competent persons in regard to the increase of drinking among women as the result of which it was found that

"Of the 15,933 persons counted as entering the 34 licensed premises under observation for an average of one hour in the evening, 6,329 were women."

These figures are arresting for they prove the high percentage of women who felt no shame in the consumption of liquor in public especially when we remember that, in spite of their comparatively easy financial conditions as compared with pre-war days, there were larger ejection orders for non-payment of rent, summonses for neglect to send children to school and ill-treatment of and cruelty to children.

### III

Experience during the Boer War had shown that increased earnings and wider employment lead to larger consumption of liquor and the mischiefs associated with it. It was therefore that, with a view to discouraging excess, the British Parliament within less than a month of the opening of hostilities, to be exact on the 31st August, 1914, passed legislation empowering the relevant authorities "to suspend the license of any retailer and to stop the consumption of liquor in any club" whenever this was deemed necessary for "the maintenance of law and order and the suppression of drunkenness." This measure, however, had little if any effect in reducing the evils it sought to remove.

By the end of October, 1914, it had become clear that Great Britain and her allies would have to put forth their best efforts if they were to survive. That even such a national crisis did not have the effect of reducing consumption of liquor which was seriously hindering the war effort is evident from the following extract from a letter dated March 30, 1915 addressed by the Private Secretary to the King-Emperor to Mr. Lloyd George:

"We have before us the statements not merely of employers, but of the Admiralty and War Office officials responsible for the supply of munitions of war, for the transport of troops, their food and ammunition. From this evidence it is without doubt largely due to drink that we are unable to secure the output of war material indispensable to meet the requirements of our Army in the field, and that there has been such serious delay in the conveyance of the necessary reinforcements and supplies to aid our gallant troops at the front."

Seven days later, to be exact on the 6th April, 1915, it was officially announced that "by the King's command no wine, spirits or beer will be consumed in any of His Majesty's houses after to-day". Be it noted that this abstinence from liquor was to operate for the duration of the war only. This gesture on the part of the King was welcomed throughout the country.

Many individuals and groups of workers in professional and commercial circles took what in those days was called the "King's Pledge". On page 42 of his book entitled *The Control of the Drink Trade*, Mr. Henry Carter, a prominent temperance leader of those days, has described the failure of this movement in the following terms:

"A few weeks sufficed to show that voluntary effort, though strengthened by the appeal and example of the Throne, was insufficient to solve the problem."

The movement fizzled out because the members of the British Cabinet in the language of the above-mentioned writer "were by no means of one mind to follow the King". We also know that a resolution to the effect that liquor would not be served for the duration of the war only in the refreshment bar of the House of Commons was rejected by an overwhelmingly large majority, the clearest possible proof of the existence of the feeling that indulgence in alcoholic beverages even when the country is faced by a threat to its existence is not wrong provided excess is avoided.

### IV

On May 19, 1915 the Privy Council was authorised under the Defence of the Realm Act to issue regulations for the control of the drink trade and in exercise of this power it created the Central Control Board (Liquor Traffic). The first step this body took consisted in reduction in the hours of sale and elimination of "treating".

Prior to declaration of war by Great Britain, the total number of hours during which liquor could be legally sold in England and Wales was as follows:

<i>London—</i>			
Week-days	..	..	19½ hours
Sunday	..	..	7 "
<i>Provincial towns—</i>			
Week-days	..	..	16 "
Sunday	..	..	6 "

The Board of Control reduced hours of sale in England and Wales to 5½ per day while sale of liquor for consumption away from licensed premises was limited to 4½ hours per day. To put it in a different way, while the hours of sale in England and Wales were cut down by about two-thirds, those in Scotland were reduced by more than one-half. In addition, the sale of spirits such as brandy, whisky, gin and rum whether for consumption in public houses or at home was prohibited on Saturday and Sunday.

The practice of drinking together when friends meet, when a business deal is finalised, etc., is a well-known cause of unnecessary, if not always, excessive drinking. It grew into a positive danger when the civilian public took to the custom of offering free drinks to members of the armed forces as a sign of its appreciation of their patriotism. Intemperance encouraged in this way hindered to a marked extent the efforts of the authorities to build up an efficient

armed force. In addition, it was also found that now and then German Secret Service agents used this technique for worming out military secrets. The not-treating order, however, was not always strictly followed.

The second measure imposed by the Board of Control to discourage drunkenness was to reduce the alcohol content of all liquors. So far as fermented drinks like beer and stout were concerned, the gravity of beer was reduced to an average of 1,030 degrees in Great Britain and to 1,045 degrees in Ireland for the stout for which it is famous.

As regards distilled liquor such as whisky, brandy, gin and rum which contain a larger amount of alcohol than fermented liquors like beer and stout, the British Government passed legislation to reduce the alcohol content. This came in four successive stages under the last of which it was compulsory to dilute them to 30 degrees under proof. It was also permissible for the seller to dilute them still further to 50 degrees under proof.

The improvement in national efficiency expected from these measures was much less than what has been anticipated. Drinkers accommodated themselves to the regulations and continued to buy the quantities of liquor formerly consumed by them.

The reason for this is not far to seek. In all countries, including Great Britain, where indulgence in liquor is not banned by legislation, the State endeavours to discourage excessive consumption through restrictions imposed on the retailer of intoxicants. For instance, in all these countries it is illegal to sell liquor to minors, to people already drunk, to sell outside certain hours of the day, not to do so on particular days and so forth. There are, however, practically no restrictions on the producers of liquor in normal times. Nor are they prevented from using every channel of publicity and every channel of distribution to sell their wares.

As a matter of fact, the liquor trade in Great Britain continued to produce the pre-war normal quantity of beer amounting to 36 million barrels of beer and 32 million gallons of spirits; there was no diminution in consumption, what little improvement in efficiency appeared was due to the reduction in the alcoholic content of liquor and that only where the drinkers did not buy larger amounts than before these measures had come into force and which they could easily do on account of their higher earnings during the war period.

### V

It was round about this time that the compulsion of circumstances forced the British leaders to take note to the attitude of employers to their workers which, a heritage from the unsympathetic if not selfish individualism of the nineteenth century, had consisted in the total lack of interest in their welfare, easily understandable because the supply had always been in

excess of the demand. They turned their attention to ascertaining the causes of excessive drinking in the hope that their removal would encourage moderation. Such a course, it was believed, would not only yield immediate results and thus be helpful in the war effort but would, if implemented as a long term programme, greatly reduce even if it failed to eliminate drunkenness.

Medical men and social workers were consulted and various Committees were set up to conduct intensive investigations into the reasons which led workers to indulge in liquor in spite of the advice of the leaders of the nation to the contrary, their undoubted patriotism and their burning desire to utilise all their energies in the service of their country.

Among the various reports submitted by one or other of these Committees, mention may be made of the following: *Industrial Efficiency and Fatigue, Hours of Work, Statistical Information Concerning Output in reference to Hours of Work, Industrial Canteens, Employment of Women, Juvenile Employment and Welfare Supervision.*

The findings of these Committees may be classified under three heads. Working people did not ordinarily eat wholesome and nourishing food in adequate quantities at a time when it was incumbent on them to speed up the manufacture and delivery of munitions and when therefore the extra output of energy required should have come from the improved quality and the increased quantity of food. Many of these under-fed people took to liquor mainly because the capacity to undergo hard toil which should have come from food was, under its influence, derived from their reserve stock of energy the depletion of which ultimately led to loss of strength, ill-health and disease.

Secondly, housing accommodation, previously in short supply, became scarcer when abnormally large number of workers had to be concentrated in centres of work. This resulted in unusual overcrowding which deprived them of recuperative rest. Many unable to secure lodgings close to their places of work found it at distant places and were compelled to spend time which should have been devoted to rest, in going to work and returning home. Most of them had been separated from their families and the dreary and monotonous nature of their work increased their need for companionship and relaxation. This they found in the public houses where they met others similarly circumstanced and the temptation to drink, purchase of which was easy on account of the high wages earned, was irresistible and excess in it almost inevitable.

A third cause was excessive fatigue due to long hours of work, overtime and even work on Sundays. The people could have stood up to the strain, at least to some extent, if the food taken by them had been of such a nature as to supply them with the quantum of energy spent in work. The connection between



habitual overstrain for months at a time and drinking under these circumstances hardly needs emphasising.

Recognising the necessity of removing these principal social causes of drinking, the British Government through certain organisations, public and private, established industrial canteens where nourishing food in adequate quantities was supplied to labour. These had halls for rest, relaxation and recreation. Housing schemes sponsored by the State and private enterprise were put through. For reasons easily understood, Government was not in a position to do anything to drastically reduce the excessive labour which had to be undergone during the war period.

Naturally enough, it was sometime before arrangements for providing the proper type of food and accommodation for anything like a respectable proportion of the millions of British workers could be made with the result that the improvement derived from this method was not such as to make any immediate appreciable difference in the drink situation.

#### VI

The next step was taken when the submarine menace grew in intensity and many a ship carrying foodstuffs to the United Kingdom was torpedoed leading to loss of valuable lives and of food at a time when starvation stared the people in the face. An official publication entitled *How to Save and Why* which drew attention to the urgent necessity of no longer using precious foodstuffs for the manufacture of liquor and aimed at mobilising public opinion in favour of utilising every available grain of it for feeding man and beast, stated:

"Immense quantities of food materials such as barley, wheat, and maize are used in this country for the manufacture of beer and spirits. As beer and spirits are almost valueless as food, and can only be classed as luxuries pure and simple, all this grain is lost for food purposes. If this grain were available for food, both for man and beast, the prices of bread and meat would be lowered."

When a sufficient volume of public opinion in favour of the saving of food in the above manner had been created, the Food Controller passed orders under which the production of beer was cut down to 30 million barrels in 1915-16. Then came the Output of Beer (Restrictions) Act, 1916 fixing the production of beer to 26 million barrels in 1916-17 followed by similar legislation reducing it to 10 million barrels for 1917-18.

Restrictions were also applied on the production and availability of distilled liquors. In 1917, distilling for beverage purposes was prohibited except under license from the Minister of Munitions. The quantity of spirits that could be cleared from bond was restricted to one-half the amount cleared in 1916.

The beneficial results of reduction in the alcoholic content of liquor which had failed to encourage moderation so long as the production of alcoholic

beverages had been maintained on the pre-war level began to manifest themselves when, under the restrictions referred to above, gradually diminishing quantities were made available to the public. The effect of all these measures, in the language of Mr. H. Cecil Heath, a prominent leader of the Temperance Movement in Great Britain, was that.

"The year 1918 (when the effects of the above measures for reducing the consumption of liquor manifested themselves most effectively) was indeed the most sober year since the beginning of the century."—*The Control of A Dangerous Trade*, p. 89.

While the difficulty of definitely fixing what exact proportion of the sobriety which appeared especially towards the end of the First World War can be attributed to each of the above measures is freely admitted, it does not seem unreasonable to presume that the most potent factor in improving the drink situation was limitation in the production of liquor and reduction in the quantity made available for sale. This view appears to be corroborated by the deterioration which manifested itself immediately after the withdrawal of this particular war-time restriction.

#### VII

The unquestioned acceptance of what has been called the alcohol tradition in Western countries accounts for the failure of the appeal for voluntary abstinence made by the King-Emperor as also for the rejection of the resolution moved in the House of Commons to stop the serving of alcoholic beverages in its refreshment bar for the duration of the war only—matters referred to previously. It also explains the deprecatory tone of the speech made by Mr. Lloyd George when introducing legislation for imposing restrictions on the production and availability of liquor as is evident from the following extract from it:

"Of all the perplexing and disagreeable tasks that could fall to the lot of any Minister, I think that any attempt to provide a solution for the drink difficulty is about the worst. . . . To agree upon the facts is bad enough, but to agree about a remedy is almost impossible. One cannot hope to satisfy everybody, because the problem is one that will always provoke very intense feeling, and unfortunately it is a question where everybody has what I may call 'previous convictions.' . . . Every Government that has ever touched alcohol has burnt its fingers in its lurid flames. Whenever you try to approach it, there are barbed-wire entanglements on every road, and passions and prejudices and principles all of the most explosive character behind them."

What has been said above makes it quite clear that the different measures for controlling the production and availability of liquor were so unpopular that the British Government had to feel its way carefully and slowly increasing the stringency of such steps as it took only when the failure, complete or partial,

of the previous one had been demonstrated beyond any doubt.

No fair-minded man will deny that, taking into account the public sentiment in Great Britain in regard to the drink problem, the Government of the day showed great wisdom in tackling it in the way it did as also that it did manage to secure almost universal support. The reason why this was accorded most certainly was not a radical change in public sentiment. An abnormal situation was responsible for what for want of a better term may be described as an abnormal decision. And it came because, in the language of an advocate of moderate consumption of liquor, Britain,

"a nation dominated by indescribable fear of the future was wholeheartedly behind any steps taken to safeguard the national interests and drink was admitted on all sides to be interfering very seriously with national efficiency."

While every one realised its individual and social evil effects, so strong was the hold alcohol had on the public that it refused to admit the only permanent and satisfactory solution of the problem *viz.*, a total stoppage of the production and distribution of alcoholic beverages and the legal banning of its consumption.

#### VIII

So impressed was the British Government with the reduction in excessive drinking which appeared in 1918, that in a statement issued by it in November that year it declared :

"There must be a proper adaptation to peace conditions of the experience which, during the war, they had gained in regard to the traffic in drink."

This undertaking was not, however, fulfilled. With peace, all restrictions on the output of beer were withdrawn so that by July, 1919 brewers were free to produce and sell as much fermented liquors as they desired. Similarly, increase in the specific gravity of beer to the pre-war level was permitted. By November the same year, restrictions on the production of distilled liquor and the quantities allowed to be withdrawn from bond also disappeared. The only beneficial measure which was continued, and that in a modified form, was a reduction in the hours of sale as compared with pre-war conditions. These were as follows:

#### London—

Week-days .. .. 9 hours

Sunday .. .. 5 "

#### Elsewhere—

Week-days .. .. 8 "

Sunday .. .. 5 "

After the withdrawal or relaxation of the war-time restrictions, the consumption of intoxicating liquors in terms of absolute alcohol in 1919 showed an increase of approximately 60 per cent while the per capita expenditure on alcohol including drinkers, abstainers and children rose to £8-8s as against £3-12s-6d in 1913

with an alarming increase in arrests for drunkenness. In fact, the war period of compulsory moderation was followed by a swing in the direction of larger consumption and, along with it, re-appearance of all the old evils.

#### IX

Coming to the conclusions we are legitimately entitled to draw from the facts set forth above, it may be stated that, generally speaking, the long-term programme for ensuring moderation has not been an unqualified success. The First World War came to an end more than three decades ago. During all these years the movement for providing the proper type of accommodation, food and working conditions has continued. Today, there are many organisations, some voluntary, others State-aided, working continuously and whole-heartedly to do all they can for the removal of those factors which largely explain the drinking habits of the West. It has, however, to be pointed out that well-intentioned and efficiently organised as they are, they have so far failed in materially reducing what we may call the incidence of drunkenness by which is meant the physical, intellectual and spiritual degradation and ruin of the drinker and the social and economic injury for which his habit is responsible.

This technique has only a limited utility for, as is clear from Western experience, it is far from being a complete solution of the drink problem. These and similar other well-meant efforts have failed because in Great Britain as in other Western countries, the approach to the drink problem has invariably been a hesitant one, being directed not towards the elimination of drinking but at discouraging excess. Nonetheless, they have a significance for India which is pledged to full-blooded prohibition. If, following the example of Great Britain, we are in a position to remove what have been called the social causes of drinking, there is little doubt that we shall succeed in materially reducing the number of those who today patronise illicit liquor.

It has also to be remembered that among people who have so long earned their living through the liquor trade, the vast majority are those engaged in tapping palm trees and selling today. Generally speaking, they are poor and have followed this business for generations. As such people know no other way of supporting themselves, they are tempted to follow their hereditary occupation, obviously in a clandestine manner, after the introduction of prohibition. And it is only natural to presume that they will be tempted to do so till they are provided with some alternative employment. This explains the steps taken by Madras, Bombay and Uttar Pradesh for what we may describe as their rehabilitation. And we may be certain that this wise move is the best long-term method of ending much of the illicit production and distribution of the most widely consumed variety of alcoholic beverage in India.

The second conclusion is that even the most stringent of restrictions can never eliminate drinking; they can only reduce it, as was the aim set before their country by British leaders during the First World War. From this it follows that if our goal is the abolition of drinking, no system of control, however ingenious, can enable us to reach it. This is possible, only with the total stoppage of the production and distribution of liquor and the banning of drinking through legislation which is what we are doing in India.

One great advantage in our favour is that, unlike Western countries where the majority have no objection to drinking so long as excess is avoided and which does not carry social obloquy, public sentiment in India very definitely condemns even moderate indulgence in liquor.

The third conclusion is that the successful operation of any system of control as also of prohibition demands large-scale active public support. It was offered during the war period in Great Britain on account of apprehensions of losing the war through inefficiency due to indulgence in drink. We in India have what we may call the passive acquiescence of the public in our prohibition programme.

The creation of a strong and active public opinion against drinking and in favour of prohibition is easier as, according to competent observers including Mahatma Gandhi, indulgence in alcoholic beverages is, up to the present, confined to about 10 per. cent

of the population. Anti-alcohol and pro-prohibition education and propaganda are probably the most effective methods for this purpose.

The difficulties we shall have to overcome were rampant even when we did not have prohibition and they will continue so long as the world contains greedy people prepared to defy the law for the sake of profit and individuals ready to pay high prices for liquor without which their lives become uncomfortable. The former as law-breakers have to be severely dealt with especially where they are well-to-do and educated people from whom the State has the right to expect better things. Poor men who are driven to illicit practices because they are thrown out of employment through the imposition of prohibition should, as stated previously, be trained in new occupations.

Effective steps will have to be taken along Western lines to remove the social causes of drinking including regulation of working hours, providing healthy accommodation and balanced food for workers. What are called neighbourhood centres and poor men's clubs where ex-drinkers and others can enjoy social life will have to be provided by welfare organisations with or without State aid.

Normally, a majority of the new generation which will appear after prohibition has been in operation for some years will not know or care to familiarise themselves with the taste of liquor. But there will always be some defectives who will continue to crave liquor. They will need medical attention which should be provided by the State.

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## LONDON LETTER

By MAJOR D. GRAHAM POLE

There is little doubt but that London is the show place of the world. Nowhere else can you see pageantry so well mounted. Within the space of a single week—at opposite ends of the historic street of Whitehall—two events have occurred to capture the public imagination. In Trafalgar Square, the Prime Minister has hoisted the flag of the United Nations. In Westminster Hall, to mark the opening of the Commons' new debating chamber, the King has received loyal addresses from Lords and Commons in the presence of the Speakers or Presiding Officers of all the Parliaments and Legislative Assemblies that exist in the British Commonwealth.

The United Nations' flag has a clear and lovely blue for its ground. No other colour would have been more fitting. Red is like the blast of a trumpet but blue has a persuasive quality. It has been described as the colour of youth and distance and devotion. (In Western religious art the mantle of the Virgin Mary is invariably painted blue). How many years will pass before this flag stirs the heart of our common humanity—in the same way as a national flag stirs our private loyalties? It will be a wonderful day for the world when the members of the United Nations agree to fly its flag

on all public occasions, alongside the national flag and—eventually—at the head of the mast!

No one can tell at this stage what will be the immediate consequences to the world of the United Nations intervention in Korea. If Korea had no neighbours, the war would be as good as over and the victors using their great resources for the more congenial work of rehabilitation. But Chinese prisoners have been taken and they all speak of a force of forty thousand Chinese troops which are coming to the aid of the Northern Koreans. China is in anxious and perhaps expansionist mood and she is fishing also in the troubled waters of Indo-China and the hitherto untroubled Tibet. Is she going to make war on the United Nations forces? It would be a tragedy for China and the world if she mistook United Nations police action for the old Western imperialism.

Still whatever the immediate consequences of United Nations intervention in Korea, there is no doubt that Korea marks a turning point in the history of the world. For the first time in its history the nations of the world have seen themselves as a community and a community that will not tolerate aggression. The League of Nations



failed because it had not grasped that principle. When Japan invaded Manchuria, it should have been everyone's business to pull the chestnuts out of the fire. Then Abyssinia would have been saved from Italy, Austria from Germany, and Spain from Italian and German intervention in her civil war. There would have been no second world war. But this time history is not going to repeat itself. Keeping the peace is the concern of everybody and aggression will not be allowed to succeed anywhere.

In Europe, we feel it is a pity that the United Nations forces fighting in Korea, aside from the powerful aid of the South Koreans themselves, should be almost entirely American and European. It is a satisfaction to hear that a Turkish contingent is on its way. The Turks cannot be regarded as 'western capitalists.' Turkey indeed has every reason to support the United Nations action. In Europe, she has Russia and other Iron Curtain States for neighbours. Only Greece has preserved her independence—and Turkey has seen what Communist neighbours tried to bring off in Greece.

When the Korean war is over, as we pray it soon may be, the United Nations Organization will have an opportunity to show the North Koreans that other aspect of collective security, collective well-being. All over England this past week meetings have been held at which these two sides have been under examination. Perhaps it is worth while recalling for a moment the position taken up by UNO. Its aim is to put down aggression, to hold the world in a secure wall. But a wall is no good unless life inside it is tolerable. *The problem of well-being, says UNO, is the parallel problem to that of war.*

"Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war." But what a pity that these victories are so lacking in the picturesque! It is high time that we turned our attention to the business of making the virtues of peace-making, of compassion, as attractive as the heroics of war. When most people think of the United Nations they think of its most conspicuous feature, the fact that Russia has used the veto about forty-seven times. But there have been other kinds of vetoes of much greater importance to mankind. In 1947, as a result of the prompt action of the World Health Organization of the United Nations Organization, an outbreak of cholera in Egypt was 'vetoed' in a matter of weeks. Last year, through the work of the same Organization, for the first time in her history there was not a single death from malaria in Italy. The United Nations has vetoed endless misery amongst refugees. It has settled eight hundred thousand of them in new countries and re-instated seventy thousand others. At present it is keeping alive six millions of mothers and children. India is aware of the great attempt which the United Nations is making to combat infantile paralysis since only last year its Organization sent her twenty iron lungs. It is the intention to create an international pool of iron lungs for use by any country in emergencies. It is impossible to over-

rate the value of this side of UNO. Just as collective security mobilises the armies of the world to put down aggression, collective well-being is mobilising the conscience of the world. But the mobilisation is so slow. What can we do to make it a reality to the man in the street?

But to return to Westminster Hall and to the opening of the new Commons. Rather surprisingly this seemingly formal and domestic occasion turned out to be a most moving experience with a message for the whole world. In the first place the business was one long courtesy. It had begun earlier in the week when speeches were made by the Commons thanking the Lords for the hospitality of their chamber which they had enjoyed ever since their own was destroyed by enemy action in May 1941. Then, when in Westminster Hall, Lords and Commons met to present loyal addresses to his majesty the King, it was his speech in reply which made the day remarkable. Parliament has a history reaching back for about seven hundred years and more. We are rather apt to take it for granted. But in his speech the King put it into world perspective. 'This new Chamber', he said, 'will stand as a sign to the world of our faith in freedom, for freedom finds expression in this palace of Westminster where free men and women can speak in accordance with the dictates of their consciences. Not for us the silence of suppression.' Point was given to his words by the presence of representatives of twenty-nine Commonwealth Parliaments. 'Of all the bonds which unite my peoples,' he had said earlier in his speech, 'none is stronger than our common devotion to the ideals of freedom, justice and toleration.' Freedom, justice and toleration—we must not forget that this is our heritage and our contribution to the common stock.

The new chamber is no bigger than the old and there are still not enough seats for members. 'We shape our buildings and then they shape us.' For years Parliament met in a chapel and members of the House spoke from either side of a narrow aisle. This made for an intimate manner in debate and it also pre-figured the two-party system. By such an accident of architecture have we been influenced, but it was a lucky accident. In France and Germany, we have seen the confusion and impotence wrought in their assemblies by the splintering and shading off of parties. And as for a confined space, it has its advantages. There is no room for a rostrum and its rhetoric, no opportunity for prolonged bad manners. In France, the other day, where the deputies are provided with desks, the Communist members banged the lids of their desks for three-quarters of an hour on end!

A consequence of our predilection for the two-party system is that the Liberal Party can make no headway. In the last two elections its vote has not varied. Seeing this, some prominent Liberals have put forward an interesting proposal. They think that Liberalism can operate primarily as a faith than as a party. To this end

they suggest that Liberals everywhere should make it their special object to expose injustices and to help to preserve the freedom of the individual in every way possible. Many Conservative and Labour supporters will approve this project. Freedom of the individual seems to them to be especially threatened. Somehow several well-meant schemes have gone away. It is rather as if the horses had been given oats, but the oats had eaten the horses (as Shakespeare remarked)! A writer in this week's *Time and Tide*, a non-party weekly, after enumerating the various numbers which he has been allotted—birth certificate, identity card, health insurance, trade union, car, driving, dog, gun and fishing licence, and his passport—comments: 'Never was so much done for the citizen; and never did the citizen feel less important, less in charge of his own actions and destiny, than he does today.'

The Commons are entering into possession of their new quarters for what may be the last lap of the present Parliament. In any event its life cannot be prolonged for more than another year. But whether the span be long or short, it will have a different character. Sir Stafford Cripps, England's version of an 'Iron Chancellor', has no longer his hand on the tiller. His successor Mr. Gaitskell is a much younger man and a trained economist. He will need all that youth and knowledge and vision can give him because he is taking over at a moment when an economic blizzard is rising. For some years we have had a wage freeze but the pressure of perpetually rising prices has proved too much for it and a thaw has set in. The policy of restraint in wages, as the *Economist* points out, has been abandoned. It has been abandoned moreover by its stoutest practiser, Mr. Deakin, the General Secretary of the Transport and General Workers Union. And 'when the Transport and General Workers Union turns to claim higher wages, no union will be far behind.' The ordinary citizen, in fact, is finding himself in an intolerable position. Prices go up all the time and especially, it seems, of the things he cannot not do without. In the past few weeks, to name a few items, prices have risen on wool, pyjamas, utility furs, stockings, bacon, butter, chocolate, sardines, shoe repairs, railway and bus fares, cinemas and rain-coats.

The new Chancellor has certainly a dismal prospect before him. Can he find a way out of the storm? Our city news editors seem content for the most part merely to chart its course. This is a comment from the *London Star*: 'With cotton and wool prices soaring to dizzy heights—Egyptian cotton is now five shillings a lb. and wool at twelve shillings to fifteen shillings is fifteen times the price in 1945—an extraordinary situation is arising in the textile trades. Cost accountants in Lancashire say that about thirteen shillings in every pound spent by the manufacturer now goes for raw materials. The poor man's clothes of cotton and wool are becoming silk and satin luxuries. And we can't even wear sackcloth because of the price of jute.'

How are we to pay these prices and how on top of

all this are we to pay for our part in Korea and for re-armament? It is to be hoped that the new Chancellor of the Exchequer is more interested in the ways of making money, in increasing production, than in increasing taxation. At the Labour Party Conference this year there was a section still out for blood—for a further capital levy. But the results of such a levy are a drop in a mighty ocean, in fact, have a spite value rather than an economic one. Earlier in the year the Government published the Report of a Committee appointed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer to enquire into the question of the preservation and maintenance of houses of outstanding historic or architectural interest. This Report, most extraordinarily interesting for its own sake, revealed incidentally what a tiny minority there are in England who can by any standards be considered well off. Commenting on income tax and sur-tax it stated: 'The present rates of these taxes mean that no individual, however much his gross income or whatever its source, can have much more than £5,000 to spend; only seventy taxpayers in the country are left with more than £6,000 a year; and that sum represents a gross income of about £100,000.' If, as we are so often told, real money is worth about a third of what it was before the war, it is in sober fact arguable that there are no rich people left in the country at all! Indeed it is a safe conjecture, whenever we hear of some great house that is still in private occupation or of some individual who is living in a particularly beautiful London flat, that in the first case the owner is drawing on his capital and in the second is a director whose expenses are being paid. There is no escape from figures.

There may be no escaping taxation if you live in this country but some businesses can go abroad and this is what they are going to do. During the past week Rhodesian copper concerns have decided to move their domicile from London to Rhodesia and the Anglo-Palestine Bank is moving to Israel. No doubt the Chancellor of the Exchequer has taken note of this, has seen how penal taxation is at last penalising itself. The move on the part of those who can go is not surprising; the wonder is that they have waited so long. Consider for a moment the position of the Calico Printers. After paying no dividend for a number of years, they have just paid 12½ per cent. This is a long way better than nothing but its value is off-set by the tremendous rise in prices. And the dividend could have been infinitely greater, to make up for the lean years. But the Treasury has taken the lion's share. £138,000 was paid out in dividends. £1,368,000 was paid in taxes.

Somehow the country must find a way of becoming richer. At present all classes, whatever their income, feel they are growing poorer all the time. A working man remarked to me the other day: 'I am four times better off than I was before the War and I am twice as poor.' Personally I think the country could do with a little zest. For a change we might try a policy of all-out production. No restrictive practices, no restraint on

wages, no restraint on profits. All these restraints, whatever else can be said for them, are bad for the spirit. People should feel it is what they can do, not what they can do without that is of use to society.

The night before the opening of the new Commons, several of those who had taken part in its building—from its distinguished architect downwards—joined in a broadcast from the new chamber. The most interesting to me was the master wood-carver. One of the things he said was this: 'People think our craft is dying out, but it is not. And it won't if you give us work to do.' An inevitable consequence of the economic revolution which has taken place in this country has been a great falling off in style. Beautiful houses, built to be lived in by a private family, have been turned into offices or converted into flats. They have an extraordinarily depressing effect, mainly because of the neglected appearance of the windows. Such windows, meant to be furnished with well-hung curtains, are now for the most part empty sockets—if a house has been turned into offices—or are disfigured by an unrelated collection of curtains if the house has been let off in flats. From Victoria to Marble Arch, on the way to my tribunal office, I pass nothing but these forsaken houses (except for the large hotels and modern blocks of flats in Park Lane which make the remaining houses, with their deserted balconies, seem more derelict than ever). It is difficult to see how anything can be done to bring back life to these houses, but we have a chance to save another kind—if the Chancellor will take it.

In her country houses England has made an outstanding contribution to the common stock of beauty. In the words of the Report quoted above: 'It is not too much to say that these houses represent an association of beauty, of art and of nature—the achievement often of centuries of effort—which is irreplaceable, and has seldom, if ever, been equalled in the history of civilisation.' But these houses are in danger because they can no longer support themselves. In the old days labour was cheap and the rent roll was sufficient. But to-day domestic help is all but non-existent and the rent roll dwindles as successive heirs sell off land to meet the cost of death duties. The disappearance of domestic help is causing great damage to the fabric of the houses. It means dry rot amongst other consequences of neglect. Also—and this brings us back to the master wood-carver—'few recruits,' says the Report, 'are now attracted into the career of estate carpenter, plumber or mason.'

We have had a surfeit of plans. Can we not devise one that will rescue these beautiful houses from decay? The disappearing masons and carpenters, for instance, whose crafts we all want to keep alive, could not a guild be made of them—from which it would be possible to choose whenever one of these houses was in need of their skill.

An exhibition of paintings and silver and gold ware from one of the historic houses of England—Woburn Abbey—is now being held in London. People flock to

it to see the beautiful portraits by Reynolds and Gainsborough. But it is worth while taking a season ticket and paying several visits. Then there is leisure to disregard for the time being the artistic claims of the various paintings and to consider instead the subjects as they were in real life, these curiously attractive but reserved members of the house of Russell. (There is only one striking that smiles and it succeeds in seeming vulgar). In one room a slender, stately Duchess fixes the attention. Her son was killed in the hunting-field and his wife, who is painted in the dress she wore as one of Queen Charlotte's bridesmaids, died a year after him. He appears in hunting kit—not the tiresome 'pink' but a gilt lace get-up—and the portrait of his wife is the most striking one in the entire exhibition. The bereaved Duchess presided for years and years at Woburn after they had died. Something of the poignancy of defeated hopes and the ability to hold on comes across from these portraits. Or again, one's attention is caught—and this time it is by a really insolent-looking beauty. It is not surprising to read in the catalogue that Queen Elizabeth was offended when this creature attracted the notice of the Earl of Essex. Not that she was unhappily married. But when one tracks down the portraits of the husband, here is a surprise indeed. He seems the very embodiment of intelligence and open good humour. Why did that age, as witness its poetry, feel such an attraction in these cruel harpies?

One could haunt these paintings for a very long time, recapturing from their subjects—and the corroborating notes in the catalogue—a bit of the atmosphere of the days in which they lived. One feels it would be a real historic loss if these paintings—and other similar collections—were dispersed and put up for sale. There is an artistic value and a value that belongs to history, and the historical value is dissipated when a portrait is considered in isolation.

Some way must be found of carrying over the past into the welfare state.

And yesterday, with the accustomed pageantry, the King opened the new session of Parliament. The sun shone out—the usual King's weather as with the Queen he drove amid cheering crowds from Buckingham Palace to the Palace of Westminster.

The King's Speech from the Throne was a not very inspiring document. The proposal to continue permanently the controls which have heretofore only been carried on from year to year will raise much opposition. Already a vote of censure has been tabled by the Opposition led by Mr. Churchill. It is generally expected that this will be the last Session of this Parliament and that Spring or at latest Autumn of next year will see another General Election resulting, everyone hopes, in a decisive majority for one party or the other so that the Government may carry on with a definite programme instead of, as at present, whipping up all the halt and maimed for each Division so as to keep the government in office.

Westminster, London, 1st November, 1950.



# "POSITION" OF THE PRESIDENTS OF INDIA"

## A Rejoinder \*

By D. N. BANERJEE,

University Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science, Calcutta University

### I

I have read with a considerable interest Mr. K. K. Basu's article entitled "The President of India," published in *The Modern Review* for September, 1950, in reference to mine entitled "Position of the President of India," published in *The Modern Review* for June, 1950. In his natural and understandable anxiety to defend the position of the "eminent Calcutta lawyer" to whose discourse on the Indian Presidency I had made a reference in my previous article, Mr. Basu does not appear to have very carefully gone through the article; otherwise he would not have made in his article some of the observations he has thought fit to make. So far as I am concerned, I adhere to every word of what I had stated in my article in regard to the position of the President of India.

### II

Before, however, I actually deal with the points raised by Mr. Basu, I should like to make a preliminary remark in regard to the cheap fling he has cast at the subject of Political Science. I very much wish that all our lawyers—particularly the "practising" ones—had been keen students of Political Science before they took to the legal profession. Had they all been so, it would not only have been good for themselves as well as for their clientele, but many of them would not also have betrayed in their professional and other activities that lamentable ignorance of elementary, constitutional matters which we often find in them. I do not know if Mr. Basu himself had been a serious student of Political Science. Perhaps not; otherwise he could not have made in his article the rather amazing statement that "both in origin and effect a written constitution radically differs from an unwritten constitution." Every student even of the Elements of Political Science knows that the distinction between a so-called written and a so-called unwritten constitution "is really one of degree rather than of kind" and, therefore does not mark a contrast between two very widely differentiated groups. As Bryce<sup>2</sup> has rightly observed, "(written constitutions, so called, become 'developed by interpretation, fringed with decisions, and enlarged by custom, so that after a time the letter of their texts no longer conveys their full effect.'"

("The classification . . . of constitutions as written and unwritten," says a distinguished American publicist,<sup>3</sup> "is not only confusing and unscientific, but it

results in placing in the category of written constitutions some which contain a large element of custom and convention, and in the category of unwritten constitutions others which to a large extent have been reduced to written form.")

And Dr. Strong,<sup>4</sup> a well-known English authority today on Comparative Politics, has gone so far as to say that the division of constitutions into "unwritten and written" "is really a false distinction, because there is no constitution which is entirely unwritten and no constitution entirely written.")

"We repeat," he has emphasized, "that a classification of constitutions on the basis of whether they are unwritten or written is illusory."

Moreover, such a distinction is "misleading."<sup>5</sup> Any argumentation based upon this "false," "illusory," "misleading" and "unscientific" distinction between a so-called written and a so-called unwritten constitution, as appears to have been done by Mr. Basu in his article, is fallacious, confusing, meaningless, and irrational, and I need not, therefore, say anything further in regard to this particular point at this stage.

### III

I shall now deal with the main points raised by Mr. Basu in his article.

(1) In the first place, I should like to state that I did not, for the sake of decency,<sup>6</sup> actually refer in my article to the view of the "eminent Calcutta lawyer" in question on the position and powers of the President of India. I simply referred in it to his method of approach to the subject and stated that "the Constitution of a country is not to be found in its law alone" as "it is a blend of formal law, precedent, and tradition." And I added that "what Maitland has called 'rules of constitutional morality, or the customs or the conventions' of a constitution, make up a substantial part of it." I, therefore, really wonder how Mr. Basu could say, "Hence no view other than the one ascribed to 'the eminent Calcutta lawyer' is, in the nature of things, possible." Mr. Basu has, however, agreed with me, although for reasons which are different from my own and with which I shall deal hereinafter, that "the President is the constitutional head of our State." But this was not the view of the "eminent Calcutta lawyer" whom he is so anxious to defend. Arguing solely from the letter of our Constitution, this eminent lawyer declared, in essence, at a public function attended by a host of legal luminaries and others, that the Constitution

This Rejoinder may kindly be read along with my article on the "Position of the President of India" in *The Modern Review* for June, 1950.

1. The italics are mine.

2. Quoted by Prof. Garner in his *Political Science and Government* (p. 512) and also in his *Introduction to Political Science*, p. 322.

3. Prof. J. W. Garner. See his *Political Science and Government*, p. 512, and also his *Introduction to Political Science*, p. 390.

4. See C. F. Strong, *Modern Political Constitution*, 3rd Edition, 1949, pp. 64-65 and pp. 129-30; also Marriott, *English Political Institutions*, 4th Edition, pp. 27-28.

5. See *ibid.*

\*\* I knew that the eminent Calcutta lawyer in question would be present at the Legal Conference where I would read my article referred to before.

\* This is the view of

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had made our President a despot and that he could, under it, be, if he wanted to, a dictator or an autocrat in certain circumstances. Will Mr. Basu accept this view in regard to the position and powers of the President of India? I am afraid that he cannot, by his own admission. (The whole object of my article was to establish that the President of India was not, could not be, and was not either intended by the authors of our Constitution to be, a despot, a dictator, or an autocrat, in any circumstances, as some people erroneously thought, and that he was simply the constitutional Head of a quasi-federal parliamentary democracy.) And I stick to this view.

(2) Secondly, Mr. Basu has said that

"An unambiguous provision of a written constitution can never be rendered obsolete by mere desuetude or country practice," and that "Prof. Banerjee's views seem to rest upon a fallacious assumption that conventions may control or regulate the working of a written Constitution."

It may be borne in mind in this connexion that the words "obsolete," "control" and "regulate" do not imply abrogation, or repeal or deletion. No one will say—and I, although not a practising lawyer, did not say it anywhere in my article—that a convention can override or repeal or abrogate the provision of any law, written or unwritten. The distinction attempted to be made by Mr. Basu between a written or statute law—and what he means by a "written" constitution is only an instance of a written or statutory law—and an unwritten or common law is not relevant in this connexion. A law is a law and it does not matter, for the purpose we have in view, whether it is written (or statutory) or unwritten (or common). However, what Mr. Basu has tried to imply by the statements quoted above, is not correct. The operation of a law, written or unwritten, may, particularly in the constitutional sphere, be profoundly affected or modified, in actual practice and in the course of time, by a convention or conventions. As we find in Sir William Anson,<sup>6</sup> the whole system of responsible government as it has developed in England is based on convention. And we find in Ridges' *Constitutional Law of England* :

"The whole system of responsible government in the Dominions (with the exception of the Irish Free State) and of inter-imperial relations grew up upon Convention."

Again, as Professor K. C. Wheare<sup>8</sup> of the University of Oxford has shown, the constitutional structure of a State—and by this he means the entire "collection of rules establishing and regulating the political institutions of that State"—"contains two classes of rules, rules of strict law, a selection of which might often be found inscribed in a 'Constitution,' and non-legal rules or usages and conventions." Their mutual relation may be stated

shortly by saying that, although the non-legal constitutional rules can never repeal or abolish the rules of strict law, yet the former often operate "to supplement, to modify, to paralyse, or to nullify the rules of strict law." By way of an illustration Professor Wheare says that if any person wants to know what is meant by the expression, "Dominion Status" today, i.e., the constitutional and international position of a Dominion, then it is not enough for him to study the provisions of the Statute of Westminster, 1931; but he must also study, along with it, the non-legal constitutional rules "to be found in the constitutional conventions between Great Britain and the Dominions agreed upon and declared at the Imperial Conferences of 1926 and 1930, and set out in the Reports of these Conferences."

("Neither the Statute of Westminster (1931) alone, nor the Reports alone, can supply an adequate definition of Dominion Status . . . but it requires a correlation of the two elements to describe the constitutional status of the Dominions, and it is this constitutional status which is denoted by the term 'Dominion Status'.")

Thus, Professor Wheare continues :

It is "the interaction and co-operation of rules of strict law and non-legal rules which is characteristic of all constitutional structures. . . . The working of the Cabinet system in Britain illustrates this type of co-operation. The legal power in the hands of the King, by prerogative or under Statute, to perform certain (not very extensive) functions in the administrative government of the country is exercised, by usage and convention, through and on the advice of Ministers responsible to Parliament. (In the same way the exercise of the legal executive powers of the President in France has, largely as the result of usage and convention, been transferred to Ministers in Parliament.)"

I may cite one or two more illustrations here in refutation of Mr. Basu's contention.

Clause (1) of Section 52 of the Government of India Act laid down:

"The governor of a governor's province may, by notification, appoint ministers, not being members of his executive council or other officials, to administer transferred subjects, and any minister so appointed shall hold office during his pleasure."

Apparently, there was no restriction in law upon the Governor's discretion in regard to the choice of Ministers except as provided for therein, and he could lawfully remove a Minister at pleasure. This was the position in law. But, as a matter of fact, the power of the Governor to choose his own Ministers was regulated in practice by a Convention which owed its origin to the following recommendation of the Parliamentary Joint Select Committee on the Government of India Bill, 1919, over which Lord Selborne had presided:

"The Committee are of opinion that the Ministers selected by the Governor to advise him on the transferred subjects should be elected members of the legislative council, enjoying its confidence and capable of leading it."

And although the Governor had the undoubted constitutional right of dismissing a Minister whose

6. See his *Law and Custom of the Constitution*, 4th Edition, Berridale Keith, Vol. II, Part I, p. 14.

7. See its Revised Edition, 1946, by Keith, p. 4, Foot-note (p), and Part IX, Chap. II; also See Anson, *ibid*.

8. See his *Statute of Westminster and Dominion Status*, 4th Edition, pp. 291-96, and 1-21.

policy he believed to be seriously at fault, yet it would ordinarily be extremely difficult and risky for him to exercise this right so long as the Minister enjoyed the confidence of a majority in the Legislative Council of the Province concerned. The whole constitutional position was very lucidly explained by His Excellency Lord Lytton, Governor of Bengal, in the course of a speech delivered in the Bengal Legislative Council on 11th January, 1927:

"The main principle," he said, "which characterizes a system of responsible representative government is that the Executive should be selected from that group or party which comprises a majority of the legislature and that it should resign, if and when the majority of the legislature refuses to support it. This principle was intended by Parliament to operate here as far as the administration of Transferred subjects was concerned. A Governor is expected to select Ministers who can obtain the support of a majority of the members of the Legislative Council, but, should he fail to do so, the Council has the remedy in its own hands and can compel the resignation of the Ministers. . . . Only such Ministers as can secure the support of the Council can remain in office. . . . I have no wish, and I have no power if I had the wish, to appoint Ministers that are unacceptable to the Council."

I may now refer to the particular convention in the United States of America, a country having a so-called written Constitution, which has "deprived the presidential electors of any freedom of choice." Referring to the development of the American Constitution by usage, Professor Munro<sup>12</sup> has observed:

"The Constitution has been developed, expanded, and modified by usage or custom. What habit is to the individual, usage is to the State. Nations, like men, get into the habit of doing things in a given way, habit then hardens into usage, which becomes difficult to change. . . . This habit-forming process goes on continually. Usage is always at work—adding, subtracting, altering, and influencing the substance of the written Constitution and the laws. It has given us, in considerable measure, an 'un-written Constitution'."

"What are," then asks Professor Munro, "some of the usages that have modified, developed, and fixed the political institutions of the United States? The most striking one, perhaps, concerns the method of electing the President. Here the written provisions of the Constitution have been so greatly altered by usage that a literal reading of them gives, in some cases, an impression which is wholly at variance with the realities."

"The presidential electors have become, under this usage, 'human robots with a purely mechanical function, and they now form an inconsequential cog in the machinery of election.'"

"Yet, as a matter of law," concludes Professor Munro, "there is nothing to prevent their doing just what the Constitution contemplated. It is merely that usage has become stronger than the Constitution itself." As a consequence, "there has developed pre-

cisely what the architects of the Constitution sought to avoid."<sup>13</sup>)

The observations of Professors Frédéric Ogg and Orman Ray<sup>14</sup> in this connection are also worthy of note:

"Another mode," they have stated, "by which our national constitution expands and develops is usage or custom. This method of change attracts less attention than the others. It does not—at all events immediately—result in amendments, laws, or judicial decisions. Superimposed, nevertheless, upon the instrument of 1787 and its formal amendments, upon the laws that amplify and the decisions that extend it, is a great and steadily developing 'unwritten constitution,' consisting of usages determining actual government practice quite as truly as do the stipulations of written law—in fact, sometimes more more truly, considering that no small number of such usages have had the effect of turning written law into unintended channels, or even of reducing it to a dead letter. Plenty of illustrations will come to view as we proceed; for the present, it must suffice merely to mention the manner in which the electoral college functions in choosing the president," etc.<sup>15</sup>

Nor, again, should we ignore here the view which Professor Laski<sup>16</sup> has expressed in his characteristic way:

"No important institution," he has said, "is ever what the law makes it merely. It accumulates about itself traditions, conventions, ways of behaviour, which, without ever attaining the status of formal law, are not less formidable in their influence than law itself could require. The prerogatives of the Crown in Great Britain are perhaps the supreme example of this habit; many of them retain their formal status as law and yet could hardly be revived without what would amount to a constitutional revolution. The habits of one period, this is to say, can hardly hope to determine the conduct of its successor. The dynamics of life require a continuity of adaptation which almost always means that the formal appearance is different, at any given moment, from the actual reality. To penetrate that reality, therefore, is always a difficult matter. In part, it is obscured, as most institutional phenomena are obscured, by the complexity of the material itself. (The processes of government are very like an iceberg; what appears on the surface may be but a small part of the reality beneath.)"

Nor, again, should we ignore here the significance of the following remark of Maitland<sup>17</sup>:

"We are lawyers dealing with law, but an account of our present mode of government which spoke only of legal rules would be an extremely inadequate and indeed a quite unintelligible account."

I may also refer here to the case of the Third French Republic:

"Under the Constitution of the existing French Republic," writes Dicey,<sup>18</sup> "constitutional conventions

12. See Munro, *op. cit.*, p. 73.

13. See their *Introduction to American Government*, 9th Edition, p. 58.

14. Also see in this connection Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*, Vol. I, Chapter V, Edition 1928; also Beard, *American Government and Politics*, Chapter VI; also Horwill, *The Usages of the American Constitution*; also Strong, *Modern Political Constitutions*, 3rd Edition, pp. 65 and 241-42.

15. See his *American Presidency*, pp. 13-14.

16. See his *Constitutional History of England*, 1941, p. 341.

17. See his *Law of the Constitution*, 8th Edition, p. 28, Footnote 1.

9. See Ridges' *Constitutional Law*, etc., Keith, p. 4, footnote (p).

10. See his *Government of the United States*, 5th Edition, pp. 72-75.

11. The italics are mine.



or understandings exert a considerable amount of influence. They considerably limit, for instance, the actual exercise of the large powers conferred by the letter of the Constitution on the President."

Considerations of space do not permit me to give any further illustrations here in refutation of Mr. Basu's contention. It is hoped, however, that, in view of what I have shown above, he will be convinced that it is not at all fallacious to assume that "conventions may control or regulate the working" of even a so-called written constitution, and that they may render an unambiguous provision of such a constitution practically obsolete. Nor is it an impossible idea to say, as Mr. Basu seems to imply, that conventions cannot grow under a so-called written constitution.

"The conventional element," says Dicey,<sup>18</sup> certainly an undisputed authority on Constitutional Law, "in the Constitution of the United States (which has undoubtedly a so-called written constitution) is far larger than most Englishmen suppose . . . It may be asserted without much exaggeration that the conventional element in the constitution of the United States is now as large as in the English Constitution." (3) Thirdly, according to Mr. Basu, it is a "faulty" "assumption" that "a parliamentary system of government necessarily imports a government on the English model," and he seems to think, agreeing with Principal Sri Ram Sharma, that "the pattern of our executive government is really French and not English." This only confirms my doubt, previously expressed, that Mr. Basu has not been a keen student of Political Science which he has tried to hold up to ridicule. Is there any essential difference between the English and the French system so far as the relation of the executive to the legislature is concerned? We should certainly not be misled by the fact that the Head of the State is called President in France (and also in the United States of America), and King in England. France had, under the Constitution of the Third Republic, and also has, under that of the Fourth Republic, the parliamentary form of government like England, and not the presidential type of government as in the United States, or any other type. And she has "borrowed" this idea of ministerial responsibility from England. She has thus simply imitated, so far as the relation of the executive to the legislature is concerned, the English system. And if, therefore, we are to refer to any country for a model of the parliamentary type of government, we should certainly refer to England, its original home, and not to France which has, in essence, only imitated it, although not always in a very satisfactory manner. As Professor Munro\* has aptly put it, "there is no magic in terminology." Not to speak of the Constitution of the Third Republic, even under the Constitution of the Fourth Republic, France "is a parliamentary republic," and "the prototype of the French President" is to be found in Buckingham Palace and not elsewhere.

The President, as Dr Strong<sup>19</sup> has shown, is still,

in fact, "only the nominal and not the real executive in France. (The real executive is a Cabinet of Ministers (the Council of Ministers) with a Prime Minister (the President of the Council of Ministers) at their head, (and) responsible to Parliament (in France)."

The President "cannot act in any executive matter except through his Ministers, who must, by the Constitution, countersign his every decree. . . . He is exactly in the position of a Constitutional King. He is a titular executive, nominally endowed with large powers and really restrained from employing them by the action of a responsible parliamentary Cabinet." He is, in short, "a Constitutional King for seven years."<sup>20</sup>

In view of all this, it is only natural and rational that I should refer specially to England for the salient features of the parliamentary type of government and not to France. Nevertheless, I have referred more than once to the French analogy in my previous article.<sup>21</sup> Perhaps this has escaped the attention of Mr. Basu. That the English model was deliberately chosen by the authors of our Constitution is also established by the following statement<sup>22</sup> of Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, a member of the Drafting Committee of the Indian Constituent Assembly:

"The Constituent Assembly has not drawn upon the French and other Continental Constitutions which had not the long experience which England had in the working of Responsible Government."

We should not presume to know more about the nature of our Constitution than its authors.

(4) Fourthly, (according to Mr. Basu Article 78(c) of our Constitution is a bar to the adoption of the English conventions relating to the Cabinet form of government as it "contemplates a contact between the President and individual Ministers without the intermediation or intervention of the Prime Minister," etc. (One fails to see how the Article in question can act as such a bar; at least, the authors of the Constitution who had deliberately chosen the English model, did not think so.) Assuming, however, for the sake of argument, that the Article contemplates an occasional contact between the President and an individual Minister, there is nothing inherently wrong in it so long as the Minister does not "counter-work" the Council of Ministers, or commits an act of treachery against it, or tries by his intrigue to undermine, in the estimation of the President, the position of any of his colleagues, or conspires against the leadership and ascendancy of the Prime Minister; or so long as the President himself does not overstep the elementary decencies of his constitutional position either by encouraging any such mean conduct on the part of the Minister, or by trying to introduce a disruptive element into the Council of Ministers. I need hardly point out here that any such base conduct, either on the part of a Minister or on the part of the President, as the case may be, will be inconsistent with Article 75(3) of our Constitution, which lays down that "the Council of Ministers shall be collec-

18. See *ibid.*

\* See his *Governments of Europe*, p. 409.

19. See his *Modern Political Constitutions*, 3rd Edition, 1949, pp. 226-27.

20. See *ibid.*

21. See *The Modern Review* for June, 1950, pp. 452-53.

22. See *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, (Republic India Supplement), January 26th, 1950, p. XXI.

tively responsible to the House of the People," and which, therefore, envisages a "united and indivisible responsibility" on the part of the Council. I do not think that any President or any Minister will, unless he has taken leave of all his senses—and in that case there is bound to be a remedy soon,—behave in a manner which will go against the principle of collective responsibility of Ministers. And how will this principle operate? Dr. Ambedkar, Chairman of the Drafting Committee of the Indian Constituent Assembly, made it clear in the course of a speech before the Constituent Assembly on 30th December, 1948 :

"In my judgment," he stated, "collective responsibility is enforced by the enforcement of two principles. One principle is that no person shall be nominated to the Cabinet except on the advice of the Prime Minister. Secondly, no person shall be retained as a Member of the Cabinet if the Prime Minister says that he shall be dismissed. It is only when Members of the Cabinet both in the matter of their appointment as well as (sic) in the matter of their dismissal are placed under the Prime Minister, that it would be possible to realise our ideal of collective responsibility. I do not see any other means or any other way of giving effect to that principle."

And this will ensure that the Council of Ministers will be "an unity" in relation to the President. Such personal contacts between the King and his individual Ministers do take place in England. Thus we find in Berrisdale Keith's *Constitutional Law* :<sup>23</sup>

"Individual Ministers have the right of access to the Sovereign on matters concerning their own departments, though, if of any importance, such communications should be made known to the Premier immediately beforehand or afterwards.... The right of the Crown is to early information.... Edward VII preferred oral discussions, and George V enjoyed frequent contact with Ministers."<sup>24</sup>

In another place<sup>25</sup> Keith writes :

"The natural form of intercourse with Ministers in important matters is for the King to see the Minister concerned, if the issue is departmental in importance, or the Prime Minister if the issue is of general concern, and to discuss the issue verbally. The alternative of written communications is naturally resorted to for much routine business.... But it is clearly a sign of some failure in due relations between Sovereign and Minister when personal intercourse is avoided..... Edward VII..... liked to see Ministers or Under-Secretaries rather than indulge in long exchanges of written documents."

And Dr. Ivor Jennings<sup>26</sup> has quoted from Lord Esher's *Influence of King Edward* to show :

23. I.e., Ridges' *Constitutional Law of England*, 7th Edition by A. Berrisdale Keith, p. 157.

24. It does not, however, follow from this that "the Crown should deal with Ministers individually behind the back of the Prime Minister, a rule occasionally violated by Queen Victoria. A Prime Minister, would, of course, be justified, on discovering the facts, in resignation if the offending Minister were not removed.... The duty of the Crown to Ministers is clear. It must not do anything inconsistent with the fundamental fact of ministerial responsibility."—See *ibid.*, p. 158.

25. See Keith, *The King and the Imperial Crown*, pp. 76-80.

26. See his *Cabinet Government*, p. 264.

"He (i.e., King Edward VII) was always accessible to his Ministers, and far more than half of the business transacted by the King was transacted orally, by personal interview. He enjoyed putting questions to his Ministers, and he liked to state his own views, not in a formal document, but face to face with whom the matter concerned."

In regard to the Crown's right to information in England, we have the authority of Keith<sup>27</sup> to state :

"The one clear rule is that the sovereign is entitled to the fullest information in any sphere in which he has indicated desire to be kept informed, and must be given it on any issue which comes before him."

And this is corroborated by Dr. Ivor Jennings<sup>28</sup> who says :

"There is nothing to prevent him (i.e., the English King) from asking for information from any Department in respect of any branch of its administration, and from criticising proposals and actions." Dr. Ivor Jennings<sup>29</sup> has also observed :

"An able monarch can have considerable influence in the policy of the Government. He is in close touch with the Prime Minister, and he reads the Cabinet minutes. He may, also, have outside sources of information. He can criticise governmental proposals and governmental acts. Though he must, in the last resort, accept a Cabinet decision, he is not bound to accept anything less. He can, therefore, insist on the submission of any question raised by a department; and he can raise any question, which ought, in his opinion, to be submitted to the Cabinet. The efficacy of his criticisms and proposals necessarily depends on their quality and upon the extent to which they conform with the political philosophy and Parliamentary position of the party in power. Nevertheless, these limitations are not so narrow that they do not give him a wide sphere of influence."

In view of what I have shown above there is nothing in Article 78(c) which is inconsistent with the characteristic features of the parliamentary form of government as it has developed in England. Nor is there any justification for any apprehension of a discord or conflict among Ministers arising from the operation of the Article, provided that the President and individual Ministers behave as they should in a Parliamentary Democracy.

5) Fifthly, the interpretation that Mr. Basu has put on Clause (1) of Article 74 of our Constitution does not follow from the language of the Clause. The word "aid" simply means "help (a person to do)," and it has to be taken along with the word "advise," in the Clause. Apart from the fact that the words "whether any" in Clause (2) of the same Article constitute a bar to the acceptance of any such interpretation—and Mr. Basu has had to admit it—technically speaking, the President in whom the executive power of the Indian Union is formally vested and in whose name all executive action of the Government of India is to be expressed to be taken, is not legally bound to accept, in the exercise of his functions, any advice tendered to him by his Ministers. That is to say, there is no statutory obligation requiring him to accept such advice. As I have shown in my previous

27. See his *King and the Imperial Crown*, p. 249.

28. See his *Cabinet Government*, p. 276.

29. See *ibid.*, p. 264.

article,<sup>30</sup> there would arise many practical difficulties if there were any such statutory obligation on the President. The distinction attempted to be made by Mr. Basu between an "unadvised exercise of the President's functions," and "an unaided exercise of his functions" is really meaningless in this context. The essential point is whether the President is legally bound, under Article 74(1) of our Constitution, to accept the advice of his Council of Ministers in all circumstances. My submission is that he is not. The same view was taken by Sir B. L. Mitter in another connexion.<sup>31</sup> He held that

"There is no provision in the Constitution that he (i.e., the President) is bound" to "act in accordance with the advice of his Council of Ministers."

To use Mr. Basu's own words "the text" of the law here is not explicit, and, therefore, it is not "conclusive." As I have already explained in detail in my previous article, with special reference to the views of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Shri S. N. Mukerjee, "Joint Secretary and Draftsman, Constituent Assembly of India," and Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, why the President will have to accept the advice of his Council of Ministers, I need not say here anything more on the point than what is given below.

What Shri S. N. Mukerjee,<sup>32</sup> referred to above, who is said to have played an important part in the actual drafting of our Constitution, has said on the question, is of special weight in this connexion:

"The President," he has said, "will be bound by the advice of his Ministers, his relation with his Ministers being the same as that between the King of England and his Ministers. The authors of the Constitution have not expressly stated in the Constitution that the President in the exercise of his functions is always to act on the advice of his Ministers, but have preferred to leave this to conventions as in the United Kingdom."

Mr. Mukerjee is expected to know more about the true nature of our Constitution than many of us. I may also note here what the Hon'ble Shri K. Santhanam had stated in the Constituent Assembly<sup>33</sup> in reference to Articles 61, 62, 63 and 64 of the Draft Constitution of India, which became later on Articles 74, 75, 76 and 77 of our Constitution, with a slight addition<sup>34</sup> to the last.

Articles 61, 62, 63 and 64 (of the Draft Constitution), he said, "should not be interpreted literally, because they embody conventions of the cabinet system of government evolved in Great Britain as a result of a long struggle between the King and Parliament. At

every stage of this struggle the King yielded some power, but was anxious to preserve his prestige. Therefore, at the end of the struggle, the King gave up all his power, but preserved all his forms. (Therefore, it is said here that there shall be a Council of Ministers with the Prime Minister at the head to aid and advise the President in the exercise of his functions. That does not mean that normally, the function of the Prime Minister is to aid or advise the President in the exercise of his functions. In fact, the position is altogether opposite, or the reverse. It is the Prime Minister's business with the support of the Council of Ministers, to rule the country and the President may be permitted now and then, to aid and advise the Council of Ministers. Therefore, we should look at the substance and not at the mere phraseology, which is the result of conventions.")

(C) Finally, with due deference to the legal acumen of Mr. Basu, I am constrained to say that the interpretation which he has put upon Article 53(3) (b) of our Constitution, is the climax of absurdity in constitutional reasoning. The object of this permissive Article is not to "denude" occasionally, as he wrongly thinks, a recalcitrant President of India of those constitutional powers which must be formally vested in the Head of the State in a Parliamentary Democracy, but the withdrawal of which for teaching him a "lesson" in good behaviour, will lead to administrative break-down and chaos, in the absence of unifying and integrating factors in the constitutional machinery of the country: Its object (is simply to provide for the delegation to subordinate authorities, for administrative convenience or exigence, of some powers which may, to begin with, be vested in the President but which may be safely delegated to those authorities without inviting a breakdown of the unity and stability of our Constitutional structure.) This particular enabling provision in our Constitution, on which Mr. Basu so enthusiastically bases his main argument against my mode of approach to the question, is, however, so unimportant that there had, naturally, not been even a reference to it by any speaker during a fairly long debate<sup>35</sup> in our Constituent Assembly on Article 42 of the Draft Constitution, which became later on, in a slightly amended form otherwise, Article 53 of our Constitution. Besides, if Mr. Basu carefully goes through Section 7(1) of the Government of India Act, 1935, whether original or "adapted," then he will find that there is, practically, a similar provision in the Section. Certainly, this provision was not intended to teach a "lesson" in good behaviour to the Governor-General of India, from time to time. Moreover, unlike a hereditary monarch, the President of India has no more personal stake in the proper working of our constitutional machinery and in the good administration of our country than any other enlightened citizen of India. And I believe that our Parliament would never be so foolish as to cut off its nose just to spite its own face. But this is what the acceptance of Mr. Basu's interpretation of the Article in question will lead to.

As I have said before, we should not presume to know more about the nature of our Constitution than its

30. See *The Modern Review* for June, 1950, pp. 454-55 and the relevant footnotes.

31. See his article entitled "Human versus Civic Equality" in *The Hindu*, Madras, of 26th January, 1950, Republic Supplement, Section I.

32. See his article entitled "The Constitution of India: An Analysis" in *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Republic India Supplement, of January 26th, 1950; also his article in *The Hindu*, Madras, Republic Supplement, of 26th January, 1950.

33. *The Constituent Assembly Debates*, Official Report, 30th December, 1948.

34. Namely, Clause (3) of Article 77.

35. See *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 10th December, 1948.



authors. I have already referred, either in my previous article or in this, to some of the views of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar, Shri S. N. Mukerjee, and the Hon'ble Shri K. Santhanam on the nature of our system of government. I may refer below to some more authoritative views on the same question :

The Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru (Chairman, Union Constitution Committee of the Constituent Assembly) said<sup>36</sup> on 21st July, 1947, in connexion with the question of the mode of election of the President :

"One thing we have to decide at the very beginning is what should be the kind of governmental structure, whether it is one system where there is ministerial responsibility or whether it is the Presidential system as prevails in the United States of America; many members possibly at first might object to this indirect election and may prefer an election by adult suffrage. We have given anxious thought to this matter and we came to the very definite conclusion that it would not be desirable, first because we want to emphasize the ministerial character of the Government that power really resided in the Ministry and in the Legislature and not in the President as such. At the same time we did not want to make the President just a mere figure-head like the French President. We did not give him any real power but we have made his position one of great authority and dignity."

Again, on 28th July, 1947, Panditji said,<sup>37</sup> in reference to the question whether India should have a parliamentary or non-parliamentary executive :

"That raises a very fundamental issue of what form you are going to give to your Constitution, the ministerial parliamentary type or the American type. So far we have been proceeding with the building up of the Constitution in the ministerial sense and I do submit that we cannot go back upon it and (as ?) it will upset the whole scheme and structure of the Constitution."

The Hon'ble Shri K. Santhanam,<sup>38</sup> again, on 10th December, 1948 :

"This (Constituent) Assembly has already discussed the question and taken a decision in favour of parliamentary system of government and, on the basis of that decision, the entire Constitution has been drafted by the Drafting Committee."

The Hon'ble Dr. B. R. Ambedkar,<sup>39</sup> again, on 10th December, 1948 :

"The parliamentary form of executive...is contained in the Draft Constitution....We have adopted the parliamentary system."

Shri K. M. Munshi<sup>40</sup> (also a Member of the Drafting Committee), on 10th December, 1948 :

"At the earlier stage of the Union Constitution Committee, it was decided, I think possibly with one or two dissident voices, that our Central Government should be based on the English model."

Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar,<sup>41</sup> again, on 10th December, 1948 :

"There are weighty reasons why what may be called the Cabinet type of Government should be preferred in this country to what is generally known as the Presidential type of Government....An infant democracy cannot afford, under modern conditions, to take the risk of a perpetual cleavage, feud or conflict or threatened conflict between the Legislature and the Executive. The object of the present constitutional structure is to prevent a conflict between the Legislature and the Executive and to promote harmony between the different parts of the Governmental system. That is the main object of a Constitution. These then, are the reasons which influenced this Assembly as well as the various Committees in adopting the Cabinet system of Government in preference to the Presidential type. It is unnecessary to grow eloquent over the Cabinet system. In the terms in which Bagehot has put it, it is a hyphen between the Legislature and the Executive. In our country under modern conditions it is necessary that there should be a close union between the Legislature and the Executive in the early stages of the democratic working of the machinery. It is for these reasons that the Union Constitution Committee and this Assembly have all adopted what may be called, the 'Cabinet System of Government.'"

Further,<sup>42</sup>

"After weighing the pros and cons of the Parliamentary Executives as they obtain in Great Britain, in the Dominions and in some of the Continental Constitutions, and of the Presidential type of Government as it obtains in the U.S.A., the Indian Constitution has adopted the institution of Parliamentary Executive....The working of the Cabinet Government in England at the present day shows that though in theory the Ministers are the advisers of the Crown, in the actual working, if the Crown is to usefully function, it has to advise the Cabinet and exert a moral and social influence over the members of the Cabinet. Similar would be the position of the President in the Indian Constitution."

#### IV

In view of what I have shown above and also in my previous article, can there be any reasonable doubt that we have adopted for our Centre the parliamentary system of Government of the British type so far as Constitution of the Executive and its relation to the Legislature are concerned? And once we accept this position—and there can be no rational justification for any other—, all the incidents, and conventions, and traditional maxims of the parliamentary form of government as it has developed in England, automatically become, by implication, a part of our Constitutional system, *mutatis mutandis*. The position of our President in this system is no exception to the general rule. As I have discussed in detail in my previous article what that position is, I need not say anything further here. It is true that I did not give in that article a list or catalogue of the President's powers. This omission was intentional. After all, these powers are really formal. Besides, my object was to

36. See *Constituent Assembly Debates*, 21st July, 1947.

37. See *ibid.*, 28th July, 1947.

38. See *ibid.*, 10th December, 1948.

39. See *ibid.*

40. See *ibid.*

41. See *ibid.*

42. See Shri Alladi Krishnaswami Ayyar's article on "The Indian Constitution" in *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, Republic Supplement, January 26, 1950.

explain the principles underlying the Constitution of our Central Executive and not to encumber my article with unnecessary details.

⑦ Lastly, Mr. Basu has quoted Mr. Hughes C.J., to say that "the Constitution is what judges think it is." I

think that the better view is that of Professors Frederic A. Ogg and P. Orman Ray<sup>43</sup> who have said that "the actual Constitution at any given time is what citizens, lawmakers, administrators, and judges think it is."

<sup>43.</sup> See their *Introduction to American Government*, p. 58.

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## TECHNICAL EDUCATION

By ADINATH SEN, M.A., B.Sc. (Glas.), M.I.E. (India)  
*Late Inspector of Technical Education*

THE proof of the pudding is in the eating. This adage, applied to Technical and General Education, leads to a marvellous conclusion, when we compare the heights of prosperity, which the industrialists reach, and the depths from which the teachers and clerks seek to rise. It is admitted on all hands, that general culture is equally, if not more easily secured by practical as against purely literary studies. There is another adage. One should not marry for money, but there is no harm in marrying where money is. Money is a necessity for decent living and for our poor country, for living at all. Therefore, that path to culture, which secures money as well, is preferable, even if money may not be the only consideration in this world. Besides the methodical exercise of the hands, the eyes, the brain, as well as co-operation derived from practical studies, becomes from habit immensely useful in after-life. Again the fact that skill so attained is more important than courage, has been amply proved in the recent global disturbances.

We have to give up our longstanding prejudice against practical work for a living and get rid of the ideas of superiority of the so-called liberal and scholastic studies over the more useful vocational training. Every student will not like it, but not all students like Mathematics or compulsory Sanskrit. We have to provide facilities for a graduated and progressive course of instruction to suit the diverse inclinations of students, so that, they may easily choose the lines most suitable to their tastes. We should have institutions of only one category in all stages, with the University at the apex. Dr. Schairer, Professor of International studies at the London University, said:

"The need can only be met by a bold experiment. New Institutions of the University rank with research departments should be established to form the apex for the basic institutions of all grades of Technical and manual education.

"If once the upper outlet, the University apex, is contributed, the attraction of training would be so great that the need for artificial efforts to develop it will cease . . . . The extended Technical training must be given its full opportunity by all those interested outside the school sphere, by the Government, by Industry, by the Trade Unions and by other branches of Education."

What is suggested as a bold experiment for the

West, owing to the existing conditions there, appears to be a simple matter for India, unbiassed by traditions not yet fully grafted on the soil. A solution harmonising general with Technical Education is necessary in the new Universities or educational centres in the making.

To present a complete picture, we have to start from the beginning. I will not put forward any arguments here for the age limits in free and compulsory education, which should ultimately be 16 for the upper. But for the present, free and compulsory education is proposed from the age of 5 to 12 in Primary schools.

The Primary school is to be a separate entity, complete in itself, although a normal, common but not compulsory, way of approach to the Secondary school. Education during the age up to 11 or 12 is of more than ordinary rapid growth. It will teach things of immediate value to the pupils (both boys and girls), "in terms of the activity and experience, rather than knowledge to be acquired, or facts to be stored." The course should be above the restraints of precedents, the exigencies of examinations, demands of schools and occupations in after-life. It is to be essentially a training of body, mind and character through games, etc., for health; formal instructions in an atmosphere of sympathy and vitality for intellect; attractive and inspiring social environment for character, imagination and interest of children, rather than passive obedience. The treatment should be of a collective nature instead of individualistic. Besides the usual drill in reading, writing and arithmetic, attention should be paid to correct pronunciation and expression of ideas; cleanliness, comely postures, and movements; inculcation of a sense of duty and discipline; good writing, drawing and constructional or creative handwork in simple forms involving the *charka*, bamboo, paper, etc., which disciplines the fingers as well as appeals to the growing child's sense of making and doing something. Games satisfy to an extent that natural hunger to co-ordinate the faculties and to achieve something.

After the primary stage, a change of school is made incumbent for physiological reasons. A large number of students will finish their school life here, to join their parents in their hereditary vocations, say, agriculture or rural industrial pursuits, and for

When the question of adult education then comes in, for which the accommodation and equipment of the primary schools for use during off-hours, will be handy. Apart from the moral and social values, the object of providing adult education, as well as of free and compulsory education, is mainly a preparation for citizenship in a democracy. Whether the period of compulsory education between the legal limits is enough, is of less consequence than whether what they have learnt at school will be kept alive or lost in after-life in the adult, although the chances of continuation of education rise with the increased period of early instructions.

A considerable number will also proceed to further studies, which will be a universal system of post-Primary education with the schools of only one category, the secondary school, after the age of 12 (separately for boys and girls) with a general uniform inner organisation. Besides the compulsory mother-tongue (which is to be the main core of study) and the English language, there should be several alternative aspects in separate types of institutions or in the different streams in the same institution according to the demand and local conditions.

There will be simple and self-explanatory types of secondary schools with one or several departments as follows :

1. A Literary Course, in which stress will be laid on the languages.
2. A Scientific Course with Mathematics and Pure Science, as the main subjects.
3. A Teaching Course which will absorb nearly a third of the students of the corresponding age group, aiming to be primary school teachers.
4. A home training course for girls for general welfare work, with cooking, laundry work, needle work, nursing, etc.
5. A Commercial Course with shorthand, book-keeping and typewriting.
6. An Agricultural Course with a school garden, farm animals, insect life, etc.
7. An Industrial Course with hand-work and drawing for boys and dress-making and leather work for girls.
8. An Artistic Course with drawing and artistic hand-work.

The first three types will form the "Academic" side for about 16 per cent in the literary and scientific courses and 33 per cent in the Teachers' course, of the whole student population of the corresponding age group. The other types, which may be called the Junior Technical, Agricultural, or Commercial school, when self-contained, will constitute the "Modern" side, with a realistic and a practical trend for as many as half the number of students, either—

1. to give a practical bias only, or
2. to prepare generally for a vocation, or

3. to help in a particular vocation by part-time instructions.

These courses would involve workshop and industrial practice in a variety of subjects, chosen to suit the locality, as at present provided in the Junior Technical schools. Besides the practical work, stress will be laid on applied science and practical mathematics generally, as part of the general education which is essential, just as general science and mathematics will be included in the academic lines. It may be added that the feature of provision of a vocational part-time course, will extend to all post-matriculate (intermediate as well as the final) stages of education.

Students of the "biased" courses will proceed definitely to the general lines at the University. For others, the age 12 would also not be too early to begin a vocational training, as distinct from the biased course. Besides the full-time vocational course in preparation for a vocation, as is commonly met in rural Bengal in industrial schools, part-time courses for those already in employment should be attached to these institutions, where desirable and possible. The products will be semi-skilled or skilled labour. With the introduction of compulsory education, the drawback of our industrial school students, of insufficient literacy, as is well known, will disappear, as well as the distinction between Artisan and Technical students. It will be obvious that the students of vocational courses would not generally proceed to further studies in the University but choose a more modest career. But there is to be no compulsory prohibition.

For the first two years (13 and 14 years of age) which we may call the Junior Secondary School period, the curriculum of a common core of humanity, arts, music and domestic science will be identical in all schools with other subjects as optional. A common general course is kept for two years, because "a satisfactory vocational education must be based on an adequate general education" and "it is most undesirable to commit a child to a particular career until he is old enough for his inclination and his attitude to have been ascertained." (Abbott). There is another strong reason. "Specialisation is bad at school and increases at the University." It leads to an unconsciousness of other aims and interests of life—that there is anything else in the world, just as in later life or on the lower level, some men are absorbed in making money. (Livingstone). There should be no congestion in the curriculum, or overcrowding of the time table. But the second choice of a "side" with a view to decide the course of life, which is a most important question for all children, should be possible at the end of two years, allowing transfer in the first instance of misfits or of those who develop later or for those who show a distinct aptitude later in life.



For the next two years (15 and 16 years of age) in the "Senior Secondary School," there will be courses "sufficiently elastic and of sufficient variety of type" to meet the needs of all the children in the same or separate institutions. It is not difficult to conceive the arrangements here or at the post-Matric stages for a bias and part-time or whole-time vocational training as such are at work in Bengal, in respect of Commercial and Technical training. We have the biased training in the colleges and vocational training, part-time or whole-time, at the Commercial Institute or Senior Technical Schools. The major distinguishing features have been indicated, but special subjects will be alternatives, for the finding out of individual vocational leanings for choosing suitable lines. There is no harm in making an early decision which can be changed as a result of experience, because there will be a chance of transfer at the end of this course, before entrance to the University, as there will be still another at the end of Intermediate course at the University. It should be possible to proceed to the University after examinations from all sides of the Secondary School, with necessary adjustments if a change in the line is desired, as is practised at the end of the Intermediate stage at the Calcutta University, when Art students want a Science degree or *vice versa*.

There will be some model Government Institutions of prescribed standards, but mostly, they will be private enterprises of the same standard, with controlling grants-in-aid. There will be provision of "free places" and scholarships to award merit, for about a fourth of the total number of students, based on proper methods (including examinations) of selection, say, 12 per cent for the academic and 12 per cent for the modern sides of the total number of students. "Special places" to provide for "equal opportunities for all" should be available to an equal number of students, based on a proper enquiry as to the position of their parents in life. The balance 50 per cent will be paying fees at a slightly higher rate than at present, which will help the finances of the school. The above concessions should not be made more liberal in the interests of private enterprise for furtherance of education.

Opening of the schools of different types and location of the institutions will, as already suggested, depend on the demand and local conditions. Thus the types under category I (academic) will be spread all over the country according to the necessity and density of the population. Types under category 2 (modern) will be concentrated in commercial and industrial centres, excepting Agricultural schools and Industrial classes, which will be mainly in the rural centres; that is, schools with curriculum corresponding to the special character of the natural environment,

will be generally provided. In Bengal, single subjects, which are to be post-Matric and industrial, such as cotton (*e.g.*, at the weaving school at Serampore) or silk (*e.g.*, that at Berhampore) are located at the outlying centres of the industry. These may be called monotecnics. Several pre-Matric industrial subjects, such as weaving, carpentry, type-writing, sewing, etc., may, however, be taken in the existing Junior Technical Schools in district towns, without reference to any existing bigger technical institute or industries as has been suggested. The most comprehensive, including post-Matric, subjects, such as plumbing, electric wiring or supervising, motor mechanism, photography, printing and allied trades, modern welding, etc., can only be taken in polytechnics in big cities like Calcutta. Post-Matric including professional subjects in the intermediate and final stages, should, however, be taken in the colleges (*e.g.*, Engineering and Commercial), Technological Departments of the Universities and Technical-Institutes.

Some people object to having a mix-up of general and technical education, although general education includes manual classes (*e.g.*, in Secondary schools in England and "B" classes in this country) and technical education involves academic lessons (*e.g.*, in Junior Technical School in England and here). Others support it for the sake of equality and utilisation of workshops in common, giving a wider outlook from contact with students with different objects, but it is only in the bigger Urban schools that it is possible to combine comprehensive departments. But there may or may not be a mix-up as a matter of choice. As already stated, apart from the biased courses leading to the Matriculation, training in single subjects may be whole-time as in the existing industrial classes in Bengal (only with this difference that the recruits must have a minimum educational qualification), or part-time for those engaged otherwise. Trade schools in the Western countries are comparable with the industrial schools, which have been established in India, although they usually devote more time to the continuance of the general education of the pupils than is usual in India. (Abbott)

A few suggestions are made for arranging practical work and examinations in schools. Manual training in simple subjects, involving the use of the eyes, hands, touch, as well as of the mind for the primary stage, does not require any elaborate equipment or accommodation and work can be done on the ordinary class tables or verandahs in one (and two periods in advanced stages), at a stretch, set apart for the purpose. But the problem of grafting biased or vocational classes into the post-primary courses presents certain difficulties in actual practice. (Think of a handloom, surrounded by 20 students, and the fly-

shuttle worked by each alternatively for 2 minutes at a time. This is not an imagined picture). The following conditions, based on experience, are conducive of substantial work :

(1) The time given for a given task should be long. Three-hour periods are convenient. For shorter periods, time is wasted in getting to and winding up of, the work, as compared to the time for actual work. Such is the arrangement in the Science laboratories.

(2) The tasks should be so chosen that they can be completed at one sitting and no part left over, so that other classes may freely utilise the accommodation and equipment and the expert instructor kept fully engaged. Such graded tasks have been worked out in cane and bamboo work, cotton and jute spinning, weaving and dyeing, tailoring and carpentry, in Bengal.

(3) The task must be simple, not involving much exertion and should consist of something useful to be of interest, while acquaintance with tools and materials and methods of practical work in a graded manner, is secured.

(4) The arrangement to hold these non-examination classes during intervals, either before or after school hours, as has been suggested, is sure to appear as drudgery to the students, who will thus imbibe a prejudice against such work.

(5) Unless ample accommodation, which is expensive, can be provided, it becomes difficult to get all the students to work together in one subject. The alternative is to have several subjects and divide the students, as it is unthinkable that some will work, while others are waiting their turn, idly or even if engaged in general work alternately.

(4) and (5) with short periods have been seriously tried at the Cossimbazar Polytechnic, with fair results, but the defects are obvious.

(6) Demonstration work by the instructor, as suggested by the Sir J. J. Thomson's Committee for Science subjects, instead of experimental work by the students themselves, will not apply in these cases, for obvious reasons.

Students will be provided with an internal school certificate whenever they leave; those intending to proceed to the University, must take their Matriculation examination; others are to take the internal examinations, founded on the curriculum, subject to the external assessment, for a leaving certificate.

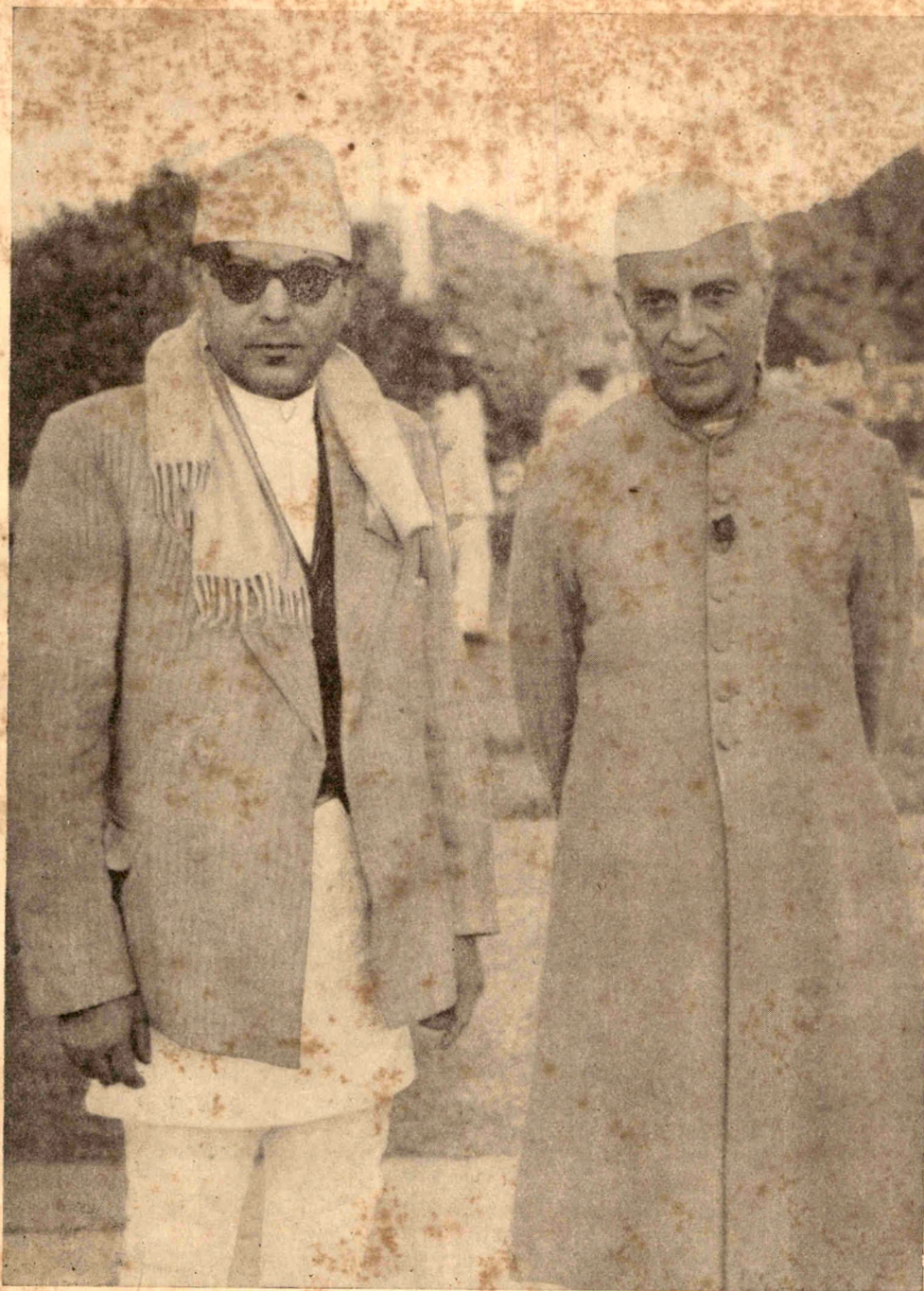
The courses of instruction should be complete in themselves, since only a small percentage of students should go for further studies at the University. That is, they must be self-contained instead of being a preparation for further education, which however should not be prejudiced in any manner. The nature of training should take into consideration the pupil's tastes and interests, his or her natural and social environments, as well as future occupation, time and attention being devoted to hand-work particularly, without overburdening the student. The practical lines should not, however, prejudice the general educa-

tion of the pupil. The structure of the present system of education can be compared to a double funnel. All students have to pass through a constricted opening—the Matriculation examination of the University, and afterwards diverge to different lines. This results in so much coaching and cramming that examinations degenerate to an evil, which however cannot be avoided. In our proposals, these vital defects will disappear and the structure will be more or less cylindrical, as a variety of courses are offered before and after what is no longer to be a narrow channel.

Great attention should be given to the physical training and health of the students. This should consist not only of systematic physical exercise, which can be controlled, but also of games and sports, which, under limited control, develop character and social virtues, such as self-reliance, team work, loyalty, self-restraint and resourcefulness. Every encouragement should be given to corporate activities or opportunities for leisure which besides games, may take the form of plays, concerts, and other forms of social activities (clubs, societies, etc.) in and outside the school. Attention, confined to individual pupils and interests which gave rise to special private schools or private tutoring of the children of well-to-do families, is a thing of the past. The claim of society "for service as workman and citizens in its organisation" is being felt to be equally important, and hence the necessity for the corporate activities.

After the University Matriculation examination, students (both boys and girls) of about sixteen years of age will enter the University and take up courses mainly, but not necessarily, corresponding to the different courses in the Secondary schools, where they had their education. Except passing an examination of a reasonable standard, there will be no barrier of a dead language or an unreasonable fetish for entrance to the University. The great problem of harmonising the objects and scope of the courses, as existing and described or proposed, of the University, Technological Departments and Senior Technical Institutes can be solved only in one way, suggested by the sub-committee of the Central Advisory Board. "It is possible that Senior Technical Institute as in some Western countries will become increasingly recognised as the technological departments of University." The Universities will welcome the formation of different faculties with experts on different subjects mainly from the Industries and Commerce. The courses will then cease to be parallel and will be complementary. An identical outlook is hoped for the lower secondary school stage. The Institution of Engineers or other similar bodies should be made responsible for at least the practical portion of the certificates, in order to make them truly national.



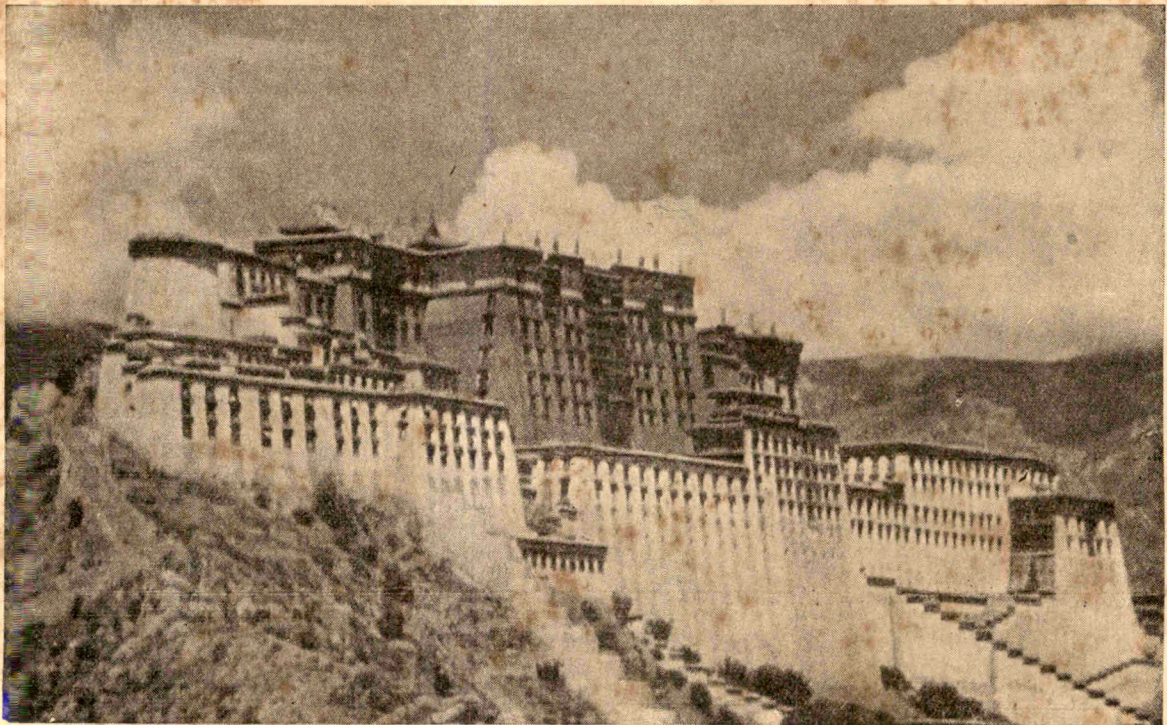


H. M. the King of Nepal and Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru



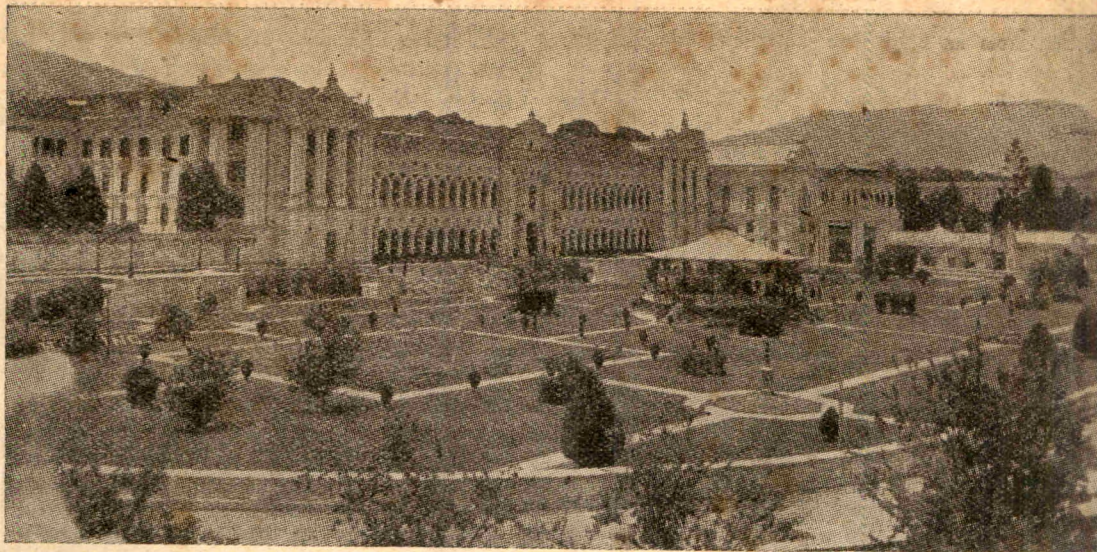


Dalai Lama and his regent



Potala Palace, Lhasa





The Royal Palace

## NEPAL (A Historical Sketch)

BY SIVA NARAYANA SEN

THE name of Nepal is not unknown, even outside the narrow circle of erudites. The charm of the Himalayas has reflected itself, so to speak, on the Hindu Kingdom which the great chain shelters. Gaurishankar and the other giant peaks that impart dizziness to the imagination of school boys, evoke to the memory the image of Nepal, stretched out on the map at the feet of these colossi. Between Tibet to the North, and Indian Dominion that shoulders her to the South, East, and West, the Kingdom of Nepal occupies little space. Nepal, properly speaking, would occupy even less. The local practice, in accordance with the tradition, reserves exclusively the denomination of Nepal to an oblong valley—perhaps the biggest valley in the world—situated in the very heart of the country, half-way between burning Hindusthan and the lofty frozen plateaus, laughing, fertile, populated, reclaimed ages back to civilization and which has never ceased exercising a predominance over the rough surrounding mountains.

The name of Nepal, Nepala, in spite of the Sanskrit feature does not offer to etymology as satisfactory an explanation. Lassen proposed to interpret it, by analogy with the words Himala, Pancala, etc., as an abstract of the two terms, *nipa* and *ala*. *Ala* would be as in other names of this type an abbreviation of *alaya* "abode;" *nipa*, strengthened into *nepa* would signify the foot of a mountain. But even to suppose it as legitimate—the modification of *nipa* into *nepa*, the meaning attributed here to this word has no other guarantee than that of a scholiast comment; besides it adapts itself rather badly to a country situated in the very heart of

the mountains; Nepal is in proper only the great interior valley. The word *nipa* designates especially a variety of Asoka (the *Nauclea Kadamba* of the botanists) which is far from characterising the Nepalese region.

The local interpretation prefers another analysis; it divides the word in *Ne-pala*; this last element signifies in Sanskrit—"the protector."

Most ancient nations have recorded themselves in history, by conveying a durable narrative to posterity; organised in community, the home directly extended to the group the instinctive sentiments of the individual. They have desired to decipher the mystery of their origins and thus survive in the future. The priests, the poets, the erudites have offered themselves to this very powerful need. The Chinese have their annals, as the Greeks have Herodotus and the Jews their Bible. Nepal has nothing.

The exception is so singular that it has, at the very outset, caused surprise and given rise to interpretations. Some have especially alleged as a decisive argument, the transcendental indifference of the Hindu mind, repelled by universal vanity, and the Hindu's superb disdain for the illusive course of earthly phenomena. Thus, to humble the human smallness his legends and his cosmogonies draw the years and the centuries into incommensurable periods that involves the imagination in the throes of a vertigo. The sentiment is exact; but in India as elsewhere, the highest doctrines have had to adapt themselves to the incurable failings of humanity. The commemorative inscriptions and pangeyrics carved out of stone that are strewn over Nepal,



prove that from an early date kings and other distinguished individuals have safeguarded themselves against being forgotten. The long and pompous genealogies that frequently serve as a preliminary to royal deeds even show that the chanceries were setting up their archives and official history of the dynasties. But the political administration of Nepal condemned these crude materials as they were most likely to disappear and with fateful results. If contented people had no history, then anarchy also had none, and Nepal had exhausted herself in perpetual anarchy. Invasions from outside and internal rivalry have never ceased to overthrow the order of things. Sometimes, at long intervals, a genius would rise and knead in his strong hands the amorphous mass of kingdoms and principalities, and make of Nepal an empire, but the work perishes with the workman; the empire gets dislocated and the self-made soldiery proceed in the work of her dismemberment into states of lesser importance. If Nepal has a history, like Kashmir and Ceylon her history is a very modest one. Entrenched between her glaciers and her impenetrable forests, isolated like an undefined dominion between Hindusthan and Tibet, she has never known the refined civilisation of Kashmirian Courts, or the opulent activity of the great Buddhistic island. Her annals do not remind one either of Mahavamsa in Pali, or of the Sanskrit Rajatarangini; their very shape betrays their contrast; they consist in dynastic lists (Vamsavalis) combined with the lists of endowments and royal donations, the compilers who have gathered and founded them have not attempted to raise them to the dignity of a literary work. The usual language sufficed them, they had chosen to speak in the half-Tibetan of the Nevars or the Aryan dialect of Hinduised Nepalese. Their narratives, poor and usually meagre, dwell only on miracles and prodigies. It only swells into details at the mythical period and at the modern period. The strength of recent souvenirs only is able to withstand the dazzling brilliancy of the legendary past. Heroes and gods enshrined by popular mind move from century to century; always truer and more real, proportional, as each generation gives it its soul and its faith. One sees them, one feels them present everywhere; man is the blind instrument of their wills and caprices. The revolution of 1768 which gave Nepal to the Gurkhas is only, to the chroniclers, but the sequel of a treaty first arranged in heaven. History propagated in this way is reduced to a pious epic, mounted on a pedestal of a doubtful chronology. Science happily has at its disposal other ways to check and complete the tradition. The epigraphy is already substantial and dates back from the 5th century; the ancient manuscripts, numerous in Nepal where the climate has better preserved them than in India; the literature of local origin; the narrations of pilgrims and of Chinese envoys, the information taken from the history and from the Indian literature, in short the information gathered by European travellers and savants, since the seventeenth century, all complete the record.

All these documents of various ages, origins, languages, sentiments, once compared, criticised and coordinated, make up a harmonious setting wherein the scholar can easily delineate the destinies of an Asiatic tribe, subdued by contact with India during a period of duration of at least twenty centuries. Ancient legends state that primeval Nepal was a lake; the water that comes down from the neighbouring summits, is gathered in captivity at the feet of the mountain that surrounds it. But a divine sword forces a breach; the valley empties itself, the soil dries up; the first intruders arrive. They come from the North led by *Manjusri*, the hero of Buddhistic sagacity who holds sway in China and who still manifests himself to-day under the guise of the Son of Heaven. The mythical age opens then; the imagination of Nepalese story-tellers had no difficulty in peopling this distant past, abandoned wholly to their fantasy; but their inventions, apart from reality, which inspire them in spite of themselves, result only in reproducing the history in a sort of symbolic prelude. The dynasties that they relate emerge—one from a Chinese world, another from the oriental Himalaya, another from India. After myriads of years in which the legendary gods and heroes occupy the scene, personages of the most modern type suddenly make their debut. A hermit, the patron and eponym of Nepal, installs on the throne simple shepherds. It is history which commences or at least historical times. The Gopals, the Abhiras represent the first pastorals who ventured with their flocks on the grassy and lonely slopes of the mountains. Their names, though being given in Sanskrit, must not create an illusion; forerunners of the Gurungs and of the Bhotiyas who live now in the higher alps of the Gurkha Kingdom, they came from the Tibetan plateaus. Picturesque accounts gathered from the neighbourhood of Nepal, show that the herdsmen of old were forced by reason of snow and ice, to remain on the outer slope; but one amongst them in searching for a lost sheep, wandered in the snows, surmounted a mountain pass and discovered a new verdant and fertile world. He returned, the glad tidings spread from place to place, multitude of pioneers ventured on the road to the South.

The tribe of Nevars who took possession of Nepal, belonged to a race of men whom Nature stamped with a bold hand. Accustomed to highest impracticable thoughts, exposed to the glacial rigours of a long winter, but swept by a vivifying breeze, cheered up by a smiling summer, removed from the trade of the world, confined in their horizon as well as in their ambitions, associating the pleasures of a nomadic life with the rustic pleasures of a sedentary life, these herdsmen of a boundless Arcadia mingled kindness with barbarism, eclogue to ferocity, boisterous mirth, frank and jovial gaiety; they play about like children, dream like wise men and strike like brutes. Among bands of plunderers under bold ring-leaders, armed, drilled by stoics. Buddha's doctrine has also produced monks, savants and philosophers. Their dialect indistinct and rough, however, adapted itself quite



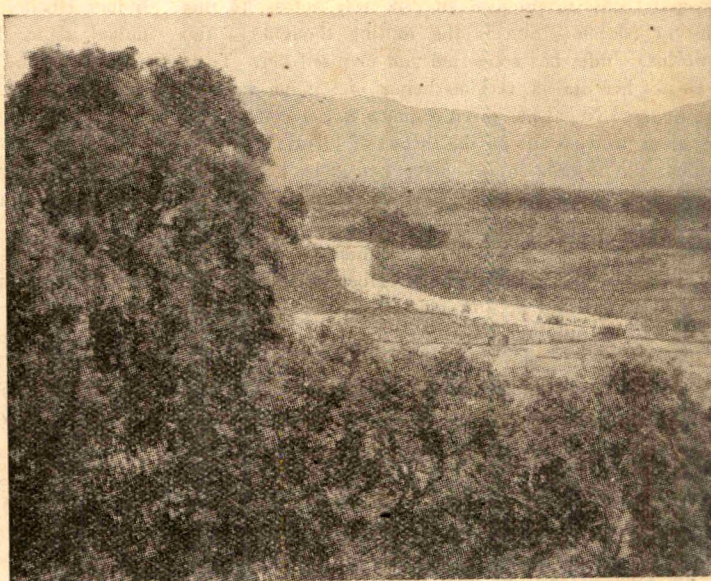
readily to poetry, to science and to abstruse speculations. Born and sprung up from this robust trunk, the bough, Nevar, the one nearest to India, was the first to flourish.

Nevar had firstly to surmount over an imminent peril. To the East the shepherds of Nepal, an older tribe, had occupied the basin of the seven Kosis, spread over this vast territory, which nature herself had cut up in narrow valleys by high mountain barriers. The tribe of Kiratas had broken up into principalities; but weary perhaps of exhaustion in fruitless rivalry, guided perhaps by the wisdom of neighbouring India, they organised themselves in a confederacy, like the Mallas or the Vrijis of Aryan country, and powerful by their union, they created an empire which overflowed on the southern plain, spread

towards the sea to the Ganges delta, and left its remembrance in Hindu Epic, whilst to the West, their expansion and triumphal progress wrested out Nepal from the shepherd kings. The *Vamsavali* records a long list of Kirata Kings whose barbarous names seem to bear the stamp of authenticity. It is during the course of this period that Buddha firstly, and then the Emperor Asoka, visited Nepal. Taken literally, the two facts are at least doubtful, if not improbable, they express, however, a portion of the truth. Buddhism was born at the feet of the Nepalese mountains and at the opening of routes which led from Nepal to the plains, to the limits of the Aryan sphere. The proximity of the Himalayas had perhaps tempted the first apostles, eager to propagate the words of salvation. And later on, about 250 years before Jesus Christ, when Asoka undertook his pious pilgrimage to holy places, his route, still recognisable by the pillars he erected, guided him at least in that mixed region where the Nepalese highlander meets the Hindu from the plains.

Supported by the power of the great Buddhist emperor, or only by his own zeal, the missionary of Buddhism had taken root in Nepal. India followed him there. Under the influence of the new religion, illustrious families attempted to connect themselves, really or fictitiously, to the Buddhist nobility of India. One, amongst them acquired such reputation, as to overthrow the Kiratas, about a century after the Christian era, and to create a dynasty which survived nearly eight centuries. The descendants of Kiratas pretended having sprung up from the clan of Licchavi who held sway at the time of Buddha, over the wealthy town of Vaisali and who still existed in the most glorious names of the Indian aristocracy, Nepal, under the Licchavi regime, united with the scheme of Hindu states but without pledging her independence. The most powerful of Gupta emperors, sovereign

of nearly the whole of India, inscribes Nepal among those kingdoms beyond the borders, that maintain with him friendly relations. In short, in the beginning of the sixth century, real history commences with the epigraphy. The first document known, shows India's civilisation, attaining her full bloom. The literary tongue, Sanskrit, which reaches at that period the classical perfection in the India of Brahmans, is handled without difficulty, in the heart of the mountains, by learned poets, by the fashionable, by the dainty, in the employment of the Court or by ordinary laymen. Buddhism had almost conquered Nepal. The monks had consecrated to the religion of Buddhas, the hill of Svayambhu, and they had erected a sanctuary of antique shape which tradition dates back



The Valley of Nepal

to Emperor Asoka; scattered in the valley, hemispheres of earth and brick built on the elementary style of primitive monuments of Indian Buddhism, testify to the date already distant of the country's conversion. Siva and Visnu had fixed their abode on two other heights. Siva, the known associate of Himalayan retreats and summits, is adored here under the name of Pasupati. Visnu popularly called Narayana is less intimately connected than his competitor, with the life of the country. Around them, lesser divinities, partly common to the Bonze and to the Brahmans, had their temples, and their priests, and their faithful. Hereditary royalty would extend outside the valley, to the East and to the West; but a restless feudalism, indocile, would subdue to almost nothingness the royal domain and the authority of the sovereign. There were no large towns as yet; the villages, where the cultivators and tradesmen gathered, only bore indigenous names purely Nevar. The inscriptions and the chronicles allow one to follow the development of Nepal up to the seventh century, where she reaches her



apogee. Fortune seems then to suddenly widen the political horizon of this little kingdom. Drilled and disciplined by one of those leaders of men that Central Asia now and then produces, the Tibetan tribes unite; a state is created, organised, which threatens at its very birth the old Chinese colossus. China, on the other hand, reminded by her aggressors, of the "Western Countries" which she had almost forgotten since the Huns, attempts by the fervour of her pilgrims and the adroitness of her Mandarins, to force her way to India. India, herself on the North, united for a while under the Empire of a learned and curious monarch, answers China's call and attempts to break the cordon of barbarians which close her frontiers.

Nepal seems to promise an easy way across, to this comity of Nations. She is the uniting thought of the two worlds. India has converted and civilised her. Tibet who speaks her dialect, reckons her as one of her vassals; but subjugated Nepal has given a queen to her conquerors. A Nepalese princess sits on the throne of Lhasa; a fervent Buddhist, she installs in her place her gods, her priests and her holy books. Clotilde has once again converted Cloris; the barbarous king surrounds himself with monks, learns theology after his battles. Chinese ambassadors, sent towards India, pass through Tibet, suspend their journey at Nepal and become official guests. Enticed by the political fortunes of Tibet, Nepal is influenced considerably by China; she sends her messengers and presents; an army of Nepalese soldiers even descend to the plains of India to avenge an insult she suffered. Chinese monks come to settle down, learn and flourish in the monasteries of Nepal.

The intensity of exchange promoted a surprising prosperity. Old royal dwellings that were too poor or scanty were discarded; palaces sprang up that sheltered with the king a court of dignitaries; the convents and temples grow handsome, wealthy and increased; sculpture and paintings decorated works of architecture. Nepal's art astonished the refined Chinese themselves. Towns are built; capitals emerge from the earth, one after the other. Science, encouraged and sustained by liberal donations, flourishes; Royalty sets the example: Amsuvarman composes a Sanskrit grammar. In the convents learned monks multiply and increase the copies of holy scriptures and canonical treatises, diverting themselves in their austere work by paintings and finely executed miniatures.

But the resources of Nepal are not sufficient for her needs, deprived of the reform which swept over her, she falls in decay. India has ere long returned to anarchy; Tibet and China in the throes of perpetual struggles exhaust each other mutually. Tired of a vassalage which falsified her destinies, Nepal rose in arms, and struggled against her Tibetan chieftains; distracted by diverse influences that were permitted to prevail, the kingdom splits up, crumbles and sinks in a feudal chaos. The Licchavis disappear, swept away by the turmoil. A clear and precise date emerges from this fog and is inscribed

on the frontal of a new period. The year 880 A.D. inaugurates Nepal's era.

For a long time already, Nepal had been initiated by India in the usage of a local era. The ambition of the Indian Kings, Emperors and petty chieftains went so far as to create an era proper which perpetuated their memory; the use of a distinct era was held as a symbol of independence, of proud and free might; it was like a national emblem, carrying the blazon of a dynasty. Amongst all those difficulties, through which passes the history of India, the multiplicity of eras is an element of inextricable confusion. A number of kings often flicker in the chronology, at the mercy of the time, awaiting a decisive synchronism. The Guptas who dominate the Indian History for a hundred and fifty years, were still pulled about, 15 years ago, between the first and sixth century of the Christian era. Even the origin of the most popular eras escape the historian; we do not know the circumstances that gave birth in 57 B.C. to the Vikrama era, and in 78 A.D. to the Saka era, both as loosely used in contemporary India as in the India of the middle ages. The Licchavis of Nepal had founded or introduced into the valley, an era which starts, if my calculations are correct, from the year 3 A.D. At the beginning of the eighth century, they must have accepted as a mark of servitude, the era of Tibetan conquerors. The year 880 officially describes the rupture of the bond of vassalage. Nepal escapes from Tibet which is torn by religious upheavals and a new dynasty is substituted for the Licchavis, the Mallas.

The Mallas, like the Licchavis, are the heirs, more or less legitimate of an antique name, consecrated by the biography of Buddha. At the time the chieftain lived, the Mallas formed a confederacy of tribes, as yet little advanced in civilization; it is on their territory that the founders of the two great schismatic doctrines, Buddha and Mahavira, had come to die. Later on, they disappeared from history, absorbed in the Magadha Empire or driven back to the mountains. They appear in Nepal in the first of the century's epigraphic monuments; their name is retraced later on in other inscriptions of the Licchavis. Established outside and to the west of the valley, they refuse to recognise the authority of the Nepalese dynasty and appear even to impose on them, sometimes, a sort of retribution.

Rulers of Nepal in their turn, the Mallas introduced a kind of feudal federation which reminds one of the constitution of ancient Mallas. At the end of the eleventh century (1097-A.D.) a sudden shock announced to the little valley, the breaking up of neighbouring India and presage of future revolution; under cover of the disorder provoked, from the Indus to the Ganges, by the Mahomedan invasion, a Hindu devout and an orthodox native of the Deccan, enters fully armed in Nepal and occupies the throne, which he bequeaths to his descendants. But the conquest is premature; the new dynasty reigns only by name. Anarchy is complete, each borough has its chief who is opposed to the monarch, the capitals



have their provincial kings. The rivalry of convents add to the rivalry of parties. A prince of the mountains, supported by the Brahmanic faction believes the time ripe; predecessor of the Gurkhas, he attacks Palpa in Nepal, occupies it, but thinking himself too weak to hold it, retires precipitately. In spite of successive defeats, his repeated efforts testify to the continuous growing interest of the Brahmins.

In 1324 a third attempt succeeded in installing a Brahmanic dynasty in Nepal; the conqueror Hari Simha Deva, victim of the Mussalmans who had chased him from Trihut, searches in the mountains a refuge and a compensation. He brings with him an academy of Brahmanic jurists whom he protects and who is ardently busy in codifying the traditions which are in danger of disappearing under the Islam triumph. The subtle intricacies of the Brahmanic organisation spread and gained ground, but it was set reserved in store to the Mallas, who were better qualified for this role, to work out a harmonious conciliation between the local custom and the exigencies of the Brahmins. In the second half of the sixteenth century, Jaya Sthiti the Malla, assisted by the Hindu doctors, outlines clearly the rules of the social and religious organisation. The whole population is divided into two classes running in accordance with the two churches, the faithful of the Hindu gods are subdued by the strict rules of the Brahmanic castes, the followers of Buddhistic divinities are divided into professional groups, according to castes. Laws, the salient of points that disclose the scrupulous methodology of the Hindu genius, stipulate the details in dress, of the house, of functions allotted to each of the groups. A well-established reform for a system of weights and measures also gives evidence of the economical transformation of Nepal.

The work of Jaya Sthiti Malla restores to Nepal a durable stability and prepares her for a period of prosperity. Circumstances are propitious. The religious zeal of the Mogul Kublai Khan saves Tibet from anarchy, gives power to the Lamas, enriches and multiplies the convents, restores the studies and reanimates the commercial activity. The dynasty of the Ming, which succeeds the Moguls in China, retakes the traditions of the Huns and the Tang, binds its fortune to Buddhism, dreams of uniting under its protection the scattered members of the church. Its ambassadors travel by the great roads of Asia; Nepal exchanges missions and presents with the Imperial Court; the King of Nepal, taken for a Lama in error, receives this title, the investiture of China. The King Yaksa the Malla compels to obedience the vassals and the refractory rivals and re-establishes, for a while, unity; but this Charlemagne ends up like Louis the Debonnaire; be it either by parental weakness or be it premature debility, he shares his empire between his sons. The small valley becomes the permanent seat of three kingdoms, and the battleground of three dynasties.

The kingdoms of the Mallas all three perished at the same time, exhausted by their quarrels and perpe-

tual wars, undermined by internal disputes, by the indiscipline of an aristocracy jealous of its rights and liberties, by the underground ways of the Brahmins.

The Gurkhas are the masters of Nepal. Sprung up from a little village perched upon the mountains of the west, which has given them their name, they pretend to be the natives of India proper, legitimate descendants of the ancient Kshatriyas, equals of the most authentic Rajput. However, their traditions cannot dissimulate their real origin which is also betrayed in the lines of their face. These proud representatives of integral Brahmanism were born of a promiscuous interbreeding: some of them are issues of Brahmanic adventurers, others of Rajput adventurers, whom the Mussalman conquest had ejected out of India and who had come in search of fortunes in the mountains. The refugees contracted with the indigenous girls' irregular unions; the children who were born claimed and obtained in society a rank worthy of parental blood, but which India scrupulously refused to acknowledge. Helped by their advertisers' dissensions, the Gurkhas have, however, triumphed only after bitter struggles; the honour of the success was due to their chief, Prithvi Narayan, a crafty politician, a valiant soldier, and a farsighted tactician, cautious in the working out of his plans, stubborn in executing them, dispassionately barbarous or generous after mature deliberation. The capture of Kirtipur characterises his method: Installed on its perpendicular rock and defended with bravery, the town repels the assaults of the Gurkhas. Insensible to failures, Prithvi Narayan raises the siege, returns the following year, besieges the town again, falls again, and is not discouraged. Treason surrenders him the place which force could not capture. He declared an amnesty, disarms the inhabitants, and regardless of age or sex, cuts their lips and noses off. Europe that had partly to pay the costs of victory, furnished the means. The British troops of the Company who flaunted their victorious banner through Bengal and the country of Oudh, taught the Gurkha King the value of discipline, while European merchants supplied him with fire-arms which decided success.

#### PRITHI NARAYAN AND THE GURKHA DYNASTY

When Prithi Narayan (Prithi Narayana) ascended the Gorkha throne in 1742; at the age of twelve, his small principality was quite insignificant in the vast stretch of the Nepalese empire. His capital was a borough of eight to ten thousand souls, at about sixty miles distant from Kathmandu on the hardly recognisable road that led from the central valley to the Western frontier. The sovereign of Gorkha was one of the twenty-four petty kings of so-called Rajput origin, who formed in the basin of the seven Gandakis, a kind of confederacy, presided over by the Rajah of Yumila. Each one of them addressed yearly to this Rajah an embassy with presents; each new prince asked him for the investiture, symbolised by the impression of the finger on the forehead (*tika*). Likewise, in case of conflict the role of mediator naturally devolved on him.



The kings of Gorkha, like all good families from the mountain, prided themselves in having for ancestor a Rajput of Chitor, escaped from the disaster where so many noble Hindus had perished. Their origin has been readily traced as far as Dravya Sah (1559-1633) who has left the record of a legislator; his heir Dambara Sah (1633-1642) had always a row to pick with the king of Kathmandu, Pratap Malla, who boasts of having beaten him. The father of Prithvi Narayan, Narabhupala Sah (1716-1742) attempted, to no avail, the enterprise in which his son was destined to succeed. He thought of taking advantage of the rivalries and dissensions that enfeebled Nepal in order to capture the country and crossed the Tirsul Gandak; but the autonomous Thakurs of Nayakot, the Vaisya Raja, barred his progress; he was forced to fall back.

Nara Bhupala Sah had two wives, the eldest became pregnant. The younger one night dreamt that she was swallowing the sun; no sooner did she awake than she related it to the King. He replied to her with offensive words, so much so that she could not sleep again until dawn. The sun once arisen, the king gave the meaning of his brutal behaviours; such a dream certainly portended the expansion of the kingdom; but followed with another sleep it would have lost its efficacy. Indeed, the young queen conceived in her turn and seven months later she gave birth to a son who was called Prithvi Narayan.

The legend has surrounded with a miraculous halo the birth and first years of the Gurkha hero; it relates again for instance the dream of that Nevar peasant (1,352) to whom Matsyendra Natha announced in a dream the approaching arrival of the Gurkha conquerors. In fact, evident signs presaged the imminent close of the three Malla kingdoms. The reigning sovereigns, Ranajit at Bhatgaon, Jayaprakasa at Kathmandu, were undoubtedly not without merit. Ranajit was intelligent and economical, he derived a large profit from the coinage which he supplied to Tibet; he loved rarities and curiosities. Jayaprakasa was active, courageous, energetic. But their minds were bent on worthless dissensions. Ranajit learns that Jayaprakasa has erected a monolithic pillar in his capital, he asks him for his workmen to erect a similar one in Bhatgaon. Jayaprakasa does not refuse, but on his instigation, the workmen arrange it for the work to progress badly; they dropped the pillar which breaks into three pieces. On another occasion, it is Ranajit who shows his pleasure in learning that Jayaprakasa had lost his son; he keeps as prisoners the people of Kathmandu, who had come to Bhatgaon to assist in a procession, "because they are too proud of their dresses." Jayaprakasa, in return, imprisons the subjects of Ranajit who had come to Pasupati.

In the interior of each Darbar, the intrigues increase in the dark and are unravelled in crimes. The seven illegitimate sons of Raja Jit, "the sat Bahalyas," conspire against prince Vira Narasimha, the heir apparent to the crown, and provoke his death by a kind of foul play. At Kathmandu, Jayaprakasa takes the crown bequeathed to

him by his father, in spite of the opposition of the Khas soldiers who support the pretensions of Rajyaprakasa; he sends his father into exile who eventually goes to reign and die at Patan; but his arrogance estranges the Darbar (Tharis). They remove Narendraprakasa, the last of the three brothers, take him to Deo Patan and proclaim him king of the five towns, Sanku, Change, Gokarna, Nandigram and Deo Patan.

The sheriffs then throw their choice on Prithvi Narayan, who had already become famous by his wars, and who seems little dangerous by virtue of his remoteness. Prithvi Narayan after deliberating over the affair, refuses but proposes his own brother Dala Mardan Sha (1761-65) to replace him. Dal Mardan Sha accepted at first as lieutenant of the Gorkha King is afterwards proclaimed King of Patan to check the growing ambition of Prithvi Narayan. At the end of four years, he is deposed and the nobles elect "a poor man of Patan who descended from the Royal House," Teja Narasimha Malla, the last of the Patan King's (1765-68).

Prithvi Narayan was a man to take advantage of circumstances. He coupled to an insatiable ambition a pertinacity that nothing tired; he saw clearly, decided quickly, acted with sang-froid; he rewarded liberally the services rendered and punished resistances with savage cruelty; the religion, the gods, the priests were only in his eyes instruments of domination placed at the service of his will.

Prithvi Narayana to train his troops wages war at first around his feudal castle. The successes of the Company in Bengal have taught him the value of fire weapons and the utility of military discipline.

Ruler of Nepal, Prithvi Narayan established the capital of the Gorkha Kingdom at Kathmandu. But he was not lulled to sleep by success. No sooner was Bhatgaon subdued than he renewed his campaign against the twenty-four king-confederates of the seven-Gandakis, whom he wanted to eliminate one by one as he had done in Nepal. He at first succeeded by means of his two favourite instruments, war and intrigue. But the king of Tanhugh inflicted on him a heavy defeat. Faithful to his method he went to recoup and try his forces elsewhere. He proceeded towards the east of Nepal, invaded the country of the Kiratas which had so far maintained its independence almost whole and even threatened Sikkim. His troops under the leadership of Kaji Kahar Simha subdued the north of the country as far as the defiles of Kifong and Kuti, the south so far as the Terai. Compelled to maintain an enormous army on the revenues of a fairly poor kingdom, he oppressed the people and especially the merchants who deserted Nepal. He thought of finding compensations on the side of Tibet. He wrote a letter to the Lama asking him to arrange markets of exchanges on the frontier of the two countries; he was disposed to allow the transport of Indian goods, but firmly asked Tibet to decline all relations with the Feringhis (Europeans) or the Moghuls and to refuse them admission in the country as he was doing himself. In short he intended



remaining, like the Mallas before him, the supplier of the coined silver of Tibet and he addressed a first despatch with 2000 rupees stamped in his name.

This letter dated in the last days of Prithvi Narayan exposes well to the light an essential aspect of his character, the hatred and distrust of the European; he carried his suspicion even to the very goods from Europe which he refused to pass through his territory. He feared to see the merchant following the merchandise in train. Prithvi Narayan died at Mohan Tirtha, on the Gandaki, in the first days of 1775; three of his wives and two of his concubines ascended the pyre.

His successor was his son, Simha Pratap Sha who reigned three years (1775-78). Simha Pratap showed himself more generous towards the gods than his father, who during the whole of his life made only one gift to Pasupati. He engaged himself in offering to sacrifice to Guhyeswari, patroness of Nepal, 125,000 animals. He also honoured the Goddess Tulaja; lastly he had conveyed to the Darbar the Kings of Nayakot. He loved to dwell in the Terai in the winter season and preoccupied himself in improving this very neglected portion of his domains. At his death he left as heir a child in the cradle, Rana Bahadur Sha. The disastrous administration of long minorities and regencies, fought for at the dagger's point, began with the grandson of Prithvi Narayan to continue henceforth uninterruptedly.

The younger brother of Simha Pratap Sha, Bahadur Sha, who was then living at Bettia on the Indian territory on the boundary of Nepal, with his uncle Dala Mardan Sha the ancient King of Patan, hastened to reach Kathmandu to take possession of his regency. He was an active and enterprising prince, but he found in opposition to him an adversary of his calibre, queen Rajendra Laksmi, mother of the young king, who claimed to exercise the power in the name of her son. From this moment until the death of the Queen in 1795 the two rivals fought stubbornly, interrupted with short reconciliations and marked in each fresh outburst by a series of massacres. The victor struck pitilessly on the partisans of the vanquished. A secret marriage, concluded so they say, between the queen and the regent and inspired on both sides by the same ambition, did not bring any respite to the hostilities.

However the impetus given to the Gurkhas by Prithvi Narayan had not yet slowed down. The new administration did not lack in forces or men; the conquest was pursued with successes beyond expectations in the West, Palpa retained its independence, defended by a belt of tributary principalities. Bahadur Sha asked and obtained in marriage a daughter of Mahadatta, King of Palpa; under cover of this matrimonial alliance, the regent proposed to his father-in-law a political alliance, directed against the last chiefs who remained independent. The booty would have to be equally divided. Mahadatta fell in the trap, the Nepalese troops arrived led by a Khas officer as brave as he was cunning, Damodar Panre. Betrayed by the King of Palpa the only chief who was

powerful enough to protect them, the princes of the twenty-four kingdoms, in the domain of the seven Gandakis and the princes of the twenty-two kingdoms in the basin of the Kali were in greater portion despoiled. The Gurkhas reserved themselves the lion's share; Mahadatta received three small states, taken away from his ancient allies and which he was not destined to retain long. Pursuing his victorious march Damodar went beyond the traditional limits of the Nepalese Empire and penetrated into the Kumaon, which he subjugated.

In the East, the expansion of the Gurkhas also progressed beyond the old frontiers. Already the Kiratas were subjugated; in September 1788, a force of 6000 men penetrated into Sikkim. A month later, the capital was occupied. Bhutan was threatened; Tibet saw her frontiers violated; the Tibetan province of Kuti was invaded. A skilful movement of the Tibetans outflanked the Gurkhas in the rear but the movement stopped too soon. The Gurkhas, certain about their communications, retook their offensive march on Sikkim, occupied it a second time and declared it annexed (1789).

Tibet with her monasteries enriched due to the piety of Asia, seemed to offer an easy prey. Under insignificant pretexts, the Gurkhas rushed to the assault of the lamaseries, crossed the defiles, pillaged Shikar Jong (Digarchi) (1790). But they allowed themselves to be duped by the superb promises of the Chinese and Lamas and the Mandarins. They appeared again in Tibet, impatient for vengeance and plunder (1791). The Emperor of China K'ien Long vainly addressed them a message of threats; the Chinese envoy was insulted. Tibet was in peril. K'ien Long without delay assembled important forces which he placed under General Fou K'ang. In face of such number the Gurkhas were obliged to fall back; the victorious Chinese followed them on their traces and reached the very heart of Nepal, at one day's journey from Kathmandu (1792). The terror-stricken Darbar sued for peace, recognised the suzerainty of China and bound himself to pay a regular tribute.

At the height of his terror, the Darbar, unfaithful to the lessons of Prithvi Narayan, had solicited the help of the English. Lord Cornwallis decided too late. The Gurkhas thought better of it; they had wisely preferred a distant sovereign to a close protector. However Lord Cornwallis insisted sending to Nepal a mission entrusted to settle there and then the usual difficulties and especially to reclaim the enforcement of a commercial agreement signed in March 1792, at Benares between Nepal and the Company. This agreement stipulated fixed duties on imports and exports (25 per cent *ad-valorem*) on goods carried from one territory to another but Nepal had always known to evade it by substituting to the frontier customs, partial collections portioned out at successive stages of penetration. Colonel Kirkpatrick went to Nepal (in March-April 1793). If he did not bring away political advantages from this very short sojourn he at least gathered the materials of an excellent work.

The Chinese war had interrupted only for a short while



the operations in the West. Jagajit Pande continued the conquest began by his brother Damodar. After Kumaon, Garhwal in her turn became a Nepalese province (1794). Nepal stretched at that time from Bhutan to Kashmir.

Suddenly a tragedy of the palace abruptly terminates the regency. Rana Bahadur had grown, as grow minor kings, under the protectorship of ambitious regents, cloistered in his palace, given up to precocious debauchery which sapped all his vitality. In 1795, he suddenly wishes to reign, by caprice. He arrests his uncle Bahadur Sha, whom he retains in prison for two years until his death. From now there begins an era of violence, fury and disorders, such as Nepal had never known. Rana Bahadur is impulsive of nature like a miniature Nero. He loves music; he arranges the tunes to be played in the larger temples, at Guhyeswari, at Changu Narayan, at Vajra Yogini, at Dakshina Kali, at Tulaja. When well disposed he gives unthinkingly, on days of great events he distributes one thousand cows in alms, he feeds the Brahmins and troops, but on the first annoyance, he blasphemes the gods, and despoils the Brahmins. The Nepalese recognise in him the King of Kathmandu, Jaya Prakasa who was to return to the world in the posterity of Prithvi Narayan.

His first act is to confiscate the principality of Yumila, free so far by the prestige of her ancient precedence. Rana Bahadur espoused the daughter of the Raja of Gulmi, Lalita Tripura Sundari, intelligent and devoted consort of her husband but she gave him no son. He at first abandoned her and took to an ordinary slave from whom was born an illegitimate son. He then took the daughter of a Brahman who became the mother of King Girvan Yuddha Vikram Sah. This prince was therefore of illegitimate birth because the king prohibited the marriage between a Kshatriya and a woman of Brahmanic blood. The Brahmins were shocked by this union which appeared to them incestuous. In order to put a stop to the abomination, the Brahmins published a deep prophesy on astrology and that announced in the near future the sickness of the favourite and the death of the king. Indeed, the favourite soon fell seriously ill. The king anxious through love and worried by the prophecy that concerned him, consulted the Brahmins on precautions to take. They indicated costly ceremonies, that would benefit them by a lac of rupees. Rana Bahadur was persuaded to perform them but in spite of the rites, the young woman died in a few days. Furious by thus being wounded in his heart and by thus losing his money, the king summoned the Brahmins to return the money under threats of terrible persecutions; he ordered to be handed over to him the idol of Tula'a which they have worshipped, breaks it to pieces, has the fragments conveyed to the cemetery of Karavisa, with a funeral cortege of Acharyas in tears, to the sound of trumpets; the remains are burnt on the pyre and the ashes thrown into the river.

This was too much. The terror-stricken people, dazed at the sacrilege committed, feared to pay the consequences. Rana Bahadur understood that an opportune sacrifice

could save the dynasty and leave open to him the chances of return. He gave out as an excuse that his mourning had severed him from the world, entered into the orders, took the name of Nirgunananda Swami and announced his intention of going to die a holy death at Benares. He nominated for successor his son Girvana Yuddhavikram, in spite of his irregular birth; and in order to dissipate all opposition he requested of the King of Palpa, Prithivi Pala to come in the name of the most authentic of Nepalese Rajputs and place on the child's forehead the royal mark (Tika). The army and people took the oath of allegiance to their new king. At the time of departing the Swami felt his vocation already shaken; he went and settled in Patan, fortified himself thither, recruited partisans. But the opposition of the Brahmins condemned him to fail; he became aware of it and decided on a scheme. Queen Tripura Sundari had refused the regency in order to follow her husband; he nominated for regent the slave he had loved. Damodar Panre, the victor of the west was elected to exercise the functions of Prime Minister (1800).

In Benares, Rana Bahadur did not take long to become enamoured of a new beauty, and to satisfy the exigencies of his passion he began by removing all the queen's jewels and he contracted loans with the Company. The Darbar suspected that Rana Bahadur would use the English to serve his ends or that the Company under the cloak would seek to meddle into Nepalese affairs. The Darbar offered to renew the commercial agreement interrupted since its conclusion and to receive in Nepal a British resident. Captain Knox was entrusted to fill the post, and he arrived at Kathmandu in April 1802. But tired of the incessant scufflings of the Darbar, which never yielded without retracting soon afterwards, Captain Knox accompanied with his assistant Buchanan Hamilton, definitively returned to India in March 1803.

In the interval, important events had taken place. Queen Tripura Sundari, tired of the treatment of her husband had left Benares and watched on the frontier for a propitious hour to re-enter into Nepal; she feared thither the hostility of her ancient rival. When the rainy season made the Terai uninhabitable (April 1802), she decided to venture on a bold stroke, encouraged perhaps by having dependent on her, Damodar Panre who had accepted with reluctance an ancient slave for regent. An escort of soldiers sent against her dared not to act; the chief of the port of Seshagarhi shut himself up with his men behind the walls in order not to arrest her. A final detachment was sent against her. She struck a blow with a dagger at the officer who fell back ashamed of his task and the soldiers disbanded. No sooner did she reach Nepal, than Damodar Panre came before her and bowed to her; the multitude welcomed her and led her to the palace whilst the regent who was a slave fled into a temple with her son, the young king, the treasures and jewels of the crown.

The Queen handed the power to Damodar Panre, but she hastened to send back to Palpa, the King Prithivi Pala



who had remained in Kathmandu since the accession of Girvana Yuddha Vikrama and whom they suspected of aspiring to the throne of Nepal. Rana Bahadur who knew it to be lawful to reckon on his wife's devotion, left Benares at the first news of events. Informed of his arrival, Damodar Panre led his troops to receive him and also to watch him should it be needed. But Bhimsen Thapa who had been on intimate terms with Rana Bahadur at Benares and who was embittered, as much by family feuds as by personal ambition, against the chief of the Panre clan, counselled the king to decide at once. With his customary decision Rana Bahadur advanced towards the soldiers and shouted to them: "Well! my brave Gurkhas, who is for Sha, who is for Panre?" The soldiers replied by acclamations and Rana Bahadur entered Kathmandu triumphantly followed by Damodar Panre and his sons, all in chains.

Bhimsen Thapa then became Prime Minister. He was destined to preserve the power for thirty-three years under a series of kings. He hastened to give his master the essential prestige, by new conquests. Prithivi Pala was massacred with his officers. Then Amara Simha Thapa, the father of Bhimsen Thapa, was entrusted with the English title of "General" to reduce Palpa. He only had to take possession of the town (August 1804), the last of the independent states that survived. Nepal in her entirety belonged to the Gurkhas. Amara Singha continued his march towards the west and threatened Kangra, but he was compelled to stop in front of another conqueror, who was working to shape himself an empire in the Western Himalaya; the famous Ranjit Singh had grouped Sikh clans, led them to war by a secular struggle against the Muhammedan and had thrown them onwards to the conquest of Punjab and Kashmir. Kangra only escaped the Gurkhas to fall into the hands of the Sikhs.

Rana Bahadur, informed of a plot which his illegitimate brother had schemed against him, summons Sher Bahadur and orders him to leave the capital and to rejoin the army in the western provinces. Sher Bahadur replies with an insult; the king threatens to sentence him to death. Sher Bahadur draws the sword, mercilessly wounds the king and falls himself under the sword of Bala Nara Singha Kunwar, a Thapa who was destined to have for son, Jang Bahadur, the great Minister. Bhim Sen Thapa, remaining the Prime Minister of Girvana Yuddha Vikram, compels the youngest royal spouse to ascend the pyre, gives out the order to put to death the majority of the chiefs he fears, like the associates of Sher Bahadur and shares the real power with regard to Queen Tripura Sundari. The history of Nepal is henceforth, for thirty years, the history of ministry of Bhim Sen.

King Girvana Yuddha Vikram Sah, who bore the royal title, was two years old when a political combination of the Rana Bahadur had borne him to the throne, nine years, when the death of his father had left him as a toy in the hands of the Queen and the Prime Ministers,

eighteen years old, when he died of small-pox in 1816.

The persistent infringements of the Gurkhas on the southern frontier had ended in exhausting the Company's patience and making it necessary to have recourse to arms. From 1787 to 1813, more than two hundred villages had been seized by the Nepalese under unjustifiable pretexts. Lord Hastings decided to intervene. When asked for their evacuation within twenty-five days, Bhim Sen replied to the ultimatum by a declaration of war.



Lumbini. Birth-place of Buddha

Beginning on the 1st November 1814, the war lasted till the 4th of March 1816. The Gurkhas had 12,000 troops only to stand against the 30,000 soldiers and 60 cannons that the English placed on the field no sooner the campaign began. Their military virtues, their bravery, their tenacity, their suppleness almost counter-balanced the disparity in numbers and their resistance deserved the esteem and admiration of their conquerors. The incapacity of the British commandants brought about at first a series of disasters. General Gillespie, coming from Meerut, crosses the Sivalikhs, penetrates up to Dehra Dun and is delayed for a month by the fort of Kalanga (Nalapani) backed by 600 Gurkhas under the leadership of Balabhadra. The British corps lose 31 officers and 718 men and its leader fell mortally wounded. When the fort is no longer tenable, Balabhadra forces a breach at the head of 90 men who still remained with him. General Martindell, who replaces Gillespie, leads his troops but he suffers a severe check. He loses 12 officers and 450 men. In February 1815 a company of 200 Gur-



khas routs 2000 irregulars at the service of England. General Morley is ordered to march on Kathmandu through Bibchak and Hetanra with 5,000 soldiers. Major Nearsay who is operating towards Almorah is beaten, wounded and captured. The cautious tactics of Ochterlony retrieves all the disasters. The Gurkha Forts oppose a



Prithvi Narayan  
(From a contemporary picture of the Old  
Palace, Kathmandu)

desperate resistance but the artillery smashed up all resistance before it. The road to Kathmandu is open. The Darbar sues for peace. On the 4th March 1816, a treaty signed at Segowlie consecrates the defeat of Nepal. She loses Sikkim, Kumaon, Garhwal, the whole of the portion of the Terai to the West of the Gandaki and is obliged perforce to accept a British Resident. Lord Hastings had made of this clause the fundamental condition of the peace. Edward Gardner was nominated resident in Nepal where Hodgson came to rejoin him as assistant in 1820.

Nepal understood the lesson and profited by it; the Gurkhas did not risk attacking the British again. The Government of India on the other hand showed her sagacity; she was careful not to provoke an adversary whose merit she had recognised. General Ochterlony confidentially declared to Lord Hastings that the Hindu soldiers of the Company would never be in a state to resist the shock of those energetic mountaineers on their own soil. In consequence Lord Hastings gave instructions to Edward Gardener to work in transforming the boisterous neighbour into an amicable ally or at the

least peaceful. To better mark his intention, he consented as early as the close of 1816 to modify a clause of the treaty in accordance to the dearest wishes of the king. The Company bound itself to pay an annual indemnity of 2,00,000 rupees to compensate loss of the revenues which the relinquishment of the Terai caused to the anterior holders of these fiefs. By a new arrangement a portion of the Terai was ceded back to Nepal as an equivalent to 2,00,000 rupees of yearly revenues. The English discovered too late the bad bargain they had concluded. In 1834, Hodgson estimated at 991,000 rupees to be the annual revenues of lands ceded back.

Immediately after the war, the King Girvan Yuddha Vikram was dead. He was succeeded by his son of very young age, Rajendra Vikram Sah (1816). The change of princes that opened a new minority with a long term, consolidated the power of the Prime Minister Bhimsen and of the queen Tripura Sundari, grand mother of Rajendra Vikram Sah.

Bhimsen had to face a difficult situation. The Gurkhas were a military nation incapable of living otherwise than by wars and conquests. The revenues of the Nepalese soil could not suffice to maintain an idle population, and the war with the British had showed to the Gurkhas that the era of raids had passed. Bhimsen exerted himself to encourage the traffic between Nepal and her two neighbours India and Tibet. Bhimsen erected foundries for cannons, arsenals, built large barracks, maintained and developed the discipline and military instructions.

In 1832, the old queen Tripura Sundari died. Henceforth, Bhimsen remained exposed, alone responsible for a paradoxical administration that for 28 years left absolute power in the hands of an ordinary servant of the crown. One of his brothers Ranavir Sinha Thapa had become intimate with the young king whom he had under his authority and whom he excited by ambition to seize the authority once again. In the seraglio, the old rivalry of the Thapas and the Panres was preparing a new crash. The first spouse of Rajendra Vikram was related to the Panres; the second, by her birth and interests, was connected to the Thapas. Since 1833, it appeared that the authority of the Prime Minister was undermined. At the early ceremony of the "Panjni," when all the officials are subjected to a new nomination, Bhimsen was not confirmed in his post which remained without titularity. A few days later, Bhimsen was recalled to the ministry.

In the spring of 1837, the nephew of Bhimsen, Mathbar Singh, the most popular chief of the army, is dismissed and his place is given to a son of Damodar Panre. A few days later, the youngest son of the first queen suddenly dies: Rumour says that Bhimsen had desired to poison the queen and that the child becomes a victim of his guilty actions; he is arrested, thrown in prison together with Mathbar Singh and the rest of the whole family. Rana Jang Pande replaces Bhimsen at the ministry.



Bhimsen humbles himself at the foot of the king who grants him a pardon; the prisoners were released and are looked upon with clemency. The army makes a triumphal acclaim to its old chief and his young favourite. Rana Jang descends from the power where he had just hoisted himself, and leaves the place to the chief of the Brahmanic party, Raghu Nath Pandit, who seeks to manage everybody, but whom the army looks upon with antipathy as the representative of a dangerous rivalry.

In the palace, the two queens quarrel between themselves to gain the influence for the benefit of their parties. The first queen who had thought herself triumphant at the fall of Bhimsen and who had seen with rage the Brahmins jiggle away with victory, decides on a coup. She demands that Rana Jang be made a minister. Mathbar Singh, who feels the approach of a new storm, goes to hunt the elephant in the Terai, cautiously crosses the frontier, takes refuge with the old Ranjit Singh at Lahore. Raghunath Pandit gives his resignation as Prime Minister, a Chautaria, collateral of the Royal family, is called to form a cabinet in which Rana Jang is all-powerful. Soon he unmask himself, dismissed his colleagues and retains alone all the powers, in the beginning of 1839. The accusation of poisoning flung against Bhimsen in 1837 is immediately renewed, supported by a battery of falsehoods that deceives nobody but that gives an air of dignity to the judicial comedy. The old minister, accused of treason by the king is thrown in prison again, threatened, pushed to commit suicide because none dares to incur the responsibility of his death. They told him that they were going to bury him up to his neck in a ditch of human excretions, to exhibit his wife stark naked through the town. Horrified the old man strikes himself a blow with his own Khukri (knife) and dies of the wound nine days later. His body is dismembered, the stumps exposed to public gaze are afterwards thrown as food for the beasts. The doctor who had cared for (treated) the young prince, a Brahman whom the law forbids to execute is branded on the forehead and on the cheeks, so much so that the skull and jaw bones are laid bare. His colleague, a Newar, is impaled, and his heart excised alive. A royal decree excludes the Thapas from all employments for seven generations (July 1839).

In order to mitigate these horrors and to gain public favour the Panres exploited the Gurkha chauvinism which Bhimsen took so much pains to curb since the treaty of Segauli. Prophecies were pronounced regarding the early downfall of the British. Cannons were manufactured and so were rifles. 800,000 (lbs.) pounds of gun-powder were ordered, as well as bullets and shots. A military census was taken and showed 400,000 men capable of carrying arms. Secret relations were sought with the Rajput and Maratha chiefs of India—Gwalior, Satara, Baroda, Jodhpur, Jaipur, Kotah, Bundi, Rewa, Panna states—and with the weak heir of Ranjit Singh, who had just died, as also with Burma, Persia, Afghanistan and with China. But this policy cost dear

and money was lacking. The troops rebelled, and demanded a war against India. There was an universal discontent within the kingdom. To better grasp the power and share it with Rana Jang, the first queen worked to discredit the king in the hope that an upheaval would compel him to abdicate in favour of his son and designate her for regent. Death frustrated her calculations; she died of fever in October 1841.



Jang Bahadur

England, weary of the ridiculous provocations, had imposed an agreement in Nepal in 1839. The disappearance of the first queen hardly simplified the interior politics of Nepal. The second queen who had impatiently borne the supremacy of her rival, aspired to seize the reins of power by the successive elimination of the king and heir-apparent, who stood between the throne and her progeny, and establish herself in the regency. The heir-apparent, then twelve years old was a kind of sanguinary lunatic who delighted in the torture and mutilation of animals and men. He longed to reign and to do away with his father who was stubborn in existing. At last, King Rajendra Vikram, dazed and idiotic, passed from one influence to another without cessation. He fled from quarrels and only asked for peace, but nobody around him was disposed to let him have it.

The situation became so serious that the nobility, judging the state to be in peril, forgot for a while the rivalry of parties.



A general gathering, held in December 1842, nominated a committee entrusted with the power of asking and of proposing to the king, the necessary measures for the protection of life, of goods and of the legitimate rights, public and personal, of all the subjects of the crown. The petition was successively submitted to the ministers, to the chiefs, to the municipal authorities of the towns, of the valley, of the army. It was approved, signed and carried by an immense deputation to the Royal Darbar on the 7th of December. The king received, signed and ratified it. The crisis had lasted twelve days.

The queen, who was given by this charter an increase of power destined to counter-balance the action of



Maharaja Chandra Shamsher, Commander-in-Chief  
Bhim Shamsher and Senior Commanding General  
Yudha Shamsher

the princely heir, hastened to recall the Thapas to power. Mathbar Singh who was living abroad for the past four years was recalled. He asked and obtained the public vindication of Bhimsen, the punishment of his accusers. At last he became a nominal Prime Minister in December, 1843. Maintained in power in spite of himself he lost the support of the queen, whom he refused to assist in her criminal schemes. On the 17th of May 1845, at night he is summoned to the palace, presents himself before the King and the Queen, Three rifle shots wound him; he asks for mercy in the name of his mother and his children, stretches his hands towards the throne. A servant cuts off the wrist. The quivering corpse is let down from the window. The murderer who had slain Mathbar was his own nephew, Jang Bahadur.

The personage who entered the scene with such a brutal exploit was destined to the tragedies of the palace. His father, Bala Narasimha had assisted at one time to the murder of Rana Bahadur and had slain the murderer with his own hands, who was the brother of the king. Grand nephew of Bhimsen he had obtained a high position at an early date; but tired of the barracks he had deserted, crossed the Kali (river), visited the provinces of the Company and thought of enrolling himself under Ranjit Singh. He was brought back to Nepal by his parents. Soon the fall of Bhimsen compelled him to hide. He travelled over Nepal as a discreet observer, initiating himself in the practices, customs and languages of all the races, exercising his body muscles with the severest of toils. Reaching Kathmandu he reveals himself in most brilliant fashion. An elephant who had run amock caused havoc in the town and none dared to stop it. Jang slips from a roof on the back of the animal, throws a cloth over its eyes blinding it and masters it. The Darbar offers him a dress of honour and a sum of money which he refuses. He joins the army as a captain, is employed on a secret mission with the Raja of Benares and is arrested by the British who bring him back to the frontier. He has already envious rivals who strive to ruin him; he baffles them with his audacity. Numerous instances are given. One day whilst he was crossing on horseback a furious torrent on a bridge of two planks at a giddy height above the abyss the princely heir calls him back. Without hesitating he forces his riding animal to turn round by an audacious leap and rejoins the bank. Another day in order to escape the ferocity of the same prince, he throws himself into a well, holds on till night time.

After the murder of Mathbar Singh, Jang was nominated a general with the command of three regiments and was entrusted with the ministry. Temporarily he ceded his place to Chautariah Fateh Jung and remained outside the new Cabinet; but the three regiments he commanded guaranteed his influence. The real power belonged to General Gagan Simha, an old servant of the harem who became the lover of the queen. The king threatened with being sacrificed to this adulterous love, hired the service of a professional bravo who slew Gagan Simha with a rifle shot whilst he was praying in his room (September 1846).

Mad with sorrow at the news the queen seized in her hands the royal sword, the emblem of supreme authority which the King had authorised her to carry since January 1843; she orders the trumpeters to summon the soldiers and all civil and military officials of the State assembles. The King embarrassed avoids the affair under the pretext of informing the Resident. The nobles hasten to assemble without taking the precaution of arming themselves. "Who among you have killed my faithful friend?" shouted the Queen. She rushes at one of the Panres whom she suspects of the crime and wishes to kill him with her hand. She is held. She escapes, rushes towards the staircase that leads to the



higher storey where lay her apartment. Three of the ministers follow behind her when shots fired from apparently nowhere stretched them dead on the floor. While falling, Abhiman Singh designates Jang Bahadur as his murderer. The son of Abhiman throws himself on one of the brothers of Jang and strikes him with his sword. He is about to strike another when Jang appears on the staircase and shoots him dead with a gun-shot. In the darkness of the hall and the corridors, dimly lighted by the flickering light of night lamps a murderous battle takes place blindly between the partisans of Jang rallied around him and his adversaries. They hit, they throttle, they massacre without knowing the victims. Outside the regiments of Jang guard the exits; their knives slay mercilessly the enemies or those held in suspicion who hope to find safety in flight.

Jang, in appearance docile, places near the two princes guardians entrusted in reality to defend them against the furies of the Queen. Deceived the Queen organises a new plot against Jang this time. But advised in time, the minister forestalls her, captures and executes the conspirers who belonged to the clan of Bashniyets. He appears before the King and heir-apparent, declares to them that the safety of the State depended on the removal of the Queen. The Queen finding herself vanquished becomes submissive. She succeeds however in dragging with her the idiotic husband. The princely heir is entrusted with the regency and Jang of the office of Prime Minister.

The Royal couple shelter in Benares, and carry on intrigues with all the discontented exiles of Nepal. The unhappy King Rajendra Vikram Sah deceived by everybody finally takes the route to Nepal where he enters as a prisoner and is deposed without a word being said in his favour and his princely heir Surendra Vikram Sah ascends the throne.

The policy of Jang tends from then to conciliate itself to the favour of the English perhaps with the view of an eventuality that his ambition and his talents permit him to look upon. In 1848 he offers the Government of India the help of the Gurkha troops to reduce the last defenders of the Sikh independence; he is politely refused. In 1850 after long negotiations, he left for England as the chief of a mission entrusted "to carry to the Queen Victoria the respects of the King of Nepal and the assurances of his friendship; to see the greatness and the prosperity of the country and the state of the people, to examine to what extent the application of arts and sciences is useful to the comfort and the commodity of life." Indeed he hopes to double his prestige in Nepal by his relations with the powerful nations of Europe and to gain by his allurements the English government to his personal interests. He wishes also as a man, of positive views to exactly understand those mysterious masters of India who make the people feel their might without showing themselves. In London, in Paris, whither he proceeds afterwards, he is the lion of the season. The strangeness of his costume, the wealth of

his attire, the legend published by the press, the prestige of a country that remains impenetrable, singles him out for attention. Balls, feasts and representations are given to him. Returning to India in 1851 Jang and his companions stop at Benares to accomplish at great cost on the banks of the Ganges the ceremonies of purification imposed on every Hindu who goes out of the country.



Maharaja Mohan Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana,  
Prime Minister of Nepal

The insolence and violence committed on the Tibetan territory against the Nepalese ambassador sent to Peking was the cause of another war between Tibet and Nepal in 1854. In spite of the great feats accomplished by Nepal, the hostilities are prolonged for more than two years without any marked advantage, as it was interrupted by the insurmountable difficulties of a region where the snow-storms, the avalanches, the precipices, the barrenness of the soil defy the bravery of men. The passes of Kuti and Kirong at first occupied by the Gurkhas are lost, then retaken. Dhir Shumshere, younger brother of Jang and father of the next five successive Prime Ministers of Nepal, saves the honour of Nepal by his untiring energy. On the 25th March, 1856, Tibet ends in signing the peace treaty: the Gurkhas evacuate the territories they had occupied, but in return Tibet pays Nepal an annual indemnity of Rs. 10,000. She renounces



to gather the customs duties on Nepalese goods; she authorises Nepal to entertain at Lhasa a resident entrusted with defending the interests of the Nepalese merchants.

In August, 1856, Jang unexpectedly renounces his power, passes the military to his brother Ram Bahadur and wishes to be satisfied with a kind of secret dictatorship. The King on this occasion confers on him the title of Maharaja for himself and his heirs and cedes to him all the sovereign rights of the two principalities of Kaski and Lamjung in the ancient territories of the 24 royalities. The office of Prime Minister is to be perpetually transmitted in his family, to his brothers at first and to his sons afterwards. Lastly Jang must exercise a power of absolute control on the relations of Nepal with Great Britain and China.

England refuses to abide by this combination which would impose a third party between her and the King, the only authority officially recognised outside. Jang retakes the power in 1857 during the mutiny of the sepoys, when Hindusthan was anxious to know if she was about to change masters. Jang offers on several occasions to join the British troops to quell the rebellion. England who is reluctant to have a saviour awaits till the recapture of Delhi, and the relief of Lucknow to accept the co-operation of the Gurkhas. Jang at first sends 3000 men, then he lends 8000 more. To recompense these services, England restitutes to Nepal by the treaty of 1860 (1st November) that portion of the Terai limited by the country of Oudh which had been taken away from her by the treaty of Segouli. In order to show his independence and to provide for the future Jang discreetly opens Nepal to the vanquished. The famous chief of the rebellion Nana Sahib with about fifty of his lieutenants find a secluded shelter in the impassable Terai where he disappears, carried away by fever or

perhaps welcomed in Nepal. Nepal extends an official hospitality to the wives of Nana Sahib and to the Begums of Lucknow.

Maharaja Jang Bahadur was created a G.C.B. by a grateful Britain. His career came to a close with his death in 1878.

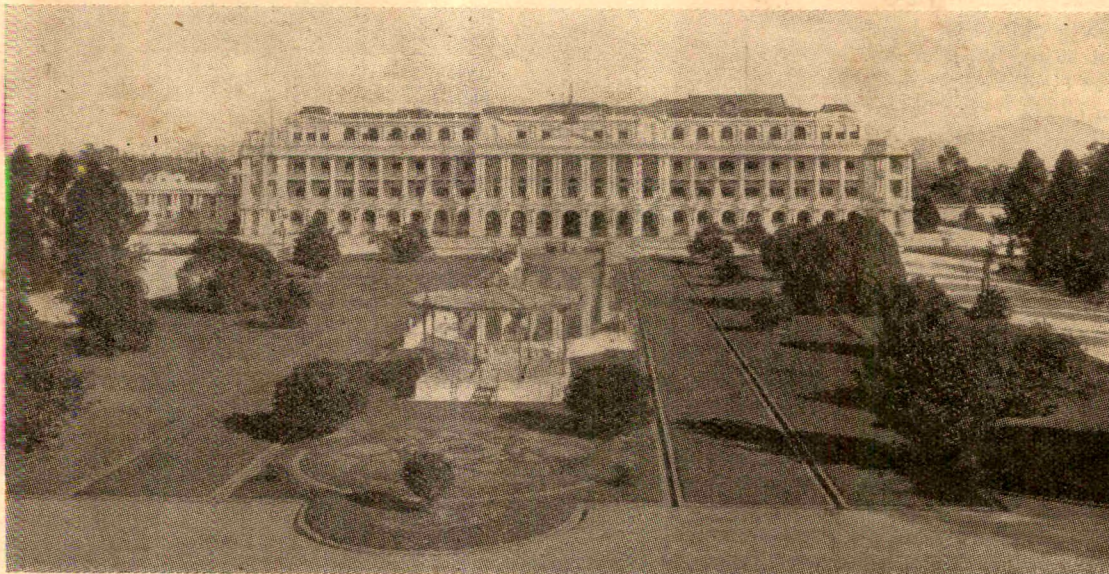
At his death Ranodip Singh, his brother, became Prime Minister. In 1881 King Surendra Vikram Sah died after '34 years of nominal reign. His grandson Prithivi Vir Vikram (born in 1875) ascended the throne.

On the 22nd of November 1885 a new family tragedy brought to the power the nephews of Jang Bahadur, the sons of his brother General Dhir Shumshere. Ranodip Singh was assassinated; of the sons of Jang, some underwent the same fate, others disappeared in exile. Vir Shumshere Jang Bahadur Rana becomes Prime Minister. He died on 5th March, 1901.

Since then the members of the family of Dhir Shumshere have been ruling the country. The succession is agnatic not hereditary. In this succession the high lights are on the regime of Maharaja Chandra Shumshere Jang Bahadur Rana, who made Nepal what she is today.

After the death of Prithivi Vir Vikram Sah, his son Tribhuvana Vir Vikram Sah ascended the throne while he was still under his teens. Here the succession is hereditary.

Today in Nepal a tussle has ensued between the two worthy descendants of illustrious Prithvi Narayan Sah and the Great Jang Bahadur—Maharajadhiraj Tribhuvan Vir Vikram Sah and Maharaja Sir Mohan Shamsher Jang Bahadur Rana; a conflict is in progress between the progressive and the reactionary forces; a war is being waged between the ruler and the ruled; a baby king is again on the throne. *Vive la Justice.*



The Singha Darbar



## STATE ORACLE OF TIBET

By DR. R. NEBESKY DE WOJKOWITZ

UNLIKE any other people, the Tibetans firmly believe that it is possible to predict and influence future events. When a marriage has to be celebrated, a long journey undertaken, or the future of a new-born child ascertained,—a local magician or a lama, versed in divination, is consulted. He predicts these events by means of astrological books and various magical instruments.

Held in the highest esteem among the Tibetans are those oracle-lamas who are supposed to be the mouthpieces of certain minor Tibetan deities, usually of demons, who originally belonged to the pre-Buddhist Shamanistic Bon faith, and later became protectors and guardians of the Buddhist religion. These demons are believed to take possession from time to time of selected persons, who thus influenced develop supernatural physical and spiritual powers in a trance. With bloodshot eyes, foaming mouth, and in a rigour, they utter words and sentences scarcely comprehensible, which are carefully noted and later interpreted into a horoscope. For example, extraordinary physical powers are displayed by an oracle-lama in a trance when he bends and twists heavy Tibetan swords without mutilating his hands. High value is placed on such swords by Tibetans, who prize them as charms against demonical influences.

The best known among these Tibetan oracle-lamas is the State Magician of the Tibetan Government, who is usually named after the monastery he inhabits, the Nechung Oracle. The predictions of this clairvoyant influences the course of Tibet's internal and external policy by a far greater degree than is anticipated. Whenever a new high-ranking official has to be appointed or important political decisions have to be made, the State Oracle is always consulted beforehand. His greatest influence is felt when a search is being conducted for a new Dalai Lama. At this time his utterances are treated with the greatest respect.

In the course of Tibetan history, many important events were directed or largely influenced by the prophecies of the State Magician. His office was stabilized, as Tibetan chronicles relate, during the reign of the fifth Dalai Lama, who appointed the chief oracle of the Samye Monastery to this position. The reason, why this rank was created, is recorded to be the discovery made by this oracle-lama that the Nepalese merchants then residing in Lhasa were plotting to poison the population of that city.

On the death of fifth Dalai Lama, the State

Magician—and later his successors who are always selected from amongst the monks of the Nechung Monastery—played an important part in the search for the succeeding Dalai Lama. This new spiritual and secular ruler of Tibet, the sixth Dalai Lama, proved himself very soon to be an extraordinary character. He was a gifted poet, and very intelligent. His works are still regarded as belonging to the best examples of Tibetan poetry. He soon stirred up, through his too wordly behaviour, the displeasure of the high Tibetan clergy. At last when the Chinese Government, which at that time controlled Tibet, turned against him, his days as Dalai Lama were numbered. On orders of the Chinese, he was removed from his office and later confined. He expired soon after this and there are strong indications that he was murdered.

In one of his poems, this Dalai Lama made a prophecy about his approaching end and mentioned the Eastern Tibetan town of Li-thang as the place where his rebirth would occur. After his death the Chinese appointed an elderly monk as the new Dalai Lama, but he was not recognized by the Tibetan clergy who started to search for the new reincarnation of its ruler. At first the State Oracle was consulted and this time the Magician did not give any oral answer. Instead he took into his hand a gong which was hanging near his throne and beat it vigorously several times. This event was later interpreted in this way: The metal from which a gong is made is called Li in Tibetan. The State Magician, therefore, by beating the gong tried to point to the place-name given in the poem of the sixth Dalai Lama, as the name Li-thang which when translated means "Plain of ore (or gong-metal)."

A very fateful part was played by one of the State Magicians in the political developments which led up to the British military expedition into Tibet in 1904. When at the beginning of this century the British moved into Sikkim, and started building strategic roads in the Indo-Tibetan frontier area, the Tibetan Government observed the situation with growing concern. The State Oracle was consulted regarding the measures to be taken, and he suggested that a certain mountain, situated a short distance within Sikkimese territory, should be occupied by Tibetan troops, as this mountain by its magical qualities would stop further advances by the British. This move, however, did not meet with success as the Tibetan troops were easily defeated.

After this event, the State Magician seems to

have had some presentiment of the approaching misfortunes. He predicted that in 1904—The Wood-dragon year of the Tibetan calendar—a great calamity would befall Tibet. Later on, he prophesied that a hostile force, coming from the South, would penetrate deep into the heart of the "Land of Snow." However, he seems to have been still of the opinion that eventually the Tibetan army would be victorious. The last prophecy seems to have played a major part as to why the Tibetan Government refused to negotiate with the advancing British force for such a long time, and reversed its policy only after Lhasa itself had been captured.

Shortly before the capital fell the Dalai Lama and the State Magician escaped from Lhasa and fled to Morgolia. They returned five years later to the Tibetan capital, and soon afterwards the Dalai Lama removed the State Magician from his office due to the false prophecies he had made previously. Later, another State Magician was appointed who after the death of the thirteenth Dalai Lama played an important role in the search for the present incarnation, and who was also frequently consulted during recent political decisions taken by the Tibetan Government.

The place where the State Oracle lives and where he delivers his prophecies is Netchung Gompa, situated

near the great Tibetan monastery of Depung, in the neighbourhood of Lhasa. Standing in a shady grove is a magnificent building, one of the most interesting religious establishments in Tibet. In the main shrine is located the silver throne of the State Magician, near to which are numerous small tables on which lie his garments, weapons and various magical instruments.

Into this hall, the State Magician is conducted on the day when he anticipates being possessed by 'The Lord of all Oracle Demons,' the three-headed and six-armed 'King Pekar'. Robed in his precious garbs and holding the weapons of this demon, his head covered with the typical broad-brimmed hat of the oracle-lamas, he takes his seat on the throne. Once he enters his trance, all the words he utters are carefully written down by a priest, while other assistants take care that the Magician does not hurt himself during his contortions.

Thus the fate of Tibet hangs in the balance, and its destiny is guided by a supernatural power which lies without the sphere of influence of politicians. It will be interesting to note, once the fog of war clears away, whether the State Oracle will go on forecasting the trend of present events in the "Land of Snow."

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## MALAYAN RUBBER INDUSTRY

By KRISHNENDRA SANYAL, M.Com.

VERY often Malay is called 'the land of rubber.' Perhaps in no other country a single commodity has played so great a commercial part as rubber in Malay. To-day, Malay employs two million out of the five million people in this trade, supplying as she does more than 60 per cent of the world's natural rubber and the value of rubber constitutes more than one-third of her total exports.

Plantation rubber in which Malay now holds a key position is of later origin. Malayan rubber did not gain the present importance even as late as 1910. At that time, Malay's share in plantation rubber being negligible, it was the privilege of Brazil, Columbia, Venezuela and Belgian Congo to dominate the world market, particularly so far as wild rubber was concerned. But owing much to British capital and enterprise, Malay soon became a remarkable producer of plantation rubber and achieved a name of her own in the world market. After the first great war, the amount of Malayan rubber surpassed that of any other country which readily placed this small peninsula in the topmost position among the rubber-producing regions of the world. Then Malayan rubber-acreage had risen to 2,641,000 including 1,559,000 estate acreage and 1,082,000 small holding acreage, which

covered as much as half of the world's total acreage under rubber. But, for the absence of proper organisation, the production often led to a sort of maladjustment between demand and supply, and the price fluctuated accordingly.

In order to check that maladjustment between demand and supply and to regulate the resultant fluctuations of price 'Stevenson Scheme' was put into operation in 1922. This scheme urged 'the producers to restrict their output to a definite percentage of their full capacity, the percentage fluctuating according to demand and resulting price-level.' The main shortcoming of this scheme was that all the rubber-producing countries did not participate in it, and, therefore, it yielded no effect eventually.

Another 'International Rubber Restriction Agreement' was then entered into by all the producing countries in 1934 for the purpose of regulating production and export within an agreed quota and of keeping a parity of price thereby.

Despite all these restricting schemes, Malayan rubber industry continued to expand by leaps and bounds. In 1937, rubber was planted in 3,273,000 acres and the production exceeded 476,826 tons which was 42 per cent



of the total world production of 1,135,337 tons. By 1940-41, just before the Japanese invasion, the output of Malayan rubber rose to a still higher amount of about 600,000 tons in the expanded area of 3,481,000 acres.

Japanese invasion in this peninsula during the years 1942-45, struck a death-blow to the whole structure of the industry. The extent of damage caused by Japanese rule may be well apprehended from the fact that the production of Malayan rubber fell from 600,000 tons in 1941 to 155,000 tons in 1942 and the export did not exceed 112,500 tons as against 573,000 tons in the previous year. In the later years up to 1945, the position of production and export was still worse.

After Japan had surrendered in 1945, prompt attempts were made to set the industry on pre-war footing by operating old development schemes in spite of the heavy loss and damage sustained during the war years. Research and development works were undertaken by three organisations, namely, The Rubber Research Institute, The British Rubber Producers' Association and The British Rubber Development Board. Post-war reconstruction plans necessitating increased use of rubber in Western countries gave a new impetus to this suspended industry. The Rubber Development Board carried out extensive publicity on behalf of Malayan rubber in the United States and other countries. The U.S.S.R. who was not an important purchaser formerly began to make huge purchase of Malayan rubber for developing her motor transport. In the year 1946, the industry progressed to such a degree that its output exceeded even pre-war level and export was also considerably increased, the U.S.A. alone purchasing the greater part of the supplies for surfacing roads and for other uses. The outstanding improvement during the post-war years in the production and export will be evident from the following figures :

Year	Estate (in tons)	Small holdings (in tons)	Export (in tons)
1946	173,787	229,932	366,911
1947	360,530	285,832	640,139
1948	403,628	294,561	679,016

In 1948, acres under rubber registered a record rise by about 3,500,000 as against 3,481,000 in pre-war time and all records of previous output and export were surpassed by 698,189 tons and 679,016 tons respectively.

Notwithstanding the speedy post-war recovery, Malayan rubber industry is now facing some serious problems, which if not combated, may jeopardize it to a large extent. As a reaction of these problems, the production fell down to 671,503 tons in 1949 as against 698,189 tons in the previous year and export also decreased to a proportionately less amount. The most serious of these problems is the introduction of synthetic

rubber in the rubber-consuming countries. The United States, which is by far the largest importer of Malayan rubber, is using at present about 40 per cent of synthetic rubber of her total rubber requirement and her import from Malay in 1949 amounted to only 265,328 tons as against 348,303 tons in 1948. The U.K. also took rubber of lesser quantity. This decline in the export was partly covered by the increased purchase of Germany and the U.S.S.R. Of course, apprehension of competition with synthetic rubber has been now partly subsided as the production of synthetic rubber has been showing a gradual decline since 1947. The world production of synthetic rubber in 1949 totalled 440,000 tons as compared with 532,136 tons in 1943 and 554,324 tons in 1947. Another problem is that 'The International Rubber Restriction Agreement' having not been strictly adhered to by all the rubber-producing regions, there is often over-production in anticipation of possible demand causing selling price to be lower than the cost price.

On the other hand, the cost of production has risen because of the increased wages of labourers. More attention having been paid to rubber production, Malay is now facing acute food crisis, and as a result, prices of food-grains, particularly of rice, have gone up five times as high as they were in the pre-war period.

The magnitude of the problems has also been extended by the communist-sponsored movements in the land. The cases of depredations and plunders by communist-led bandits are not at all rare. Such a chaotic situation has contributed much to hamper the production. Now, of course, British estate-holders are trying utmost to rehabilitate the industry on a firmer footing, meeting all these problems. From the available reports of the last few months, it seems, the industry is again striding towards an upward direction.

In fine, one thing must be noted here that although Malay's rubber, tin and forest products are unparalleled in the world, and although Malay enjoys the advantage of Singapore—the world's biggest entrepot port, still it is almost a paradox that the Malayese are a very poor people. Per capita income is even lower than that in India. After making provision for the British interests out of the vast national resources, very little is left for Malayan people themselves to support their life in a human manner. The nature of the British exploitation in Malay has been very outspokenly described by Mr. John Gunther, a famous American journalist, in the following words: "The region as a whole is dominated by one momentous consideration, namely, that acre for acre it is the richest British possession or sphere of interest on the face of the Globe."





## SRINATHJI AT NATHDWARA

By LEHAR SINGH MEHTA, B.A., LL.B., M.C.S.

**NATHDWARA** is the most celebrated of the fane of the Hindu Apollo. The etymological meaning of the word is the portal (Dwara) of God (Nath). Nathdwara is the centre of oriental learning, ancient Hindu culture, Sanskrit literature, Prakritic vernaculars, Indian art, and Indian music. The place is about thirty miles north and north-east of Udaipur, and is seventeen miles away from Eklingji, the tutelary divinity of the Rajputs of Mewar. The shrine is situated in a defile on the bank of the river Banas. The



Shri Nathji

Hills towering around it are of the primitive formation, having abundant springs of water, which keep verdant numerous shrubs and flowerage. The fane of Shrinathji is of white marble, having ample dimensions, and no more sublime conception of God has ever been presented to the minds of men than that which is furnished by this image of black crystalline rock of marvellous beauty, about five feet in height. The very first sight of the idol will enable a man not to turn his back upon religion, the greatest enlarger, the greatest enricher, the greatest ennobler of life that the world has ever discovered in all its long history. Within the quadrangle are miniature shrines, containing some of the minor deities. The temple reminds us of the noble remains of the sacred architecture, not in Mewar alone, but throughout India.

The great idol owes its origin entirely to the image of Shri Krishna, and it is said to be the same, which had been worshipped at Mathura between eleven and twelve hundred years before Christ. Shri Vallabhacharya, son of Lakshman Bhatta, a Tailang Brahmin, born in 1478, was a prodigy of learning. He taught *Suddha-advaita* or pure monism, and the path shown by him is called the *Pushtimarga*, which means the surest route of acquiring the grace of the Almighty. In 1509 he defeated the followers of Shiva in a public discussion in the court of Krishna Deva Raya, and later on visited Mathura,

Vrindaban, and Banaras, preaching the chief doctrine of his sect. He discovered the idol of Shri Nathji at Govardhan Parvat and he was so much attracted that he dedicated the rest of his life to its service. Shri Vallabhacharya brought together seven other images of Kanaiya and celebrated the festival of Annakuta, on the second day of Dewali. All these images remained in the same sanctuary until the time of Shri Girdhariji Maharaj, the grandson of Shri Vallabhacharya, who having seven sons, offered to each a Rupa or image (of Sri Krishna) for worship. Shri Nathji is not included amongst the seven forms; he stands supreme.

Aurangzeb's orders were clear. It was to be no half-finished campaign; Shri Nathji was to be driven to bay and the 'royal rat' was to be dug out or killed in its hole. Shri Damodarji, son of Shri Girdhariji, under dreadful screams and lamentations, took to the desert of Rajasthan, along with the image, as his only refuge. He wandered in the deserts and jungles of Rajputana, appealing to the Rajas of Kotah, Bundi, Kishangarh, for shelter and support, which none were willing to give. Hopeless and homeless he cried for help, but none was prepared to give him shelter. It would have been wiser and more prudent, if Maharaja Jaswant Singh of Jodhpur had shown him kindness in his misfortune. Then came the golden sun-rise. Maharana Raj Singh of Mewar, following the usual tradition of his ancestors and thinking that at least he would maintain the Rajput



Shri Eklingji

pride and independence, offered the heads of one hundred thousand Rajputs for the service of the deity; and thereupon the god was conducted by the route of Kotah and Rampura to Mewar. An omen decided the spot of the future installation. The chariot-wheel sunk deep into the earth at Siarh, upon which it was interpreted that



Nathji desired to dwell there. The god was removed from the chariot, and in the course of time a temple was erected for his reception. The Siah village developed into the town of Nathdwara, containing many thousand inhabitants of all denominations. To the east the town is shut in by a cluster of hills, and westwards flows the great Banas. The north and the south flanks are crowned with frowning battlements and high loop-holed walls keeping ceaseless vigil.

Every year at Nathdwara you will find myriads of people coming from all over the world. The idol is held in the highest esteem by all Hindus whether living on the banks of the Indus or the mouth of the Ganges, on the coasts of the Peninsula or the shores of the Red Sea. During the Annakuta festival the Hindus assemble here to the number of more than a hundred thousand. Determined upon renouncing the world people place their entire wealth at the altar of the deity, stipulating merely for food, raiment, and funeral rites. The most precious things are brought here as offerings. There is no donation too great or too trifling for the acceptance of Krishna, from the baronial estate to a patch of pasture-land, from the gemmed coronet to an orphan's mite, from the jewels of the successful sons of commerce to the penny-vegetable of a Mali. The spices of the Isles of the Indian Archipelago, the resins and pistachios of Kabul and Persia,

the sugar-candy from Java, the Shawl from Srinagar, the famous silk of Bengal, the scarfs of Banaras, the brocades of Gujarat, all contribute to enrich the shrine. In the commercial cities of Calcutta, Bombay, Surat, Cambay, and Ahmedabad the Mookhias or comptrollers reside to collect benefactions and transmit them as occasions arise. The pious bounties also pour in from Muscat, Mocha, and Jedda; from Egypt and Siberia. These offerings are not permitted to moulder in the Bhandar. The apparel is distributed with a liberal hand as a gift from the deity to those who evince their devotion. Prasad (such is the denomination of the food sacred to Shri Nathji) worth about Rs. 1,500 a day is given to the worshippers, devotees and other servants of the temple. The Mookhias also carry the sacred food to wheresoever the votaries reside.

The present Goswamiji is now about twenty-five years of age. He is a person of a benign aspect, with much dignity of demeanour, courteous, yet exacting the homage due to his high status. Though meek, as becomes the priest of Shri Krishna, he is endowed with the polished manners of one accustomed to first-rate society. His features are finely moulded, his complexion is good, and he is about the middle size. With a considerable knowledge of Sanskrit he encourages learning and gives impetus to the cause of Hindu culture.

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## WOMEN'S INSTITUTES IN BRITAIN

By CICELY McCALL

THE widespread growth of the Women's Institutes throughout Britain is one of the most remarkable characteristics of present-day social life in this country. Thirty-four years ago, in 1916, the first Institute was opened in Wales, and to-day there are over 6,000 throughout villages in Britain.

The Institute has developed a new and enterprising spirit in village life and has brought women together into broader social and civic activities. It is essentially a rural movement, and aims at providing recreation and occupational relaxation for women in country districts.

Women's Institutes were founded principally through the perseverance of one woman, Mrs. Alfred Watt. It was her dogged determination that inspired a small group of men and women to try out the first Institutes. Mrs. Watt came from Canada. She had seen the success of Institutes there, where they had been founded as the counterpart of the Canadian farmers' clubs. She maintained that their non-party, non-sectarian basis had brought together people whose opposing views had hitherto made any communal work or fun impossible.

An Institute may have anything from 12 to 200 members. Some meetings are held in halls owned and built by the Institute. Others meet in the school, or in

one of the members' houses, where they all sit round the fire.

But whether the meeting is held in Women's Institutes, hall or farm kitchen, the procedure is the same. The business is conducted by the officers and all decisions are taken by vote of the members. Officers and committee members are elected annually by secret ballot.

The Minutes are read by the secretary, and much of the responsibility for the well-being of the Institute falls on this officer. All honour is due to these busy country-women who undertake this work.

The treasurer gives a statement of account once a quarter, or more often. Though she may look twice at every penny expended, she has learnt that the treasurer is not the only member who can ask questions. If questions are asked, the average treasurer recognises it as a welcome sign of wakefulness on the part of her audience, and she will not take it amiss. In all democratic organisations, members must learn to differ without too much bitterness, to ask and be asked questions without feeling that it is a personal affront, and this is what Institutes have tried to teach their members. They have learnt that a complaint is not an insult. It is a point of view of another free-thinking, free-speaking



individual, and as such has the right to be treated with consideration.

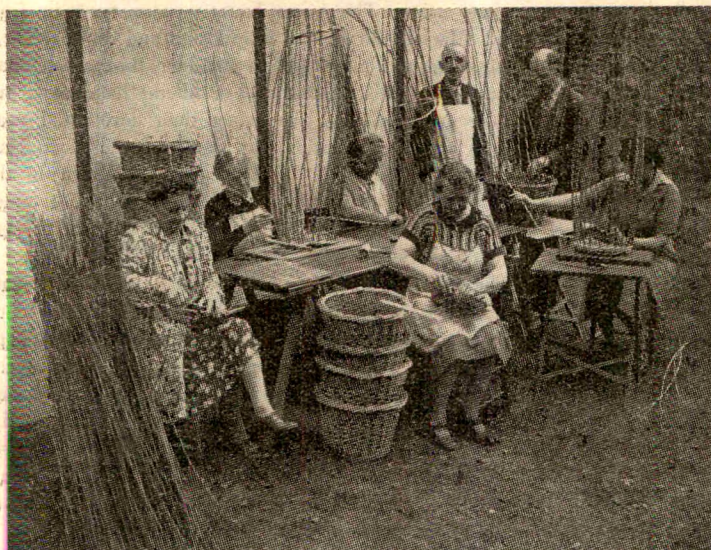
For the first two years of their existence, the Institutes' material resources were negligible. Each member paid two shillings a year. (In 1943 the subscription was

It may be an entertainment by the drama team or it may be dancing for everybody.

Some members are content with an enjoyable monthly meeting and want nothing further. Others realise the power of a women's organisation covering the whole country. Women's Institutes have fought for rural telephones, cheap milk for mothers and babies, women's police and a better rural water supply. In the case of the first two, the fight has been wholly successful. The fight continues for many other country needs.

These were peacetime activities, and during the war Women's Institutes had answered the Government's appeal to grow more food and preserve more fruit by opening centres where members could make jam and bottle and can fruit. Preservation centres were set up in garages, village halls, schools and disused barns. Headquarters bought the sugar, £1,400's worth of it. In three weeks it was distributed to preservation centres all over Britain. Headquarters bought canners too.

In 1941, over 5,000 Preservation Centres made enough jam alone to



Women in a Sussex village making vegetable baskets under the tuition of a well-known basket-maker

raised to 2s. 6d.). Of this, two-pence went to the central organisation which was responsible for the inspiration and stimulus of a new, fast-growing movement. In 1917, the movement was taken under the wing of the Board of Agriculture, and a year later the first government grant was made. It was £2,000. The following year it was raised to £10,000, on the understanding that each successive year for ten years a diminishing grant should be made till finally the Institutes became independent. In 1927, a year before the ten years were up, the Institutes felt sufficiently firmly established to be able to thank the Commissioners kindly and return their grant.

At the meetings, after the Business, a lecture is given by a speaker or demonstrator. The subject may be history, cookery, gardening, upholstery, a foreign country, a well-known statesman, or knitting. Tea and what follows is the third part of the programme. It is called the social half-hour. It may be a childish game, played rowdily by old and young for ten minutes before going home, or it may be community singing for forty minutes.



Women in a Kentish village preparing and bottling locally-grown fruit

provide the equivalent of nearly a year's ration for every Women's Institute member in the Kingdom.

Another scheme is the Women's Institute markets. These were started in 1931 and are run co-operatively. Some are held once a week on market day, in the square



of the nearest town, some are trestle tables by the roadside, some are small shops. Produce can be bought by any market shareholder, and a share costs one shilling. Produce is priced by the controller according to current rates, and the grower is paid eleven pence in the shilling. The remaining penny goes towards the expenses of the market. The total turnover of the markets is £33,000 a year.

Women's Institute markets have a great variety of produce. Vegetables, fruit and flowers are the main source of income. Some markets sell rabbits, cakes and poultry, and, before rationing was introduced, they sold eggs and handicrafts. Women's Institutes have taught handicrafts ever since they first started, and members'

high technique is well-known. The mastery of a craft has given infinite pleasure as well as profit to hard-working countrywomen.

Perhaps the aim of Women's Institutes—to improve and develop conditions of rural life—has best been realised in two ways: Institutes have taught countrywomen citizenship, and they have taught them to be articulate. Members have learnt to appreciate the potentialities of a body of 300,000 village women with opportunities to discuss and study questions of the day. In planning for the future, nationally and internationally, these countrywomen intend to make their united voices heard.

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## BOYS' CLUBS IN BRITAIN

By RALPH COOKE

It is one of the characteristics of many English social institutions that they were begun as voluntary organisations by local groups and communities, because people wanted them, because there was a need in the locality.

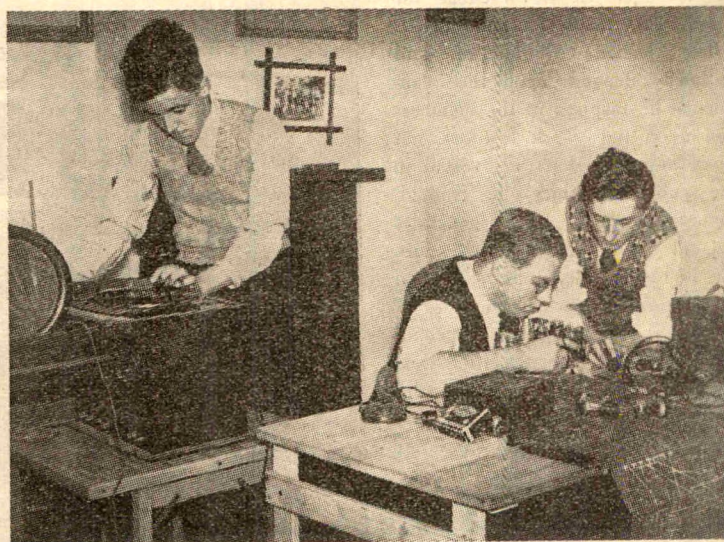
As they grew and widened their scope, two things happened. One was that the local groups came into contact with one another, compared experiences and aims, and so marked out the plan of a national organisation. The other, that their activities became of such importance to the community at large that they called for State recognition in many ways.

This often meant financial aid, but not necessarily control. Sometimes the monetary grants carry a measure of control, sometimes not. The voluntary element is so deeply rooted in the English character that there is an instinct to preserve it even when the State or the local government authority joins in.

The Boys' Club movement in Britain is a case in point. The first Boys' Club were formed over a hundred years ago. London and Manchester were early on the scene, as far as records go, and one or two of the clubs founded at that time are still in existence. Since then progress has been steady and widespread. It soon became clear that Boys' Clubs were an essential and growing part of the life of the community. General Charles Gordon (1833-1885), who died at Khartoum, was one of the pioneers of the movement. It is known that he had boys to his house at Woolwich, London, and helped them

to organize their interests in much the same way as is done now.

In 1926 was founded The National Association of Boys' Clubs, to which are now affiliated about 1,500 clubs



Boys learning the construction of a wireless set from an electrical engineer

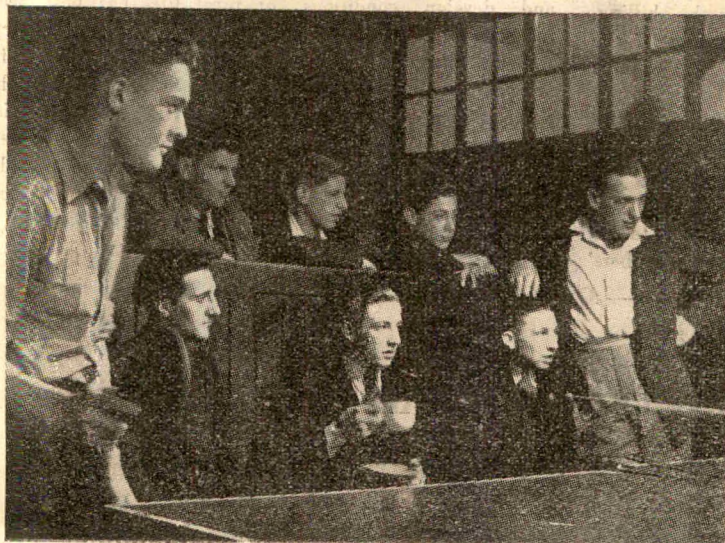
throughout Britain. There is also the London Federation of Boys' Clubs, which is itself affiliated to the National Association. In 1942-43 the number of clubs on the London Federation's register was 250—nearly the pre-war number. At the time of writing the pre-war total has been greatly exceeded.

What goes to make a Boys' Club and how does it work? It is a community of boys, between the ages of



about 14 and 18, under the leadership of a man. The word "leader" has misleading associations these days. In no sense is the leader of a Boys' Club the autocratic head of it. He might as well be called the president or

whatever knowledge or experience he may have as a grown-up man following his occupation in the world. "Most men," remarks one of the handbooks of the National Association, "provided they enjoy the company of boys . . . can be made use of."



A table tennis match in progress at a club premises

the manager. He is, in effect, the person responsible for running it.

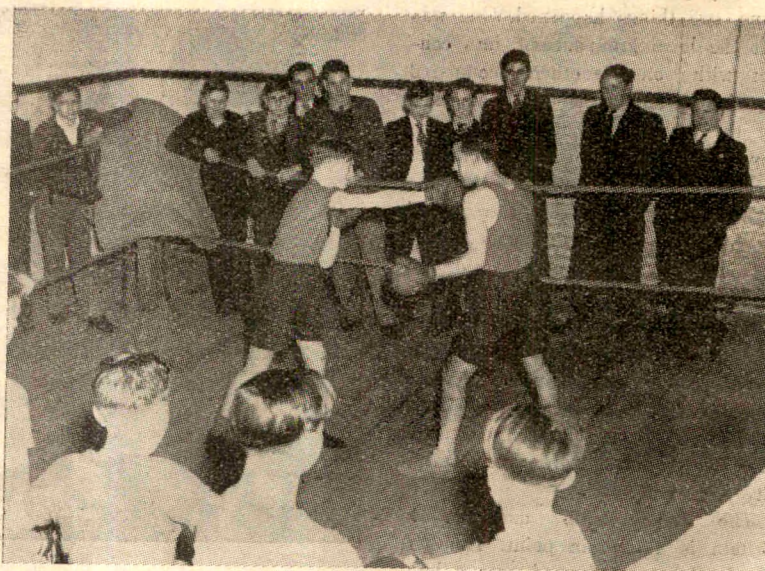
The leader's influence and authority depend upon the confidence he inspires in the members and upon the work he does, not upon any special powers vested in the job. Sometimes he is paid, sometimes not; that generally depends upon the size of the club. He is responsible, finally, to a committee which may be formed by local representative people when the need for a club arises. This is generally called the Governing or Management Committee. Discipline and internal questions are in the hands of the leader and a boys' committee, so that the boys may take part in the running of their own club. It is of very great importance that they should learn that the club is being run with them, not for them.

Discipline is more a matter of club tradition than of imposed rules.

One of the first things a good leader does is to gather round him a group of outside voluntary helpers, each of whom is willing to spend an evening at the club about once a week, regard himself as a member for the time being, and give the other members the benefit of

A club may be founded by a committee, which casts about for a leader; or by a leader, who gets a committee formed. There are many ways of enrolling the first members of a new club. A conventional one is to ask the Headmaster of an Elementary School for the names of boys who have reached the school-leaving age. But boys, normally, are sociable beings, and have a habit, in their spare time, of getting together in gangs for a variety of purposes. The existence of these groups will in itself suggest the forming of a club.

What happens at a Boys' Club? What do the boys do in the course, say, of a number of typical evenings? The answer is: practically everything constructive that boys like doing. Indoor games, plays, and concerts are



A boxing match in progress, organised by the National Association of Boys' Clubs

stable features and lead to inter-club competitions. There are groups which do handicrafts, woodwork, wireless and electrical work, and practise modelling and other forms of art. A boy with a hobby will generally find others of the same bent. It is in these pursuits that the outside voluntary helpers come in. The local joiner's and car-



painter's guidance, for instance, is invaluable to the woodwork group.

There is always a library and a gymnasium, which mean debates and discussions and outdoor games and sports. A large and well-founded club with a membership of two or three hundred probably has a wide range of equipment, which may even include a billiard table and its own swimming-pool. A small one, lately opened, has to be content with collapsible table-tennis and the local river. But, in the words of the Secretary for Training at the National Association, fine premises do not necessarily make fine clubs. It is the club spirit that is aimed at all the time, and taken as the gauge of success.

In most clubs the members are divided into senior and junior sections, on the principle that boys of ages from 14 to 18 cannot profitably share the same club programme. Sometimes the division is into three sections. These are known as Houses, each of which has an elected captain. But for certain communal purposes—in the Canteen and the Games Rooms and at the Club Camp—the Houses combine.

Every club affiliated to the National Association is responsible for its own finances. The usual subscription for members is 2d or 3d a week, according to age. Grants of money are made from certain trust funds—notably from the Jubilee Trust founded by the late King George V—and other sources, and money is received from private donors, local communities and annual subscribers. In 1939 the Board of Education came actively on the scene. It had long had powers of giving financial aid to voluntary organisations for young people between the ages of 14 and 20 and it instructed local bodies to set up Youth Committees to investigate local needs.

This timely move came when many clubs were foreseeing difficulties about raising money during the war. But the grants made by the Board give it no control over the clubs: it works in collaboration with them, on the

principle of the partnership of the State and the voluntary bodies. The free and voluntary nature of the work



Summer camps are a great feature of Boys' Clubs. This picture shows boys assisting with the preparation of a camp meal

of the Boys' Clubs is their greatest asset and is not likely to be tampered with.

## GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

### Mind and Message

By DR. P. NAGARAJA RAO, M.A., D.Litt.

G. B. S. belongs to the wisdom of ages and is no longer a historical figure. His message is neither old nor new. It is eternal. Sophocles died at ninety, Shakespeare at fifty-two, Tolstoy at eighty-two and Shaw at ninety-four. A life vivid and varied, full of episodes and usefulness, unparalleled in its productivity, has few equals in recent times and none surpasses him. Shaw was an institution and the twentieth century is the age of Shaw. He wrote his first letter to the *Public Opinion* on 3rd April, 1875, when he was nineteen. From his nineteenth year for a period of 75 years Shaw has been educating mankind through his novels, tracts, political treatises, dramas, art and music criticisms. The prodigious output and the phenomenal success of Shaw's works are unprecedented

in the literary career of any artist of recent memory. He has to his credit over 30 plays performed within 56 years; his *Widower's House* was staged in 1892 and *Buoyant Millions* in 1948. His two political and economic tracts are: *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism* (1928), and *Everybody's Political What is What* (1943). His criticism of art and music is entitled *Music in London* (1890-94), and there is another book of dramatic criticism, *Our Theatres in the Nineties*.

What is the secret of his success and what is his message and how does he differ from the great saints and moralists of the world who have gone before him? In answer to all these questions it is best to make Shaw speak for himself. He writes:



"My plays are no more economic treatises than Shakespeare's . . . all my plays are written as plays of life, character and human destiny like those of Shakespeare or Euripides."

All the plays treat about some one or the other problems of social life and human civilisation. The problem of marriage is treated in *The Philanderer*, *Candida*, *Getting Married* and *Misalliance*. We all know Shaw's definition of marriage:

"It is the girl's prison and woman's workhouse."

On another occasion he wrote to Keyserling when he was asked to contribute an article on marriage to the symposium on *The Book of Marriage*:

"No man dare write the truth about marriage while his wife lives, unless that he hates her."

He tackles the problem of family life in his *You Can Never Tell* and *Fanny's First May*; of sexual prostitution and its economic roots in *Mrs. Warren's Profession*; of politics and statecraft in *John Bull's Other Island*, *Heart-Break House*, *The Apple Cart*, *Too True to be Good*, *On the Rocks*; on religion he speaks in his *Androcles and the Lion* and *Saint Joan*. His philosophy of creative evolution and of superman is stated in his two great works *Man and Superman* and *Back to Methuselah*. Shaw did not subscribe to the Christian theological doctrine. He writes:

"I detest the doctrine of atonement, holding that ladies and gentlemen cannot as such possibly allow anyone else to expiate their sins by suffering a cruel death."

He believed in a non-dogmatic religion called 'Life-force' which is immortal and eternal and it has produced in the course of evolution many marvels. Evolution is not mechanistic but is creative. It is not the unfolding of what is already contained as a film roll. He did not believe in Darwin's natural selection. He held that the Life-force is responsible for all our creative efforts. He was critical of science and its glut of marvels. He held the view that man needs to pull himself with a sense of morality and sobriety. He saw through the evils of Capitalism as well as Communism and so advocated Socialism. He realised the importance of money and all that it means to man. He writes:

"The crying need of the nation is for enough money. Money is the most important thing in the world. It represents health, strength, honour, generosity and beauty as conspicuously and undeniably as the want of it represents illness, weakness, disgrace, meanness and ugliness."

At the same time Shaw is not slow to despise the idle rich whom he characterises as "inefficient fertilisers, converting good food into bad manure."

Shaw held the view that the best way to teach men and improve them is to tell the truth. Truth is the finest joke in the world. He knew how to tell it. Shaw did not learn the art through chance nor was he born with it. He cultivated it. He had certain aesthetic sensibility inherited from his musical mother and he fostered it to the end. Shaw is the master of super-rhetoric which at times assumes the tone of poetry; the poetry is suppressed, and there is a studied restraint and abhorrence of the romantic and the

emotional. The fundamental humanity, the abounding wit and rhetoric lifts his plays to the level of high comedy. To Shaw, the drama is not a conflict of emotions but is an active mental action. His is the drama of the thinking man and thus he lifts drama from the physical and the emotional to the mental plane. Discussion is the root of all Shaw's plays. We witness in the drama the conflict of ideas through the wit and arguments of the characters. There is no catastrophic violence which is the inevitable climax in poetic tragedy. Argument is the master weapon, buoyant humour and flashing wit its aids. He believed firmly that Truth is close and clear, it is definite and stable. Lucidity is one of his most precious gifts. Throughout his plays he represents truths in a rational way. There is lucid exposition, cogent arguments supported by relevant facts, forcible assertion and conclusive demonstration. Effectiveness of expression is the soul of Shaw's art and genius. For examples of this quality one can turn to any page of Shaw. We find in "The Revolutionists' Handbook and Pocket Companion" in *Man and Superman*:

"He who can does, he who cannot teaches."

The golden rule is there are no golden rules."

In all his dramas he knew how to provide his actors with speakable words and the audience with words that are readily intelligible. Shaw's words are easy on the actor's tongue and therefore on the listener's ear also. As a public speaker he had few equals. His voice and its resonance have become a byword. He writes:

"For every play I have written I have made hundreds of speeches."

Of his platform art and technique he writes:

"To be intelligible in public, the speaker must relearn the alphabet with every consonant separately and explosively articulated and foreign vowels distinguished from British diphthongs. Accordingly I practised the alphabets as a singer practises scales."

The most noteworthy feature of Shaw is his abounding self-confidence and self-awareness. He hated men who took to singing low about themselves. He writes:

"For the past five decades with an unprecedented pertinacity and obstination, I have been dinning into the public mind that I am an extraordinarily witty, brilliant and clever man. That is now part of the public opinion of England; and no power in heaven or on earth will ever change it. I may dodder and dote, I may pot-boil and platitudinize, I may become the butt and chopping-block of all bright, original spirits of the rising generation, but my reputation shall not suffer, it is built up fast and solid."

Shaw's life is the triumph of intellect. He did not trust in the reason of reasons. He wanted it to pass through the head.

Shaw like all great savants harkens humanity back to sanity and good life. One feels like echoing the last words of Saint Joan, "O Lord, thou hast created this beautiful world. When will it be ready to receive its saints? How long, How long!"



# ROOTS OF MODERN ENGLISH LITERATURE

By PROF. DARSHAN SINGH MAINI

## II

### MARXISM AND ITS INFLUENCE

MARX, that great German genius of the last century, like Freud spent the later portion of his life in England. His epoch-making *Capital* was mostly written in this very country. He applied the findings of his enquiries to the 19th century England, which was then the most advanced and industrialized country in the world. However strangely enough, Marxist influence on English literature has not been so widespread as in some other parts of the world. In Russia, Marxism-Leninism has triumphed and when the theory becomes a reality, its influence on life and hence literature is bound to be vital and far-reaching. Marx was not the first man to point out the horrible inequality that exists between man and man; nor was he the first philosopher to point towards a classless society. Before him Plato and Sir Thomas More and other Utopians had pictured the vision of an ideal society, where there should be no hunger, want, fear or slavery. Marx, however, was the first man who applied critical analysis to the working of the economic structure of the world and gave it a purely scientific basis. He and his co-worker Engels traced the historical development of society and pointed out the fact that our society at a given moment is the reflection of the technique of the mode of production. This materialistic conception of history enabled Marx to arrive at another fundamental principle, i.e., each method of production is an advance upon the last stage reached through centuries of co-operative living. Each mode of production has its political counterpart—Feudalism, Monarchy, Bourgeois Capitalism, Imperialism, Socialism and ultimately Communism. Each political system is also an advance on the last one and the inexorable forces of nature point towards the evolution of society into a classless society, governed in its earlier stages by the slogan of socialism, 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his work' and in its final stage by the slogan of Communism, 'From each according to his ability to each according to his needs.' Marx was a great philosopher, trained in the dialectics of Hegel. He discovered that the materialistic conception of universe as prevailed in his own day was inadequate. He applied the dialectics of Hegel to the 19th Century conception of materialism and evolved a new philosophy, namely, dialectical materialism. Man is essentially a part of nature and nature as we have already noticed in Darwinism goes on changing. Nature and thus society, which is a reflection of nature, is always in a state of perpetual flux. Marx applied this scientific observation to human society and pointed out that society is not static but dynamic and in its evolution,

its character goes on changing. This change is seldom very sudden; it takes place over a long period in history but sometimes there is a sudden break—a revolution, and the character of the society undergoes a violent change. And sometimes the change is so phenomenal that the change is not only in the quantity but the quality of the things. Moreover, there is a contradiction at the heart of all things and phenomena and in this internal struggle of opposing forces, the force that is more potent always wins and establishes itself till it is also driven out of the field by some stronger force. When we apply this scientific truth to our system of economy, government and culture, we arrive at the conclusion that the economy and government and culture of a particular period are governed by one fundamental basis, i.e., the mode of production. Therefore, literature and art of a particular period are to be studied with reference to the economic structure of the society of that period. Any other approach to literature would be false and unscientific; whereas Marx and Engels set down the guiding principles of this scientific philosophy, it was left to Lenin to translate it into reality and establish the principle that a classless society could never be achieved without an armed struggle or a revolution on the part of the proletariat. And revolutions are not made according to the rules of cricket, as a character in Arthur Koestler's anti-Communist novel *Darkness at Noon* puts it. They are not made, as Stalin says, "with rose water and silken gloves."

After this brief summary of Marxism-Leninism, let us trace its vast influence on world literature in general and English literature in particular. As is quite natural, the complete vindication of this philosophy can only be found in Russian literature and even there the process is not quite complete; for it takes time in the building of a new society and a new literature. Marxist criticism evaluates old, established writers in the light of the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Some critics in the first flush of the triumph of the Russian Revolution began to pooh-pooh such great and immortal writers as Shakespeare, Balzac, Goethe, Dickens and Tolstoy. This was done, however, in complete misinterpretation of Marxism, which does not apply the criterions of the 20th century socialist literature to the literatures of the Elizabethan or Victorian England, when the economic structure of the society was so vastly different from today. A fierce controversy followed in Soviet Russia in which such critics as Mikail, Lifshitz, Nusinov, Levin and Lunacharsky took a leading part. Fortunately however, under the inspiring leadership of Gorki, the

deviationist tendencies of these critics were checked and a truly proletarian literature was born. Gorki is undoubtedly the tallest literary figure of his own times in Russia. He ruthlessly fought against the Trotskyists, the bourgeois philistines and the intellectual snobs of his day. His novels and short stories reveal the agony of the working class people under the stifling atmosphere of capitalism and monarchy. His great novel *Mother* is a revolutionary classic, dealing with the struggle of the Russian workers in the pre-Revolution days of the Czarist tyranny. In the field of fiction, there are other Russian novelists of great reputation and promise. Sholokhov, Alexie Tolstoy, Gladkov, Ehenburg and Wanda Wessileska, to name only a few, have already produced powerful novels. Such novels as form the famous trilogy of Sholokhov—*Quiet Flows the Don*, *Don Flows Home to the Sea* and *Virgin Soil Upturned* are great novels by any standard. He is surely in the great line of Russian novelists, Tolstoy, Dostoevsky, Turgenev and Gogol. The story of the Cossack hero, Gregor, is a stirring tale of the strife-torn period before and after the Revolution and is written by a man with a deep and lasting faith in the power of the proletariat. Alexie Tolstoy's trilogy, *The Road to Calvary* also deals with this very period. During the second World War, Soviet Russia saw a number of young writers and soldiers produce remarkable works and the resistance literature has now become a part and parcel of the national life. In the field of poetry, Yessenin, and Mayakovsky represent the revolutionary upsurge. Unfortunately the suicide committed by both these poets have led some to believe that they had lost all faith in Marxism. That is entirely wrong, for both of them committed suicide on account of tragic love affairs. Their poetry remains progressive and revolutionary up to the end.

In France, Andre Gide, and Andre Malraux also came under the influence of Marxism, though Malraux has since his *Storm in Shanghai* travelled a long way away from the road of Marxism. Resistance literature during the last war is at its core revolutionary and often Marxist. Amongst the Indian writers, Mulk Raj Anand, Krishan Chander, Khawja Ahmed Abbas, Josh Malihabadi, Sahir Ludhianvi, Sardar Jafari, Gurbux Singh of *Preet Lari* and Balwant Gargi to name only a few have come under the influence of Marxism.

But our chief concern is with English literature; therefore let us turn to it and trace Marxist influence upon it. As has been already remarked above, Marxist influence in English literature is limited yet it is not negligible. George Bernard Shaw, a Fabian and H. G. Wells, a Utopian dreamer, associate themselves with Socialism but unfortunately their Socialism, notably that of Wells, is only skin-deep. Wells, on the contrary, developed the idea of a society to be ruled by a

selected intellectual aristocracy. Towards the end of his life he had lost all faith in this life and universe. His swan-song "Mind at the End of its Tether" is a testimony of that. William Morris was a contemporary of Karl Marx and came directly under his influence. But he was too much of a dreamer, a visionary to make a Marxist. His *News from Nowhere* is a Fabian Utopia and like G. B. Shaw he remained a Utopian Socialist. Shaw is certainly the enemy of Capitalism and Imperialism in all its forms, but he treads the path of collaboration and not complete identification. Speaking on Lenin during his visit to Russia in 1935, Shaw said :

"If the experiment that Lenin made, of which he is head, which he represents to us—if that experiment in social organization fails, then civilization falls as so many civilizations have fallen before."

English fiction has, however, yet to produce its Gorki or Sholokhov. In America, on the other hand, we find some important novelists, who are inspired by Marxism. Howard Fast, the writer of *Freedom Road*, Upton Sinclair, the writer of *Dragon Teeth*, *Wide is the Gate* and *Oil*, etc., do not hide their political sympathies. Howard Fast is a confirmed Marxist and his *Freedom Road* like Beecher Stowe's novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* deals with the Negro problem in South America of the last century. Upton Sinclair is not 'red' but like his aristocratic hero, Lanny Budd, a 'pink' as he calls him. Sinclair Lewis in his *Babbitt* and other novels exposed the fraud of capitalism but being essentially a member of the rich bourgeois class he compromised all along the line. Hemingways' famous novel *For Whom the Bell Tolls* shows the violence of our times and deals with the heroic resistance of the Spanish people during the Civil War, which ended in the establishment of Franco's Fascist government there. Even Theodore Dreiser, the writer of that great book, *An American Tragedy*, turned a Communist shortly before his death during the last World War.

In England, poetry, however, was more influenced by Marxism than the novel or the play. Some of the poets of 'New Signatures' such as Auden, C. D. Lewis and Stephen Spender and Louis Macneice have been Marxists at some stage or the other. However, their Marxism or socialism has more been of the idealistic kind than the scientific one. Auden, the leader of this group, feels the injustice of the rapacious capitalistic system and being an extremely sensitive soul, protests against it. At times he rises above his usual Byronic witticisms and puns and gives a clear call for action.

"If we really want to live, we'd better start at once to try;

If we won't, it doesn't matter, but we'd better start to die."

But for Marxism, he now advocates the simple ordinary gospel of man's love for man :

"There is no such thing as the state  
And no one exists alone;



Hunger allows no choice  
To the citizen or the police;  
We must love one another or die."  
—*Another Time*

Stephen Spender combines in his poetry romance and lyricism with revolutionary objectivity. He hails the new age of the machine and does not turn away from it. In his famous poem "Express" we see the beauty of the modern train. More than Auden, he is hurt by the class struggles that exist in our society. *Trial of a Judge*, a verse-play by him, shows how much he hates Capitalism and Fascism. Pity is, however, a weak weapon and it is pity in his poetry which takes the place of satire. Wilfred Owen said, "The Poetry is in the Pity" and Spender's poetry is full of that pity—pity for the underdog. But sometimes when he is inspired he knocks off revolutionary lines.

"Watch the admiring dawn explode like a shell  
Around us, dazing us with its light, like snow."

Day Lewis is another poet of this group and his poetry is remarkable for its variations in metre, terseness and a tone of sincerity. "From Feathers to Iron" is the heading of a volume of his poems and these words are taken from one of the letters of John Keats, who also towards the end of his short life, was groping for an ideal and was proceeding from 'Feathers to Iron,' i.e., from theory to an actual understanding of life. In another volume, called *The Magnetic Mountain* he is in search of Truth, beyond "the rail heads of reason." He refers to the tragic class war that is going on, in these lines:

"None such shall be left alive:  
The innocent wing is soon shot down,  
And private stars fade in the blood-red dawn  
Where the two worlds strive."

He keeps publishing his poems in *The Penguin New Writing* and these poems show an understanding of contemporary problems of class-society but as in the case of Auden and Spender, he cannot produce true proletarian art, for as he himself acknowledges, "In me two worlds are at war . . ." Louis Macneice has collaborated with Auden in his work and he also feels a great overwhelming pity for the disinherited and the dispossessed. He is a classicist and tries to reconcile the old with the new. But before we end our account of Marxist influence on modern English literature, we should also make a reference to Marxist criticism in England. For, it is Marxist criticism in England, which is truly inspired by Marxism-Leninism. Whereas the novelists, the poets and the playwrights are lukewarm in their attitude, the critics are hard-boiled, uncompromising Marxists. Among them may be mentioned Philip Henderson with his book *Literature and a Changing Civilization*; Christopher Caudwell with his *Studies in Dying Culture and Illusion and Reality* and Ralph Fox with his book *The Novel and the People*. Amongst the scientists J. B. Haldane and amongst the writers on politics, Harold Laski, Sidney

and Beatrice Webb and John Strachey have been notably influenced by Marxism. But on the whole, roots of Marxist ideology are not very firmly established in English literature. On the contrary, we see an increasing reaction against any kind of materialistic approach to life. And this brings us to the last important influence on modern English literature, namely, spiritualism.

#### GANDHISM OR SPIRITUALISM

Hitherto we have identified different influences with particular individuals of eminence, although they were not the only men working in their own fields. For instance, Evolution is identified with Darwin, although Lamarck and others also made vital contribution. Similarly Psychoanalysis and other Psychological tendencies are identified with Freud, although the work of Adler, Jung, Pavlov, etc., is not insignificant. Scientific socialism derives its name from Marx, although besides Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin have enriched this ideology. However, when we come to discuss the spiritual forces working on modern English literature, we find it difficult to identify these forces with one man, however great he might be. In recent years, a number of such eminent men as Mahatma Gandhi, Vivekananda, Ramakrishna, Aurobindo Ghosh, Tolstoy, Tagore, Romain Rolland, etc., have engaged the attention of the thinkers and writers all over the world. Besides these eminent spiritual leaders, such old and established religions as Buddhism, Confucianism, Taoism and such historic books as the great Vedas and the Upanishads have powerfully affected the minds of men. Thus we see that there are so many spiritual threads running into one another and it is difficult to identify them with one man. Mahatma Gandhi, however, is the tallest amongst all the recent spiritual leaders; hence we shall for the sake of convenience refer to this spiritual approach to life as Gandhism.

It must have been already noticed that these spiritual influences are mostly Oriental and particularly Indian. In England such writers as T.S. Eliot, Charles Morgan, Somerset Maugham, Graham Greene, Evelyn Waugh, Myres, Aldous Huxley, and Christopher Isherwood have increasingly turned towards spiritualism for guidance and sustenance. Amongst the foreigners, Thomas Mann, Franz Kafka, Romain Rolland, Werfel, Tagore and Aurobindo Ghosh might be mentioned as instances of the same tendency.

A strong streak of spiritualism and mysticism has always been present in English literature. Milton, Bunyan, Blake, Wordsworth and Thompson, to mention only a few, were distinctly religious or spiritual in their interpretation of reality. After the first World War in 1914-18, there is a clear and unmistakable reaction against materialism. In England, T. S. Eliot was the first important poet to voice his dissatisfaction with the existing society which is built on materialistic foundations. *The Waste Land* is a symbolical poem.

dealing with the spiritual barrenness of our times and the hollowness of our civilization and culture. It is a phantasmagoria of futility and boredom, which are eating like a canker into the vitals of our society. The directness and the sharpness of the following lines from the first part of *The Waste Land* show his fatalism and his view of contemporary civilization:

"What are the roots that clutch, what branches grow  
Out of this stony rubbish? Son of man,  
You cannot say, or guess, for you know only  
A heap of broken images, where the sun beats,  
And the dead tree gives no shelter, the cricket  
no relief,  
And the dry stone no sound of water."

In the third part, known as "The Fire Sermon", Eliot speaks of the sermon of the Buddha, who spoke of mankind burning in the flames of lust, hatred and infatuation. Fire has also a cleansing purpose and the cleansing of the soul is possible through sacrifice and renunciation. In the fifth part "What the Thunder Said" he points out the unreal and frail foundations of modern civilization.

"Falling towers  
Jerusalem Athens Alexandria  
Vienna London  
Unreal . . ."

The barrenness of our life, we are told, can only be changed through Datta-Dayadhvam-Damyata, i.e., self-surrender, sympathy and self-control. And the poem ends with

*Shantih Shantih Shantih.*

From *The Waste Land* to Ash Wednesday and *The Four Quarters*, T. S. Eliot is in search of a spiritual haven for his lacerated soul.

Gandhism has received fresh impetus from the idealistic tendencies in modern Physics and Biology. Sir James Jeans, Eddington and Einstein have changed the materialistic approach towards the universe. Mind is now regarded by these scientists as real and fundamental and matter as derived from mind. Sir James Jeans says:

"The Universe is a thought in the mind of a mathematical thinker."

This view is not much different from the Platonic conception of universe, namely, this world is a copy or reflection of the Idea that exists in Heaven. The fallacy of Platonism is that it puts the cart before the horse.

Novelists all over the world have been particularly influenced by this recent spiritual upsurge. Kafka's novels, *America*, *The Trial* and *The Castle*; Mann's *The Magic Mountain*; Romain Roland's *Jean Christophe*; Werfel's *The Song of Bernadette*; Graham Greene's *Brighton Rock*, *The Power and The Glory*; Evelyn Waugh's *Vile Bodies*; Aldous Huxley's *Time Must Have A Stop*; Somerset Maugham's *The Razor's Edge*; Myer's *The Pool of Vishnu* and Isherwood's

*Prater Violet* are all different efforts towards the discovery of an ideal. Of the foreign writers, Mann and Kafka—both German—have written powerful books. Mann's *The Magic Mountain* is the study of the soul of its consumptive hero, who lives in a sanatorium upon a hill. *The Magic Mountain*—the title is suggestive and symbolical. In quest of the Holy Grail, the soul lifts itself from the plane of mundane reality and seeks salvation on the high altitudes of the Magic Mountain. Kafka's novels were published posthumously. They show two things; his unquestionable belief in the Divine Grace and the unconditional surrender of man. Although the method that he follows is that of irony, yet there is no doubt about the goal that he wants to reach. His novel *The Castle* is a modern version of Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* and K—the hero of *The Castle* is the old Christian, except in one thing; i.e., whereas Christian's progress is assured that of K remains doubtful.

Aldous Huxley, the most outstanding English novelist today, began as a materialist and has ended up by being a Vedantist. A streak of asceticism is visible even in his earlier novels, such as *Those Barren Leaves*, *Point Counter Point*, *Eyeless in Gaza* and the rest, but since the publication of *After Many A Summer*, the wheel has come full circle. Huxley regards body as the source of all troubles and ills. Body is the villain of the piece and subjects human beings to great humiliations and tortures. Whereas in his earlier novels, spirit is presented as an appendage of the body, in his later work, the spirit becomes the only reality. Spandrell in *Point Counter Point* hates love for it subjects him to physical humiliations. The old banker in *After Many A Summer* employs a doctor and urges him on his experiments on the longevity of life. The last powerful scene, at once, bizarre and ironical, wherein, the old banker meets strange physical monsters, shows to what extent the loathsome human body engages the mind of Huxley. *Time Must Have A Stop* is a step farther in the same direction. The portrait of Uncle Eustace in this novel is that of a man, whose life is governed by the demands of his body. His death in his lavatory and the reflections of his soul after its release from the fleshly garb, fill dozens of pages in the novel. Bruno Rotini is his mouthpiece in this novel and through him Huxley expresses his own views on life. Egotism he considers as the greatest enemy of man. Like a Buddhist, he regards serenity and detachment to be the essence of life. Buddhism believes in renunciation and sacrifice. That is perhaps why Huxley and Isherwood are now living as ascetics in a temple in Hollywood. They are reported to be following the pattern of the life of Larry—the hero of Somerset Maugham's novel *The Razor's Edge*. This escape from life is essentially defeatist and no surprise that Huxley should have come down from the brilliance of *Point Counter Point* to the obscure vacuum of *Time Must Have A Stop* and

## LAND-SLIDES IN THE HIMALAYAS

*Ape and Essence*. In his books *Ends and Means* and more particularly in *The Perennial Philosophy* Huxley sets forth these very ideas which he propagates in his later novels,

*The Razor's Edge* by Maugham has attracted considerable attention since its publication and has now been also filmed. Its hero, Larry is a typical American belonging to the idle bourgeois class. He tries to break away from his moorings by coming to India and burying himself in the mysticism of the East. This escape from the reality to a higher or fundamental reality, as a mystic would term his escape, is making literature more and more subjective, personal and esoteric. The Nirvana, however, cannot be achieved through a retreat into "the ivory tower"; if, anything, it can only be achieved by grappling with the living problems of life—the problems of hunger, disease and dirt.

Graham Greene is supposed to be one of the chief writers whose sole pre-occupation is the solution of that fundamental problem—the problem of Sin and Evil. He is a Roman Catholic by conversion and writes with that feeling in his bones. He generally takes up such characters for his keen, analytical study as have lost their spiritual moorings. This principle of Evil also engages the minds of thinkers and philosophers, such as C. S. Lewis, C. E. M. Joad, Bertrand Russell and Radhakrishnan.

Of late, such spiritual phenomena as telepathy, seances, clairvoyance, etc., have found their way into serious fiction. The problem, whether the soul exists

after our death, has always troubled the human mind. In the past, faith in the survival of the soul was almost universal but science and materialism in the 19th century undermined this belief. In the 20th century, we see again a revival of that faith, and in order to satisfy the curiosity of minds, the 20th century spiritualists have tried to give a scientific semblance to this belief. The seances of their trained 'mediums' and 'controls' have not been established as authentic experiments. There is always a sense of trickery about them. Thomas Mann in his novel *The Magic Mountain* deals with these seances, etc. The result is not always happy. Similarly in Huxley's *Time Must Have A Stop* we have long and tedious reflection on the spirit which has detached itself from the body of Uncle Eustace. If future fiction takes this road, we might soon have no living characters but sheer clairvoyance, telepathy and the mysterious dialogues between the departed souls. If and when that time comes, it will be a sad day for the novel. It will then simply cease to exist.

In the end, we might repeat that all these influences that have been traced above, have not as yet taken strong roots in English literature. Darwinism, Vitalism, Freudism, Marxism and Gandhism, etc., have yet to be synthesised completely with life. Which particular ideology is ultimately going to be established, is not easy to tell, though Marxism tempered with Gandhism may perhaps be the shape of things to come.

(Concluded)

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## LAND-SLIDES IN THE HIMALAYAS

By KUMUD BHUSHAN RAY, I.R.S.E. (Rtd.), B.E., C.E., M.I.E. (Ind.)

### LAND-SLIDES

To the many calamities, from which West Bengal is suffering, has been added land-slides in Darjeeling district. Photographs in newspapers show the havoc caused by land-slides—railway lines hanging across the gap caused by the slide, or sliding down and disappearing in the Tista; buildings on hill slopes carried down and damaged; roads blocked by debris. Sikkim, Kalimpong, Darjeeling and other places are cut off by uncounted number of land-slides, several of which are as much as a mile in extent. It has been stated, that "a road recently built at a cost of Rs. 2 lakhs, is now as if it never had been. A whole mountain side is said to have fallen into the Tista."

### GEOLOGICAL ERAS

Why do such land-slides occur in the Himalayas? Is heavy rainfall the only cause? To answer these questions, the structural and topographical features of the earth which are the results of numerous changes from the dawn of geological times to the present day, have to be studied. Geologists have divided geological

times into five eras, each era covering many million years. The earliest rocks of the pre-Cambrian era are in the Deccan. In the Primary or Paleozoic era which followed, the Deccan continued to be a land mass, to the north of which was a broad sea, covering what is now the Gangetic Basin and the Himalayan Region. In the next era—the Secondary or Mesozoic—volcanic outbursts covered 200,000 square miles of the Deccan with lava flows. This was followed by the Tertiary era in which great mountain-building movements caused the formation of the 'young' mountain chains of the 'alpine' group—the Atlas in North Africa, the Alps, Carpathians, etc., in Europe, the Caucasus, Himalayas, etc., in Asia, the Rockies in North America, the Andes in South America. The Quarternary era which followed includes present times.

### MOUNTAIN-BUILDING MOVEMENTS

The mountain-building movements which caused the formation of the 'young' Himalayan ranges in the Oligocene and Miocene periods of the Tertiary era have continued through the Pleistocene period of the



to the present times. This explains the Himalayan region is exposed to the effect of earthquakes which are associated with the mountain-building process. Some of these earthquakes—that of 1905 in the Himalayas and in North Bengal, and of 1934 in Bihar—have been serious, while earth tremors are of frequent occurrence. With the thrusting that is taking place and is probably still taking place in connection with the mountain-building process, much of the Himalayan strata must be in a shattered condition. The formations indicate that some of the strata—the greasy schists for example—are rock types specially conducive to slipping. This explains the existence of extensive scars of numerous land-slides all along the southern slopes of the Himalayas which are thus regions of exceptional instability. No notice is usually taken of such land-slides, occurring in uninhabited or sparsely populated Himalayan regions.

It is only when such land-slides occur in an important district like Darjeeling that the public becomes aware of the fact. As explained, exceptional instability of the 'young' Himalayas, due to the shattered condition of its strata on account of thrusting connected with the mountain-building process, helped by heavy rainfall, is the cause of land-slides.

#### SAND, CLAY, ETC. FROM LAND-SLIDES

Mention has been made that "a whole mountain-side is said to have fallen into the Tista." The debris from other land-slides also will be ultimately washed down by rain water into river channels. Rivers in North India, rising from the Himalayas—the Ganges, the Kosi, the Tista, etc.—thus move enormous amounts of sand, clay, etc., along their channels. Mention has been made of a broad sea, covering what is now the Gangetic Basin in the Primary era. In ancient times, the Ganges flowed along the foot hills of the Himalayas, hugging the base of the Tertiary formation. Its tributary streams, emerging from the foot hills, were obliged to fall suddenly, because the Ganges had eroded and deepened its bed at a faster rate, so that alluvial 'fans' were formed, and a 'piedmont' alluvial plain resulted from the conjunction of several 'fans.' As a result, the Ganges receded southwards and the

courses of the tributaries became longer. The area of the Gangetic basin, now known as the U.P., was thus reclaimed from the broad sea, north of the Deccan Plateau, by the materials washed down mostly from the land-slides in the Himalayas. The deltaic plain of Bengal was also thus reclaimed from the sea, and this process is continuing. It has been stated by Everest of the Geological Survey of India, that the Ganges waters move "annually to the Bay of Bengal, at a conservative estimate, more than 356 million tons of sand and clay."

#### DAMS AND LAKES IN THE HIMALAYAS

This brings in the question—Are Dams safe in the Himalayas, which are regions of exceptional instability? Will not the lakes above the dams be filled up by the sand and clay, etc., from the land-slides? In this connection, the conclusion arrived at as to the feasibility of the dam and lake type of river control in the Missouri which rises from the Rockies belonging to the 'young' mountain chains of the 'alpine' group, is well worth studying. The TVA pattern of river control by dams and lakes was proposed in the Missouri. But it was calculated that "in the 1930 season alone, 140 million tons of silt would have collected in the lakes, all of which would have to be dredged out. The cost of dredging will rise from year to year, because of the growing difficulty of disposing of the materials." The conclusion arrived at was that "the plan of slack-water dams, so successfully employed by TVA, would not be the most economical for the Missouri." The Himalayas are regions of exceptional instability, subject to serious earthquakes and land-slides, so that exceptional care and expense will have to be incurred to make a dam safe. But even then the life of the reservoir capacity of the lake, for purposes of river control, will be short, because the sand and clay, etc., from the land-slides, collecting in the lake above a dam, will fill it up. As in the Missouri, the cost of dredging out the deposit from the lake would be prohibitive. The cost of the River Valley Projects being colossal, and in view of the facts as explained, the feasibility of these projects by dams and lakes in the Himalayas need careful consideration.

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## THE TRIALS AND TRIBULATIONS OF EARLY SIKHS

By PROF. BALWANT SINGH, M.A.

SIKHISM, with its gospel of At-One-Ment with God, along with the attainment of Self-perfection, Self-renunciation and unceasing Service of Humanity, was the message of Guru Nanak. This message, with its universal appeal, runs through the Sikh Scripture. The message was meant for humanity, Hindus and Muslims and all. Guru Arjan, a great scholar and a stainless saint, with his

wondrous catholicity of vision collected in his unique Granth devotional hymns of the ancient and contemporary saints, Hindus and Muslims, of high caste and low-caste. Never before in the annals of man had such catholicity of religious thought been shown. It was a magnificent feat. Till about the end of Guru Arjan's life countless Hindus, as well as Muslims, flocked to the Guru for his soul-

healing message. Jehangir, the "Great Moghul," recorded this fact in his autobiography, with the revealing words that he felt enraged at the Muslim crowds flocking to the Guru, and that he was intent on "shutting down the shop of falsehood." And he easily got a handle to lay hands on the unoffending Guru. The rebellious son of Jehangir, Prince Khusro, who was fleeing from the wrath of his frenzied father, sought the hospitality of the Guru. The successors of Guru Nanak, like Nanak himself, were incapable of saying 'No' to those who sought of them shelter, sustenance, or means of living. Guru Arjan's succour was misinterpreted and distorted, the Guru was summoned to Lahore, and was asked to incorporate the praises of the Prophet in the Granth and to accept Islam or suffer tortures of death. The Guru accepted death. The Guru was boiled alive in boiling cauldrons of water, red-hot sand was poured over his blistered body and he was seated on iron pans, while a furious fire raged under them. Thus was Guru Arjan martyred. At one stroke, Jehangir dissipated Guru Nanak's dream of Hindu-Muslim unity and the ideal of a solid, united nation, strong enough to repel foreign invaders. As Jehangir thus laid the axe at the root of the Mughal Empire, the rift between the Sikhs and the Mughal rulers widened, till the execution of Guru Tegh Bahadur by Aurangzeb at Delhi turned it into a yawning, unbridgeable gulf. They who were to bring about Hindu-Muslim unity were turned into irreconcilable foes of the Mughal rule. Since the army of the Mughal rulers was mostly composed of Muslims, the struggle assumed the colour and complexion of Sikh-Muslim strife. It is indeed a great tragedy of history, and perhaps the gravest tragedy in the history of religions. Service of humanity was no doubt a part of the message of Guru Arjan and he had made his followers fearless and chivalrous and saintly. But even for the disciples of Guru Nanak, the overthrow of the mighty Moghul empire was a stupendous, staggering, colossal task, and yet the Sikhs had to do it, for there was no other way to rid India and the Punjab of the intolerance and relentless persecution of some of the successors of the great Akbar, notably Aurangzeb and Farrukh Siyyar—and a number of the Mughal Governors of the Punjab, of the stamp of Mir Main Uddin, whom the Sikhs called Mir Mannu. The Sikhs suffered terribly and yet the victims of Mir Mannu sang merrily :

"Mannu is our scythe and we are his crop; the more he mows us, the more we grow in homes and hamlets."

In the time of Farrukh Siyyar, the Sikhs were outlawed and a price was set on their heads. No wonder if the Sikhs were decimated. But they were not exterminated. The blood of martyrs is ever the seed of the church. Sikhism thrived. The Sikhs grew from more to more and Banda struck smashing blows at the Mughals, and snatched the whole vast area between the Ravi and the Jumna. But a cruel fate awaited Banda. After a

long, exhausting siege in 1716, Banda and his 740 followers, preceded by 2,000 heads on pikes, were led in chains to Delhi, where daily one hundred of them were publicly beheaded while Banda himself was subjected to torments which brutes know how to devise and inflict. He was ordered to cut the throat of his own son and then his own flesh was torn with red-hot pincers. This was by no means surprising; Aurangzeb had also subjected Guru Tegh Bahadur and his comrades to inhuman tortures. From 1716 to about 1765, the Sikhs passed through several blood-baths. Some of the Governors of the Punjab were intent on exterminating them. Bhai Mani Singh who was hacked limb from limb in 1738, and Bhai Taru Singh who was broken on the wheel in 1750, cheerfully suffered martyrdom at the hands of the Punjab Governors. The Sikhs had also a brush with that redoubtable invader, Nadir Shah. Ahmad Shah Abdali's tail had been repeatedly twisted by the Sikhs. Ahmad Shah Abdali had his sweet revenge in 1762, when in the great holocaust—the Sikhs call it "Ghallu Ghara" — 25,000 Sikhs were mown down. But the Sikhs rose again and twisted Abdali's tail with redoubled energy and in 1768, the Khalsa Commonwealth extended from Panipat to the Indus, while in Maharaja Ranjit Singh's time, the trans-Indus area up to and a bit beyond the Khybar pass was conquered. One of the objectives of Guru Govind Singh was attained. "The object that the Guru set before himself was to infuse a new life into the dead bones of the Hindus, to make them forget their differences and present a united front against the tyranny and persecution to which they were exposed, in one word, to make once more a living nation of them and enable them to gain their lost independence.... Govind had seen what was yet vital in the Hindu race and he resumed it with Promethean fire. He was the first Indian leader who taught democratic principles and made his followers regard each other as 'Bhai' or brother and act by *Gurmata* or general counsels."—*Transformation of Sikhism* by Dr. Gokul Chand Narang.

The Sikhs had to make tremendous sacrifices to rid India of tyranny and of foreign invaders. *The preservation of this heroic spirit, the will to do and the soul to dare, is now the crux of the Sikh problem.* The Akalis and some others are anxious to preserve this spirit.

The poet's millennium of the Federation of the World and the Parliament of Man may not dawn on the world for a thousand years. In the meantime India will not cease to have foes. Human nature cannot be changed by a magic-wand or a magic-lamp. The Sikhs must ever have the unique privilege of fighting foremost India's foes. *May they ever defy India's foes and be a perpetual bulwark of free India for ages to come!* May they ever live and die for India, for who lives, if, God forbid, Bharat withers ?

# RAILWAY GOODS TARIFF AND COTTAGE AND SMALL INDUSTRIES

By AMULYAPRASAD CHANDA

"*Jaular marge tena, nikarir kane sona,*" is a familiar saying on the Padma in East Bengal. Paraphrased, it means, for all his deprivations, — he has to be away from home for months at a time—risks, discomfort, and hard work, together with plenteous gifts of the river, the fisherman's reward is a rag to cover his loins, while the middleman wears gold rings on his ears. The lot of handicraftsmen, and part-handicraftsmen, the multitude living in the lakhs of villages of India or the suburban areas of towns and cities, is no better. Relatively poor in the resources of the pocket and the head, they are exploited by the superior intelligence and finances of the middlemen. Working hard early and late, they are not able, therefore, to make both ends meet.

Obviously, when this vast population lack adequate purchasing power, the standard of living and efficiency of the country as a whole is low, per *capita* consumption of goods is poor, industrial production stagnates, circulation of money is restricted, return on capital is inadequate, and, revenue from sales tax lacks elasticity. This state of affairs will continue, *first*, as long as the policy-makers are not clear in their minds about what it is they want. Such confusion of thought as finds expression in the sentence, "Any emphasis put on these types of industries does not necessarily mean that they are to play a part antagonistic to the interests of large-scale industries." Clearly, large-scale industries are his first love, and he is labouring under an apprehension that in a clash it will go down. Large-scale industries serve a historical need, and there need be no fear on that score. Rather, widespread increase in the purchasing power of the vast majority of people at the bottom rung of society will cause, as it were, incense to rise from the surface on an extensive area and fill the entire upper air with fragrance, and, will directly lead to unprecedented demand for comforts or even luxuries, not to speak of necessities, leading to, among other things, development and growth of large-scale industries also, undreamt of at the moment. And, *secondly*, they would have to make up their mind that the role of middlemen and technical advisers will have to be filled by the Government of the land exactly as they are doing for the silk industry in West Bengal.

All this may take some time to devise. But the Government may at once relieve the burden of the iniquitous Railway freight rate system which, among other evils, strangled the growth and development of this type of industries in the past, and, is continuing to do so still. In the case of products of small industries the freight is disproportionately heavy, relatively to freight paid by large-scale industries. And, as things are, as price of a commodity is determined by the price of the factory produce, the handicraftsman gets poor wages in return.

No wonder, how hard he works, he cannot expect to make both ends meet. Yet, a rupee paid to a member of the "low income group" as these people are will at once go into procuring necessities of life, and circulate many times over, and thus, promote economic activity to a greater extent than the rupee going into the bank account of the big capitalist by way of dividend from his investments in centralised industries.

A glance at the columns of freight rates given in the Parcels Rates Ready Reckoner, or the Goods Ready Reckoner reveals the fact that (i) for parcels four several schedules of rates, the full rate, the half rate, the quarter rate, and the special rate, for packages from 5 seers to 40 seers, and from 20 miles to 1550 miles, with a minimum rate of rupee one—irrespective of distance and weight are in vogue. And that (ii) for goods, there are 15 different telescopic rates per maund from 20 miles to 1550 miles, subject to a minimum of seven seers, for 15 different classes of goods, and there are 13 different wagon load rates from 20 miles to 2,000 miles.

Obviously, the parcel rate was originally intended mainly for passenger traffic, and, in special cases for carriage of commercial goods. Those who need quick and scheduled transport, and can afford it, generally avail of this facility. But for whom a penny saved means a lot, and who do business on a large scale, these avail of the goods service generally.

For the purpose of a critical examination of the rates given in the two volumes, the formula  $f/mw=q$ , where  $f$ =total freight (pies),  $m$ =total miles,  $w$ =weight (seers), and  $q$ =quantum, is made use of for comparison. Tested with this formula, the following state of affairs emerge:  $q$  for sending a 5-seer parcel to a distance of 20 miles at the minimum charge of rupee one= $1.92p$ ; whereas  $q$  for sending a 40-seer parcel 1550 miles= $0.06392p$ . In the case of goods,  $q$  for sending a package of 7 seers, the minimum according to rule 81 of Goods Tariff (28), 20 miles= $0.07144p$ . According to the minimum rate (WL/A),  $q=0.004062p$ , whereas the maximum rate (WL/H) gives the value of  $q$  as  $0.007137p$ . This conclusively proves, if anything, the policy-makers (i) discourage short distance traffic and encourage long distance booking, and, (ii) prefer wagon load booking. And that by introducing so many different rates for different kinds of commercial goods, obviously based on relative intrinsic value, they have seemingly tried to make these rates equitable.

An examination of the position of handicrafts in this background is called for. At the present moment handicrafts products are despatched from station to station at ordinary parcels rates, and, sometimes, pay as much as 40.01 times they should, with reference to the minimum quantum. In the case of goods, the minimum charge, according to Rule 81, is as much as 17.59 times of the WL/A rate.

This brings us to the crux of the matter. The ratio

\* Foreword to *Cottage and Small-scale Industries in West Bengal*—a Directorate of Industries Publication, August, 1950—by Hon'ble Shri Nallini Ranjan Sarkar, Minister, Finance, Commerce and Industries, West Bengal.



between the quanta of the minimum parcel rate and the minimum goods rate is 11.81. Unless, therefore, a special goods rate is introduced for the carriage of handicrafts which will be uniform, no matter whether the distance is short or long, and will not be dearer than the minimum telescopic rate, and, compare favourably with the cheapest rates devised to encourage foreign trade originally, the handicrafts products being usually despatched in small packages and to near distance, they can never expect to prosper, and bring the craftsmen something like a fair return, except by a reversal of the

policy that shattered his economy earlier. And why not? So many special rates are in vogue already that one more would not matter, should it be justified in the interests of national weal. As the object is to encourage short distance traffic all over the country, and encourage local trading, the minimum in respect of distance and weight, together with freight charges would have to be modified suitably.

A comparative study of Indian Railway rates with shipping rates with the help of this formula may be of use to our trade and industries as well.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

Editor, *The Modern Review*.

### ENGLISH

**STRAY GLIMPSES OF BAPU**: By Kaka Kalelkar. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad, 1950. Pp. iv + 153. Price Rs. 2.

This small book contains 101 anecdotes about Gandhiji related by Kaka Kalelkar who was one of the closest associates of Gandhiji ever since his return to India from South Africa. The anecdotes throw a great deal of light on the character and greatness of Mahatma Gandhi.

**BAPU** (Conversations and correspondence with Mahatma Gandhi): By F. Mary Barr. International Book House, Limited, Bombay, 1949. Pp. ix + 214. Price Rs. 2-12.

The present record of the author's association with Mahatma Gandhi will be read with great interest by readers who wish to know more about the character of Mahatma Gandhi. A friend of mine said the other day that Gandhiji was more a man of love than of truth. Perhaps he was not wholly right; for, in Gandhiji's case, to be true to one's self was to establish one's oneness with the rest of humanity; and this could evidently be done only through love. Thus, love the means led him to what he held was true.

Mary Barr's book reveals how loving he could be in respect of those who came into intimate contact with him through common service to the poor. Perhaps a large part of the greatness of Mahatma Gandhi was due to this.

### NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

**INDIA—A RE-STATEMENT**: By Sir Reginald Coupland. Published by the Oxford University Press, 1945. Pp. 311. Price 12s. 6d.

This book is a good supplement to the author's other monumental work "Report on the Constitutional Problem in India" which presented the complicated Indian problem in a new light against the background of the development of Indian politics in the last phase of British rule in India, that is, after the growth of Indian nationalism and also the author's contribution towards the solution of that problem. The present

work, although it contains a gist of that Report is not exactly its summary. It is a "re-statement" of the Indian problem but in quite a new setting. It covers a much wider ground, marshalling all the relevant facts about Indo-British connexion and the resulting political situation in India in a masterly analysis. Here the author lays greater emphasis on the historical background of the Indian problem and questions other than purely constitutional. The book is divided into four parts. Part I begins with a contrast of some features of Indian and European history and traces the origin and consolidation of British rule in India in an original way. Part II presents the debit and credit sides of British rule in India, both in its political and economic aspects, striking a balance between the two sides. Part III dwells on the growth of Indian nationalism, itself a product of the impact of British rule on India and the process of consistent development of representative and responsible government by stages by way of concession to growing national self-consciousness in India. The changing phases of the advance towards full responsible government as an integral part of the British Empire, that is, Dominion Status which was accepted in 1917 as the ultimate goal of British policy in India, in response to changing course of Indian politics, are described at length. The account is brought right up to the August movement of 1942. In Part IV, the author gives a resume of the political developments that took place during the four eventful years of Indian history since 1942 right up to the time of writing of the book and the attempts that were made from time to time to resolve the political impasse created by the wholesale imprisonment of Congress leaders and banning of the Congress organisation. These constructive efforts prepared the ground for the eventual settlement of 1947 based on complete transfer of power and partition of India into two separate Dominions. The author concludes by reviewing the possible ways of reaching a settlement among the parties concerned—the Congress, the Muslim League, the Indian States and the British Government—which in the author's view was the condition precedent to achievement of

Indian freedom, indicating his own performances also.

It is hardly possible to expect absolute objectivity and a purely scientific approach either in the appraisal or interpretation of facts and problems or in regard to conclusions relating to the kind of subject dealt with in the book from anyone and more so from an Englishman or an Indian whose approaches are bound to be influenced by the respective emotional backgrounds and therefore different. The author himself is not unaware of this as is evident from his observation in one place of the book. Speaking on the mutual gain and loss to Britain and India arising from the connexion between two countries the author observes: "A scientific attempt, indeed, to assess the worth of the British Raj to each of the two countries would involve so many imponderable factors that it might well daunt the most self-confident investigator. The whole subject, moreover, is nowadays highly controversial. For a long time to come no two verdicts, especially if one is British and the other Indian, are likely to be the same. However objective they may try to be, British and Indian patriots must view the picture from different angles and be affected in some degree by an inescapable, if unconscious, bias." What he says here with regard to this question applies equally to the whole range of issues raised in the book. Yet we must give the author every credit for trying to bring to bear on his treatment of the subject an objectivity of a scientific investigator and a sympathetic understanding within the limitations of the basic fact stressed above. Even these limitations hardly detract from the value of the work, as students of politics and government must weigh between different points of view to form their own judgment and conclusions on every question. The book bears ample evidence of laborious research and hard thinking and may be commended to all serious students of history and politics specially those who are interested in the study of the history of Indo-British connection.

A. K. GHOSAL

WHITE DAWNS OF AWAKENING : By Lotika Ghose. Published by Thacker Spink and Co. Ltd. 1950. Price Rs. 4-8.

It is in the fitness of things that Srimati Lotika Ghose should find her true vehicle of expression in poetry; she is the daughter of Manmohun Ghose and niece of Sri Aurobindo. Of Manmohun Ghose Laurence Binyon, his school-mate at St. Paul's in England, writes in the introductory memoir to Ghose's *Songs of Love and Death*: "Circumstances had prevented him from being, like Rabindranath Tagore, an interpreter to the West of Indian thought and life. But at least he was an eloquent interpreter of the West to India. No Indian had ever before used our tongue with so poetic a touch . . . Yet to us he is a voice among the great company of English singers; somewhat apart and solitary, with a difference in his note, but not an echo." But Lotika Ghose, though she has inherited her father's poetic temperament, is more influenced by Sri Aurobindo than by her father. She expresses herself in exquisite English, but in her thoughts she is purely Indian. The key-note to her poetry is to be found in the very first lines of the opening poem:

"The mystic unborn in my heart is calling",  
Out of some shoreless sea,  
Whose waves are a bliss and joy unending  
Whose chant is eternity."

English literature is rich in Romantic poetry but mysticism is almost alien to it. The lyrical outburst of the seventeenth century vaguely approaches to something like mysticism.

"I saw Eternity the other night  
Like a great ring of pure and endless light  
As calm as it was bright"

is marvellous poetry; but English critics while appreciating the lyrical genius of the Caroline poets such as Crashaw, Herbert and Vaughan have dubbed them along with their great master John Donne of an earlier period as metaphysicals.

In the oldest literature of the world, poetry and religion were inextricably interwoven. It was so in Ancient India. The Vedic hymns are an illustration to the point. Mediaeval poetry also was largely influenced by religion. But spiritual poetry is to be distinguished from sacred poetry, and all spiritual poems are not mystic in character. It is only when the Great Unknown manifests Himself to the individual soul in an all-embracing love and there is a communion between the divinity and the devotee and the soul participates in His *lila* that we meet with mysticism. It is a rare spiritual experience which can be expressed not directly but in allegory.

"What is the music you play my Beloved  
From the earthly instruments drawn,  
Whose tune is eternal whose words are a flame  
Whose flute is the spirit's dawn."

It is, I think, an eminent French critic who observes that poetry is worship. In these days of *vers libre* and aggressive realism it is refreshing to find the writer to be concerned solely with poetry,—with poetry of imagination, of passion, of wonder and of devotion. *White Dawns of Awakening* is a collection of lyric poems closely inter-linked with one another. The book is divided into three parts. The first part bears the title of the book, the second and the third parts are entitled "At the Vedic Altar" and "Waves of Eternity" respectively. In a poem in the second section she says:

"Our life is a stairway of hopes that are shed  
And despairs that buried moan,  
And that which is joy is the treble note  
From sorrows undertone."

In the third part, "The Meeting" opens with the lines:

"In the verge of the known and the unknown  
Is your meeting with me."  
In "My Abode" we find:  
"On the way of your coming and going  
I have built my abode."

She says:

"I have felt the flame of your touch in my blood."

But:

"Hushed is my heart with its burden of ecstasy,  
My soul with its mighty release,  
For I have conquered the demon desire  
And known the soul's wide peace."

To an Indian the mystic note is not so strange. The Vaishnava poets, the Sufis and the mediaeval saint-like Nanak, Kabir and Dadu are mystics. Tagore's *Gitanjali* has done more than anything else to acquaint the West with such mystic poetry. The note Lotika Ghose has struck in the *Dawns of White Awakening* may not be quite novel but what she writes is real poetry.

SAILENDRAKRISHNA LAX

BULLETIN OF THE BARODA MUSEUM AND  
PICTURE GALLERY, Vol. VI, Parts I—II. 1948-49.

The place of honour in this double number of the Bulletin is rightly given to a learned description (accompanied with 50 well-executed illustrations) for the able pen of Dr. H. Goetz, of a richly-carved Jain *mandapa* which has recently been acquired for the Baroda Museum. This fine structure rightly called "

monument of old Gujarati wood-sculpture" (and architecture) would have shared the fate of another beautiful Jaina shrine which has now been safely deposited in the Metropolitan Museum of New York, but for the princely patriotism of the then ruling Gaekwad of Baroda who purchased it for the museum from a Bombay firm of art-dealers in 1947. As is usual with Dr. Goetz's writings, his analysis of the architectural and other features of this structure is able, illuminating and suggestive. He finds that in spite of numerous additions and alterations, it is resolvable into an older shrine of late 16th and early 17th centuries and its restoration in the sixties or seventies of the last century (p. 6). While most of the wood-sculpture is purely decorative, a few statuettes and relief panels deal with processions, figures of deities and those of heavenly musicians (pp. 7-13). The forms of male and female costume, the varieties of musical instruments, the architectural elements and the ornamental pieces are subjected to a detailed treatment in their chronological and historical setting (pp. 13-22). This is followed by a valuable outline of old Gujarati wood-sculpture in the light of the foregoing analysis (pp. 23-30). The rest of the Bulletin (pp. 31-48) is occupied with the report on the working of the Museum during the period under review.

U. N. GHOSHAL

**TODAR MULL: THE CONQUEROR OF BENGAL**, an historical novel by *Romesh Dutt*, rendered into English from "*Vanaa Vijeta*" by *Ajoy Dutt*. *Kitabistan, Allahabad. Pp. viii + 166.*

Readers of *Vanaa Vijeta* in Bengali will certainly miss the charm and thrill of the original in the translation. It is one of the best works of literary art of the great master. Still we must admit that the translator has done full justice to his father's genius. It is a readable good novel in the English form, and will be much appreciated by non-Bengali readers.

**LETTERS OF SWAMI VIVEKANANDA: 4th edition, 1948.** *Advaita Ashrama, Mayavati, Almora. Pp. viii + 501.*

These letters when first published served two-fold purposes. They shed some light on the obscure corners of Swamiji's life and inspired the readers with fervent patriotism. In the present edition the letters have been better arranged and fifteen more letters added. The names of many persons hitherto omitted from various considerations have now been given. The short illuminating notes at the end of the book will be found very useful. It is also a commendable exemplar of book production. We learn that more letters of Swamiji have been found after the book went through the press, so we are anxious for the fifth edition of the book.

B.

#### ENGLISH-SANSKRIT

**TECHNICAL TERMS AND TECHNIQUE OF SANSKRIT GRAMMAR. Part I:** By *Kshitish Chandra Chatterji, M.A., D.Litt., Lecturer, in Comparative Philology and Sanskrit, Calcutta University. Visvanath Chatterji, 81 Shyambazar Street, Calcutta, 4. Price Rs. 10.*

Honour to whom honour is due. Dr. Chatterji has broken entirely new ground in his *Technical Terms and Technique of Sanskrit Grammar* and demonstrated clearly that Bengal, though fallen on evil days, can even now produce works on Indology that invite and bear comparison with the best work produced in any part of the world. Who ever thought that all the

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technical terms admitted of satisfactory explanation and who ever imagined that a work on grammatical terminology could be made as delightful as a novel? In this volume of nearly 350 pages the technical terms of Sanskrit grammar from the Brahmanas, Nirukta, Pratisakhya, Panini, Katyayana, Patanjali, down to Prayogaratnamala and Harinamamrita have been considered critically and historically in all their bearings and apparently arbitrary technical terms like *gha*, *bha*, *lai*, *lit*, etc., have been traced to their sources. We have nothing but admiration for this masterpiece of scholarship and warmly recommend it to our readers.

SIVANARAYAN SEN

### SANSKRIT

**NYAYASIDDHANTATATTVAMRITAM** (of Sri-nivasa): *Critically edited with Introduction by S. Subrahmanya Sastri, M.O.L., Government Oriental Library, Madras. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This is No. XIX of the Madras Government Oriental Series published under the authority of the Government of Madras. A comparatively late work, it gives a detailed account of the seven categories of the Vaisesika system in a lucid style. The author belongs to the Deccan School of Indian logicians. He is fully conversant with the views of logicians hailing from Karnataka, Gauda, Dramida, Magadha and Mithila whom he frequently quotes and criticises. The present volume especially criticises the views of Raghunatha Siromani who considers many topics in the Vaisesika Sastra as redundant. It is at times interesting as it presents views not found in the extant Vaisesika texts and condemns the popular theory of *Kavyayuha*.

References in the present volume would seem to indicate that the author intended to complete the work with the addition of two sections on definitions and epistemology. But it is not known if the proposed sections were ever written.

Numerous misprints have so to say disfigured the book which is otherwise an important addition to the Vaisesika Literature.

ANANTALAL THAKUR

### BENGALI

**UPAJIBIKA HISABE VIJNAPAN** (Advertisement as a Profession): *By Santosh Kumar De. Published by Bengal Publishers, 14 Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta. Pp. 120. Price Rs. 2-8.*

This book is, we think, the first of its kind in the Bengali language to describe the possibilities of Advertisement as a profession, and a quite respectable profession at that, as respectable as that of an Insurance-man. The young writer is himself engaged in it, and what he writes on comes from his own experience of about 15 years. And as his line of work touches journalism in certain of its phases, he has acquired a style that has a distinct appeal. His book by its illustrations and techniques show how this appeal through the eyes and the mind move men and women to make their purchases. Pp. 115-20 should have a special value to journalists. As a pioneer Santosh Babu should be an exemplar to his generation.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

### HINDI

**TULSI**: *By Ramesh Bedi. Published by Himalaya Herbal Institute, Gurukula Kangri, Haridwar, U. P. Pp. 178. Price Rs. 2.*

This is the second enlarged edition (a proof of its popularity) of the well-known research scholar's brochure on *Tulsi* ("holy basil") in his projected series on Indian Materia Medica. The virtues—and they are one hundred and one—of the sacred plant are

disclosed and "applied," to many an everyday illness in the shape of simple prescriptions. G. M.

### MALAYALAM

**PRACHEENA INDIAYILEY CHRISTUMATA-PRACHARAM** (Propagation of Christianity in India in the early Centuries): *By T. K. Joseph. Published by the Malayalam Christian Literature Committee, Tiruvalla, Travancore, with illustrations. Crown. Pp. 90. Price twelve annas.*

Mr. T. K. Joseph, well-known as an author and writer, has now produced another small treatise on the lines of his *Malabar Christians and Their Ancient Documents* (1929), something of a source book. This time he deals with the history of the propagation of Christianity in India from the early centuries of the Christian era to the mediaeval period. The book consists of five chapters and a copious index and references and he has put together the main events of every century in an ordered sequence. There is none, at least in Kerala, who is more competent than Mr. Joseph to compile such a history bearing on the origin of Christianity in India based on documentary, historical and archaeological evidences gathered from the vast terrain from the N.-W. Frontier Province to Cape Comorin, with the authority of a scholar and a historian. An immense amount of study of contemporary records has gone into the making of the book. For a long past, legends and tradition were the main sources on which students of history relied for a knowledge of the origin and subsequent history of the church, but Mr. Joseph's present work which is based on authoritative historical records, makes the reader feel uncommonly well-informed which one can put his faith upon. By tradition and legends, St. Thomas, an apostle of Jesus Christ, is believed to be the founder of the church in South India, whereas the cross discovered at Taxila in 1935 (p. 83), ascribed to the 4th century, throws additional light on the prevalence of Christianity at that place about that time, and leads also North India to make an equal claim on St. Thomas, although the subsequent history of that church remains in oblivion for the present. From all points of view, the book is a mine of information and is extremely valuable as a reference or source book to scholars who are engaged in historical research. It is written in an easy style, but the theme is not presented as a connected narrative survey like a history or a story showing the progress of Christianity from century to century; a treatment like that would have been an added attraction to a general reader. In any case, the Malayalam Christian Literature Committee is to be heartily congratulated for getting a veteran scholar and archaeologist to contribute on a subject which is of great interest to Christians in India and the book, as such, is a welcome addition to Christian Malayalam prose literature. P. O. MATTHAI

### GUJARATI

**SHREYASI**: *By Mrs. Jayavati Prantal. Bombay. 1947. Illustrated jacket. Cloth-bound. Pp. 234. Price Rs. 4.*

In this short story, Mrs. Jayavati has shown both the dark and bright sides of the life of Hindu families. She has adapted the new to the old, and her characters, like Vina and Vidya, Maina and Kumudini, Nilam and Rashmi, are not imaginary; they are mere types and can be found in our present society. The story is written with a moral and she has succeeded in her propaganda that our society can and should drop whatever is evil in the old and orthodox life and amalgamate the good and uplifting ingredients of the new or modern life. K. M. J.



# INDIAN PERIODICALS



## First Elections in the Indian Republic

An election is a trial of strength between rival political parties for the right to conduct the country's government. Principal Sri Ram Sharma writes in *The Indian Review* :

The history of elections in India during the last thirty years suggests that substantial efforts will have to be made to secure fair election practices on the day—or the days—of the election. District collectors who supervised the arrangements were never averse to using their influence in favour of one party or another. Some of them even gloried in the fact. The richer candidates of all parties resorted to corrupt or illegal practices which went unpunished because almost every candidate was more or less tarred by the same brush. Election expenses permitted were too high for the purposes for which they were allowed. The use of private cars for conveying voters to the polling booths favoured the richer candidates and legitimately led to the poorer candidates spending money on the fares of their—or alleged to be their—partisans. The fact that the voters were illiterate and some provinces did not adopt picture signs for candidates led in some cases to the presiding officers' favouring particular candidates when these officers were requested to mark the voting papers. It was alleged, at least, in one election petition, that false bottoms to the ballot boxes were provided in order to make it easy to tamper with the ballot boxes. Elections were also sometimes marred by religious, caste, tribal or even racial hysteria.

Many of these evils could be checked by an enlightened public opinion or a roused public conscience. Parties—though not the candidates—may realize that an unfair practice which favoured them in one election may favour their opponent elsewhere and may join together to stamp it out. The fear that an exposure of malpractices through election petitions may ultimately lead to the loss of a seat thus won may also have some effect now that the judiciary has been seen to act independently and fearlessly. All the election arrangements will be made by the Chief Election Commissioner. He is an independent officer unconnected with the government, national or state. This is an improvement on the previous system and will make for fair elections everywhere. He would be able to secure, it is expected, greater impartiality and fairness from all who would be associated with him in this work.

But the arrangements for distributing and receiving ballot papers on the election day would be in the hands of the administrative officers. The paucity of competent persons was said to be the main reason why elections in the past were spread over several days in a constituency. Almost all parties are now agreed that this practice should stop and all over India election should be held on the same day. The choice

of polling and presiding officers has so long been confined to public servants. This would be no longer possible or necessary. Who should select the large number of polling and presiding officers needed for the next election? Despite past history, the district collectors under direction from the Chief Election Commissioner form the only machinery capable of doing this work. The District and Session Judges should not be dragged into this political affray because some of them at least may later on sit on the election tribunals. The district collector now can be expected to be impartial and just in discharging his duty on behalf of the Chief Election Commissioner. He stands to lose much more than does a candidate if he makes a bad guess in any constituency. But the election of such officers should not be limited to public servants only. To find competent and honest non-officials for this purpose may be a difficult task but not one which a modern collector cannot be expected to discharge well now that he comes into contact with all sections of public opinion in his district. If the parties are alert and arrange to safeguard their own interest adequately, there need be no fear that the polling officers or presiding officers will be able to cook the result. The polling officers issue the ballot papers to voters as they claim them. The identity of every claimant for a ballot paper can be challenged by the agents of the candidates before the paper is issued to the voter. If the candidates take reasonable precautions, their interest would be safe. In some provinces at least the representatives of the candidates were allowed to be present in the room where the voter filled the ballot paper and cast his vote. This may—and it did—secure the candidates against malpractices by a presiding officer in marking a ballot paper if requested to do so by a voter. But if candidates adopt simple symbols—devoid of religious significance—the presiding officer will have no chance of interfering with the choice of the voters. The presence of the agents of the candidates in the presiding officer's room would be superfluous; it was strongly objected to in some places both by conscientious voters as well as presiding officers. It is not necessary to continue it.

The counting of votes should start the day after the election is over. Again it may be necessary here as well to seek the co-operation of non-officials if the results are to be speedily compiled or announced. Fewer persons would be needed. They should be appointed by the Chief Election Officer.

## Red Sunset in Korea

*The New Review* observes :

The war in Korea is coming to an end. From all published reports, tactical operations did not witness the appearance of new weapons or new vehicles; it was the old equipment of World War II.

The value of mechanised transport was vividly illustrated, with its superiority in speed, and its disadvantage of being largely tied down to roads. North Korean troops operating in a hilly country were supplied by primitive means independent of roads and organised many surprise attacks on road-bound American columns. Such surprise attacks, which badly confused and delayed the U. N. local commanders were organised by regular troops; there were few guerillas and little fifth-column activity in South Korea, which proved surprisingly loyal to President Syngman Rhee. Another lesson of the Korean war is the real importance of the political commissars with the Red armies; they prevented panic in the days following the Inchon landing. Democracies also might profit by the action of morale builders on units isolated or defeated; the practice can easily be made to respect the unity and primacy of the military command. The Korean operations once more confirmed the ancient axiom that infantry is the queen of battles. The air arm is only a formidable addition to reconnaissance squads and artillery, even if it has the great advantage of working at many levels.

The great feat of the campaign was of course the landing at Inchon. The operation was not provided against by the North Koreans because of the huge variations in tides along the western Korean coast, but American genius in engineering and seamanship, and perfect logistical organisation succeeded with masterly ease. The parachute landing beyond Pyongyang was as well executed as any of the last war. In two months time, American forces had got back into their best shape.

Once the beachhead was established, operations followed a normal course: withdrawal of North

Koreans, hot pursuit by U. N. forces, short local resistance in pockets, rounding up of prisoners and then the final assault across the 38th parallel, with one spearhead rushing along the east coast, and another making straight for Pyongyang. Wonsan and Pyongyang fell easily, and the pursuit of the shattered remnants of the North Korean armies continues.

The Inchon landing had succeeded when the enemy still held the initiative and numerical superiority. It was the turning point. Overwhelming superiority passed to the U. N. forces. MacArthur had seven U. S. divisions, and two regimental combat teams (about 125,000 men), six South Korean divisions (about 60,000 men), one Australian and two British battalions (about 3,000 men). The North Koreans had lost the best of their thirteen divisions; they had still two reserve divisions and a crowd of raw recruits. Their trucks and tanks lay abandoned south of the 38th parallel and their navy was limited to a few patrol boats and mine-layers. The U. N. forces were in fine mettle, victory-flushed and impatient of ending the war by the fourth of November. The U. N. navy had six aircraft carriers, one big battleship, six cruisers, hundreds of destroyers, landing craft, and other vessels, with British, Dutch and French naval support. With sea supremacy and air monopoly, they were unhampered in their land conquest. Russia left the North Koreans to their fate; with the connivance of Red China, she launched on a new adventure in Indo-China.

The military had had their day in Korea; and at once statesmen and politicians came back to the fore in Flushing Meadows. The U. N. O. voted a plan to administer and rehabilitate, unify and democratize the whole of Korea.



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## A National Gallery of Art

Prof. O. C. Gangoly writes in the *Nation* :

The opening of the Exhibition of Bengal Folk Art at the Government House on the 15th. August last, must have reminded the citizens of Calcutta the immediate necessity of building up a National Gallery for India, worthy of this great city. Every city in Europe and America possesses its city Art Gallery, packed with masterpieces of painting and sculpture, visited by thousands of citizens in search of visual education, spiritual stimulation, and happy respites from the strenuous drudgery of modern life, deprived of all colour, light and sunshine and stimulating forms of creative Art. The cure for all the ills and evils of city life is happily provided by a well-planned and well-stocked Gallery of Art which offers a panacea for all the demands of social, spiritual and economic needs. A National Gallery is as much a necessity as a National Library, a National Stadium, and a National Theatre. When a new city is built in America they start with the four essential elements of city life, a Town Hall, a Theatre, a Library, and a Gallery of Art.

It is argued that a Gallery or Museum of Art is an essential institution for culture as well as a seat of learning. Pictures educate us by cultivating our mind and helping to learn by seeing. The identity of culture with artistic enjoyment is by no means an accepted commonplace among us; nor is the distinction between culture and education by any means clearly drawn by all of those who use the words. It must be assumed that culture consists at bottom in the spiritual process of liking things that other people before us have made to their liking, whether these things are habits of speech or behaviour, political institutions, or the things we narrowly call works of Fine Art. More closely defined, in harmony with modern usage, culture means sharing in such likings as have an authoritative basis of one kind or another, and are thus representatives of what we call standards of taste. According to this definition, culture and education differ doubly. Culture is an affair of the feelings of what are called the "sensibilities." Education may train the sensibilities, but it may also train other capacities, bodily or mental. Moreover, the sensibilities without training are often capable of the sympathetic response we call culture. While the scope of education extends beyond culture (many of our uneducated folks are possessed of large doses of culture), culture is, in a measure, independent of education. Not all education is cultivating, and not all culture is educative. Each term in its way covers more than the other. Galleries and museums and universities and schools supplement each other.

Among opportunities of culture, of liking things that others have made to their liking, works of Fine Art are pre-eminent. And we may be pardoned for naming them as exclusive instruments of culture, through the study of the creative activities of man, throughout the ages. A gallery or museum is an institution devoted to preserving certain of these creative activities which are still likable, although not usable as they once were. The ideal of a gallery or museum-purpose here called that of culture, affirms that such institutions ought to offer their contents primarily for the exercise of the likings they illustrate, or less abstractly, for the enjoyment of their Beauty. And Beauty has the uncanny power of chasing away the brute in man and, of humanising and sublimating him.

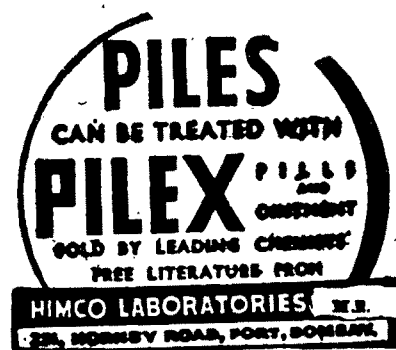
Enough has been said to establish the theoretic basis of setting up galleries and museums of Fine Arts. Our immediate necessity is to take steps to discharge this civic and national responsibility of collecting and exhibiting our national works of Art as practical expressions of our spiritual life, our truly human existence.

We have no doubt occasional and temporary exhibitions of painting and sculpture, mostly of modern works, which have yet to establish their permanent values in the education and elevation of our mental powers. It is seldom realized that a good deal of what our living artists are producing today are ephemeral experiments, not endowed with permanent merits and are destined to die and be cast into oblivion after being judged by the critical eyes of time. Many works of lesser merits, which charmed and beguiled us by their novelties at one time, have not survived the critical examination of the ages, and have been legitimately cast into the wastepaper-basket of oblivion. Many of the modern concoctions on which we are doting today are not destined to live and cannot outlive the short-lived glory of the day's popularity. And it is not wise to burden the walls of our galleries with modern works, yet awaiting the judgement of posterity. Wise citizens build their galleries with works of Art of proved merit, which have survived the vicissitudes of passing fancies and ephemeral fashions.

Yet the average man, with no critical judgment for understanding of pictures, are misled by the wooings of the contemporary artists in dire necessity for earning a living, and posing as the new Messiah of Art come to provide the eternal verities and values of life in their dubious "isms" with spurious promises of questionable optimism.

In building our National Gallery we have to be guided by our trained connoisseurs not by the popular votes of democracy, misled by the varnish of the new canvas or the shine of the gilt-frame.

The question of setting up our National Gallery has been discussed occasionally by art-lovers and cultured citizens and has evoked the keen curiosity of our living artists, with ambitions for fame and permanent places in our national memory. And a good deal of loose talk have been indulged in, in prattling about a "National Gallery" without thinking of the legitimate implications. The word has been borrowed by many, particularly by our England-returning nationals, from the world-famous National Gallery in London which is packed with masterpieces of dead artists, the tried classics of Art, and which has banished



from its wall the most talented works of the moderns. So that when many of our citizens, particularly our contemporary artists, talk glibly of a 'National Gallery,' they mean the Tate Gallery or the Luxembourg, which are dedicated to the assemblage of tried "modern masters."

The conflicting claims of the old and the new masters have been a matter of great embarrassment to our connoisseurs and collectors of Art. Many have been inclined to offer postmortem oblations, while many others have pleaded for "feeding the living gods." Similar conflicting claims meet us in the field of literature and music. The fames of Bhasa and Kalidasa, of Suradas and Tulsidas, are formidable barriers in the path of new aspirants of poetical fame. The protagonists of Tagore's songs are hard put to it to establish their claims against the time-honoured appreciation of Tansen and Shori Mea, of the *Bauls* and the *Kirtaniyas*. Our indignant Radio-reviewers vociferously vote for banishing modern songs from our All-India programmes. On the other hand, our modern pictorial artists, jealous of the merits of our old masters, would like to banish the Rajputs and the Moghuls and cast them into the holy waters of the Ganges. Fortunately for them, our average citizens have not yet developed a burning love for the old masters who are the favourites of a handful of collectors and connoisseurs. But things are difficult in the West where the average citizen has developed a capacity to judge of the merits of old masters, and generally regard the claims of the moderns with suspicion. This has been brought about by the excellent opportunity which the chosen masterpieces of the National Gallery and the Louvre (not to speak of the Galleries of Florence, Rome, and Milan) provide for the art-education of citizens, who quickly develop into connoisseurs by repeated visits to the galleries. The tyranny of the old masters is nowhere better demonstrated than in the statistics of the auction-rooms. Whilst the most fashionable favourites of the modern wielders of the brush cannot command a fee more than a thousand pounds (with occasional exceptions), the old masters frequently levy their taxes in staggering figures of five or six digits. The fight between the dead and the living is carried on in peculiar terms of controversy. While the living artist can plead for their claims in their living voice of vociferous arguments and in journalistic propaganda (they frequently hire literary hacks to boom and boost their works), the pen and the voice of the moderns is drowned by the silent dead through the astounding biddings of the auction-rooms. Thus, at the Holford auction a Rembrandt fetched 148,000 guineas. Even a living painter cannot compete with prices he himself fetches after his death. Thus Sir Joseph Duveen made the mammoth bid of £72,000 for Gainsborough's *Harvest Wagon* thus avenging the painter who never saw in his life-time any one of his landscapes bring more than 3½ guineas at Christie's. Such is the index in appraisal between a living and a dead artist, between a new and an old master.

But things are different in India. A moderately successful exhibit and prize-winner at Lady Ranu Mookherjee's show in Calcutta cannot be acquired for any thing less than Rs. 300 to Rs. 500, while the finest examples of Rajput drawings (which put to shame the finest Fragonards), and the faded portraits of Moghul *Kalams*, (which challenge the refinements of Durers or Holbeins) daily change hands in the cities of India for no more than fifty rupees. Yet the finest masterpieces of Indian painting have long ago

been exported to foreign countries picked up by tourists systematically for the last fifty years, taking advantage of the sinful ignorance of our educated nationals, impervious to the beauties of their own national art-treasures. The recent purchases of old paintings at New Delhi for the Central National Gallery have somewhat raised the demands of the dealers in Indian pictures and no time should be lost in acquiring the yet surviving remnants of old Indian paintings and drawings, which, many of our local collectors and connoisseurs claim, represent qualities far above those of the average modern production.

While one is not oblivious of the necessity of patronizing modern artists and keeping art alive in modern life, one should not forget the no less sacred duty of securing the best available specimens of old masters, very valuable and priceless from many points of view. The products of ancient and by-gone times provide valuable standards of comparison with the relative achievements of the moderns. Even the most decadent and conventional styles of the old *Ustad*s of the Moghul period reveal a high standard of technical achievement in strength and subtlety of drawing, which is beyond the dreams of our best contemporary artist. Secondly, the products of the dead artists of past ages provide valuable materials and data for art-history and for tracing the evolutionary change and the development of Art through the spirals of social and spiritual values—a study which is one of the fascinating branches of the humanities. Thirdly, for sheer merits most of the old masters stand on unapproachable heights of grandeur and eminence impossible to be attained by any moderns working under depressing social and economic environments. To maintain

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## INDIAN PERIODICALS

standards, a study of the old masters is an essential instrument for art-teaching. Our National Galleries must therefore devote a large part of their collections in representing the old schools of painting now very much neglected by our modern practitioners.

Very able arguments have been adduced by critics for a plea for the worship of the moderns and for an appreciative valuation of new ideas in Art. It has been said that an age ought to be ceaselessly producing art of its own instead of merely collecting and copying the art of other periods; that the proper time for the appreciation of a man's work was in his own lifetime; that the age we live in actually has a beauty of its own which deserves to be recorded and adapted; and that we must use the tools we have to produce an art that definitely answers to present-day needs and requirements.

These conflicting claims of the dead and the living painters have been recognized and met in Europe and America by providing different accommodations for the old and new masters. The London National Gallery is reserved for collections of the old masters while the Tate Gallery and the New Gallery pay honours to the chosen masterpieces of the moderns. In Paris, the claims of the old masters are represented in the Louvre while those of the moderns are honoured in the Luxembourg Galleries. The National Gallery of Art in Washington has, from its beginning in 1849, collected and exhibited the old as well as the modern schools of painting with a bias for and emphasis on the old masters. The patriotic citizens of New York, alive to the claims of the moderns, have set up a special museum, called the Museum of Modern Art

in which the latest collections are systematically represented.

In our National Galleries the old and the new, by association, represent the two phases. What is against is the jealous disregard against the ancients which many have revealed in their talks of the National Gallery. To safeguard the fund like that of the Chantry Bequest apart to acquire modern works of special merit.

But our talks for a National Gallery have not yet taken any definite shape. It is to secure an adequate accommodation of national treasures of art, ancient and modern. The second step is to inaugurate a society corresponding to the National Art Collection Fund in England, a body run by expert Committees, to which sundry contribute donations as a mark of the veneration of national Art.

We have heard whispers that if His Excellency Governor is approached, His Excellency would be pleased to spare some wings of the spacious Government House in Calcutta to start our National Gallery. In his recent speech the Governor has claimed to be a Servant of the People anxious to serve the needs of all and sundry. Many people think that one of the dire spiritual needs of the aesthetically starved inhabitants of this city is the provision for a permanent Temple of Art, where all communities and sects could assemble in communal harmony, in joint prayers for the worship of Beauty, the mystic mask of the Divinity.

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# FOREIGN PERIODICALS

## The Cultural Heritage of Korea

### "Land of the Morning Calm"

And who are these Koreans? Anonymous John Smith wants to know—and finds himself repeating like a chant the question of Walt Whitman: "*Yellow man, yellow man, where have you been?*" Where were the Koreans before the cannons, before the tanks, before the bombers? For, just three months ago, Korea became the centre of the world; it rose up suddenly, covered with blood. Rose up from what historical past?

Not so very long ago this past was little more than a phantom to most people around the world. A fine colony, whose inhabitants were ordered to forget their past, their national soul, even their language which it was forbidden, under penalty of the whip, to use in schools, even in playtime.

At the end of the 14th Century, there was the kingdom of T'yo-Ssyen, Land of the Morning Calm, with its capital at Seoul. The land was governed by a vassal of the Chinese Ming Dynasty. The rare travellers who tried to tell the rest of the world about the treasures of this kingdom attributed a Mongolian origin to this homogeneous people. They remarked on the individuality of the language and the simplicity of its alphabet of 25 letters. They recounted a formidable list of discoveries and inventions:

Long known as the *Hermit Kingdom*, Korea is said to have evolved, quite alone, many things which other nations produced only by united effort: the spinning wheel, the art of pottery, movable metal type, paper money, the barometer, even the armour-plated ships used by Yi Soon-sin to defeat Japanese invaders in 1592.

#### THE TRAVELLERS' TALES

Ancient travellers told how education flourished. They actually meant Chinese education, for the Koreans, it seems, did not consider themselves learned unless they could, with the light strokes of a brush, show themselves conversant with the language of Confucius and work their way up in the administrative hierarchy, relying only on the Chinese classics. They judged their own fine alphabet too simple, and good enough only for children.

What high ramparts enclosed this people! Only the most poetically inclined historians were interested in them. Records provide a description of thatched cottages where the Korean peasant lived, the marriage ceremonies and a few ritual dances and traditions of native cooking. Most travellers gave only a superficial picture of their own adventures in Korea. Only a few of them recounted Korean proverbs.

Yet Korea has a rich collection of folklore, fables and fairy-tales: Cinderella is called Kongji; little Red Riding Hood will be eaten up by the tiger. Both the tiger and the tortoise figure as prominently in Korea as in China; the *genii* or *jinn*s are as powerful as those in Norway.

Well, in what niche at last can be pigeon-holed this "culture" of the old ancient lords, of peasants always in white, always in mourning, of beribboned dancers and of the silent silkworm breeders crouched on the mud floor unwinding the silk that they will never wear?

## OLD BELIEFS DIE HARD

Religion may give an answer. There are learned men who give this explanation: about two thousand years ago, Buddhism was introduced into the kingdom of Silla, accompanied by a flow of Chinese ideas. Buddhism spread its influence through the princely courts in marvellous works of architecture, piety and philosophy; the temples, still rising noble and serene above the fir trees are favourite subjects of the modern photographer.

Then, Confucianism replaced Buddhism: and the official doctrines of family and national loyalties were built on the ruins of monasteries where the monks eked out a miserable existence, though still receiving the humble devotion of the womenfolk. The ancestor cult was confined to the educated class: the masses undoubtedly never abandoned their old beliefs, their sacrifices to Heaven, their rites in honour of the Sun, the Moon and the Stars. Holy places are still revered, mountains shelter *genii*, and under the sacred trees the passer-by still places pebbles.... In the 15th Century, Korean learned men compiled an encyclopaedia in 112 volumes, but it is doubtful whether they even wrote about these daily practices of the common people. In any case, the average Korean would not have access to these works, for, like the Official Public Records, they were not written in his language.

Yet, for more than a thousand years, many aspects of Korean art have been truly great. Experts have spoken of the pottery of the country as the finest in the world. It is known that Japanese sculpture developed in the 6th Century from Korean art and that, generally speaking, Korea was an indispensable channel through which civilization was introduced into Japan; for many centuries the Japanese called Korea the Treasure Land of the West.

#### WHAT SYSTEM OF VALUES?

Today, the sparse accounts of historians and adventurers are being supplemented by the stories of war correspondents with their despatches which describe the extent of the ruins, the weight of arms, the thousands of fleeing refugees. The sufferings of these refugees, some with hope in their hearts, others dulled with misery, can easily be imagined.

But what system of values have they now? Beyond hunger and fear, what fantasies fill their dreams? What do they think about in their waking moments? For already they are beginning to think of the future and their thoughts will not be created out of nothing; the past is still with them and whatever the future holds will be influenced and coloured by that almost forgotten heritage from their ancestors—in short, by their culture.

It is the duty of every thinking person to try to understand this people that war has so brutally thrust into world prominence, to study the records of their philosophy and an art of the highest kind which is still existent today. He will gain far more than just an historical background. He will discover the character and manner of life of present-day Koreans living under the symbolic flag, in which the yang and the yin, fire and water, sun and night, life and death are mysteriously intertwined.—*Courier* (UNESCO).

### Tribute to Harold Laski

For most people Harold Laski will be best remembered for his work as a Professor of Political Science at the University of London, a member of the Labour Party Executive, and the author of brilliant books on democracy and socialism. But by Unesco he will also be remembered as one of the most ardent and valued collaborators in several of its early projects.

In 1947 he was consulted, with other philosophers and sociologists, on the philosophic bases of a Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and his contribution was a brilliant and courageous essay. In it he summed up his views on the world of the future by saying that the Declaration "would have to take account rather of the possibilities struggling to be born than of the traditions dying before our eyes."

Like others he had been struck by the sceptical indifference bred in peoples by a surfeit of hollow formulae and principles betrayed, and so he called for a declaration which would be both bold in its general character and concrete in its detailed conduct.

Of the division of the modern world he wrote: "Under circumstances such as these, the issue of a Declaration of Rights would be a grave error of judgment unless it set out deliberately to unify, and not to separate men in their different political societies. It must, therefore, emphasize the identities, and not the differences, in the competing social philosophies which now arouse such passionate discussion."

Later he joined the Committees of Experts convened by Unesco to study the question of Human Rights, and he entered into their deliberations with the enthusiasm he brought to everything.

Militant, tenacious and combative he was at all times, but with repeated flashes of transforming humour, and the felicity of expression that was one of his gifts was also a part of his own vivacity. His learning was prodigious and ready to hand, with history particularly the history of thought, at his fingertips to support his views. To it he joined a mercilessly critical spirit; there can rarely have been a man more concerned with the clear definition of terms and their proper use. In a word, he had exactly the qualities needed in a good committee man, and especially the gift of stimulating debate and clarifying the issues.—*Courier* (UNESCO).

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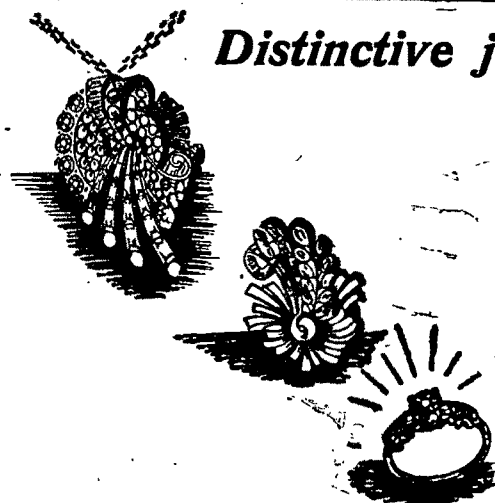
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### Wayang

The word "wayang" means "shadow" or "shadows." The shadows appear on a white screen, when the wayang puppets are placed or moved about between the screen with a lamp hanging in front of it. So "wayang" can also mean "Shadow" or "Silhouette play." The same word refers also to the wayang puppets, which are made of perforated gilt leather, colourfully painted.

The puppets are made of the hide of the Indonesian buffalo. First of all the fresh, wet hide is braced tightly over a bamboo frame and dried in the sun. When it is quite dry, the hair is scraped off with a sharp short knife. Then it is smoked so as to get rid of the remaining fat. The wayang maker then lays his pattern on the hide, and copies the figures with a special instrument after which he cuts out his puppet. It is then touched up and polished. Next, the wayang-maker dips it into a mixture of boneash and glue-water. It is then taken to the dyer, who paints and gilds the puppet, and flattens it between two boards padded with thick linen or drill. The boards are then removed and the puppet is fitted with a horn handle. And so the wayang-puppet is ready for the stage.

A wayang-show traditionally begins at nine in the night and ends the following morning at six. When such a performance is in progress, the puppets are placed or moved about between the lamp and the white screen. Formerly the lamp was filled with coco-nut oil, but now-a-days an electric lamp is often used. The white screen is tightly stretched on to a wooden or bamboo frame. At the lower end of the screen two trunks of a banana-tree hold the puppets which are planted in them. They are neatly arranged in two rows (to the right and to the left of the wayang conductor), leaving an empty space in the middle of the screen for the puppets which are actually "on the stage." To the left of the wayang-showman or *dalang*, who sits crosslegged under the lamp, is a wooden box (about 4 feet long and 2 feet wide) in which the remaining puppets are kept. From the side of the box nearest to the *dalang* hangs a rattling instrument made of iron sheets, on which the *dalang* beats with his right foot when he considers it necessary to stress his words or the actions of the puppets. With that instrument and a horn gavel with which he knocks against the box with his left hand (if this hand is not holding the puppet) he also leads the music. The musicians sit behind or beside him. They must be able to see everything the *dalang* does.

There are actually several kinds of wayang, but here we shall only discuss *wayang purwa* which means "earliest wayang." As far as the stories are concerned there are three great cycles, namely: (1) the Ardjuna Sasra Bau Cycle, (2) the Rama Cycle or the Adventures of Prince Rama of Pantjawati, also known as Ramayana and (3) the Pandawa Cycle also known as Mahabharata. These epics originated from India, but as they were handed down from generation to generation, they under-

went so many changes that, although the framework is still perceptible, they have now become Javanese stories with typically Javanese characteristics.

It goes without saying that wayang is very popular among the Javanese. In rapturous delight they will watch the graceful movements of the leather puppets when they appear upon the screen, playing their parts as horn actors. For many hours they will listen to the story of the wayang-showman, as he dwells upon the good and bad sides of human nature, picturing at the same time the numerous difficulties we encounter during our lives in this world of joy and sorrow. The performer presents not only those problems, but also points out in the minutest detail how to solve them in the best possible way. Young and old, rich and poor, they all get what they want. Boys and girls can admire the heroes, who perform brave deeds in the firm belief that they fight on the side of the good for the well-being of all mankind. Older people who, no less than the young folk, take a keen interest in the play, can compare their way of thinking with the wise words flowing from the lips of the wayang conductor in his capacity of spokesman for truth.

Perhaps you can now understand why the wayang plays such an important part in the inner life of the average Javanese. He likes those wonderful stories because they give him something to think about, which proves to be of much value to him and which sets his conscience at rest. They love them because they make him forget his sorrows, and because they bring him joy and happiness. To him they mean a great deal, in fact he regards them as sparks of light, guiding his steps along the perilous path of life, so that, when his time comes, he can safely reach the abode of the blessed, where he will enjoy peace and happiness.—*Merdeka*, July, 1950.

### Projected Industrial Development of Pakistan

Hamid Ali, Deputy Trade Director for Pakistan in London, writes in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts*, July 1950 :

The areas that constitute Pakistan produce a number of valuable raw materials in abundance, but industrially they are very backward. It will be no exaggeration to say that the country depends almost entirely on imports for her requirements of manufactured articles, including machinery and consumer goods; the only exceptions being cement, sports goods, surgical instruments, handloom cloth, indigenous shoes, and some other leather goods. She produces 70 per cent of the world's jute, yet she does not possess a single jute mill; her production of cotton—and most of it is long staple cotton—accounts for 15 per cent of the world's production, yet she can boast no more than



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It will not be out of place to give here a brief outline of the geographical position of Pakistan and her economic resources. The total area of the country is 360,780 square miles. The two parts constituting Pakistan are separated from each other by 1,000 miles of Indian territory. The area of West Pakistan is 306,860 square miles, and that of East Pakistan 53,920

square miles. The total population of Pakistan is estimated to be 80,260,000; of this 46,720,000 are in East Pakistan and 33,540,000 in West Pakistan. In order of population, Pakistan is the largest Muslim state, and the fifth largest state in the world. The density of population in Eastern Pakistan is 870 per square mile, and in Western Pakistan 109 per square mile. The density in Pakistan as a whole is 222 per square mile. Percentage of urban population to total population is as follows:

Eastern Pakistan—4.8 per cent

Western Pakistan—14.5 per cent

Country as a whole—11.1 per cent.

The very low percentage of urban population in Pakistan indicates the importance of agriculture in the economy of the country, and the comparative lack of development of industries. This is particularly so in Eastern Pakistan where the urban population is 4.8 per cent of the total.

The physical features of Western and Eastern Pakistan, separated from each other by 1,000 miles of Indian territory, are in marked contrast. Western Pakistan has in the north and west peaks rising up to 14,000 feet, and in the south, the desert and plains of Sind and West Punjab. These plains are watered by five rivers and by their extensive canal system. Rainfall is scanty and variable, averaging 9.4 inches a year in Karachi to 20.8 inches in Lahore. The temperature of the inland plains is extreme, varying between a maximum of 120 degrees in summer, and a minimum of 28 degrees in winter nights. Eastern Pakistan, on the other hand is largely a flat alluvial plain, through which the Ganges and Brahmaputra with their tributaries meander to the sea, covering the land with fertilizing silt during the rains. It has a tropical monsoon climate. The rainfall varies from about 75 inches in Dacca to 160 inches in Sylhet, and the temperature from between 45 degrees in winter to 102 degrees in summer.

Communications in Pakistan are not adequate in all respects. There are two main railway systems; the North-Western Railway in the west and the East Bengal Railway in the east. On both railways but particularly on the East Bengal Railway, locomotive and coaches had been subjected to exceptionally heavy wear during the war. The rolling stock is gradually

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placed, though deliveries of locomotives from have been slow.

strategic reasons, the metalled road system of Pakistan has been better than that in many India; in spite of wear during wartime and refugee convoys immediately after partition, these useful links between the various provinces exist. There are hardly any metalled roads in Pakistan, and the province depends mainly on transport as the means of communication. A voyage from Karachi to Chittagong takes two weeks, but the regular Pakistan civil air takes only seven to ten hours from Karachi to Lahore, Rawalpindi, Peshawar and Quetta. Pakistan is also linked to Karachi and Dacca by Pakistani airlines, namely, Orient Airways and flying Dakotas and Convair aircraft. Pakistan has an international line of her own, but most of the foreign airlines pass through Karachi, which is the best and longest established aeroplane base in Asia.

Her production of oil and coal is considerably less, Pakistan has to depend on the expansion of water resources for power. A six-year development aims at trebling the existing supply of electricity.

Main products of Pakistan are jute, cotton, hides and skins, dried fruit, saltpetre, gypsum, ore, rock salt, all of which are exported to other countries. The nature of these products indicates that Pakistan is primarily an agricultural country. The standard of living of her people is there-

fore not very high. If this standard is to be raised—and the Government are pledged to raise it—it is essential that the growth of suitable industries should be encouraged. My Government have been giving earnest consideration to this problem ever since they assumed power.

Pakistan came into being on the 15th of August, 1947, and less than four months later, on the 13th of December 1947, the Pakistan Industries Conference assembled in Karachi. It was attended by representatives of all the provinces and states of Pakistan, and concluded its task on the 17th December. This was the first step on the road to industrialization. After the recommendations of this Conference had been examined, Government issued, in April 1948, a statement of their industrial policy. This statement embodied the conclusion reached by Government on various aspects of the problem of industrialization in the light of the recommendations made by the Pakistan Industries Conference.

### Old Hindu Balinese Art

*Merdeka* of the Indonesian Information Service, reproduces the following extract from the *Island of Bali* by Covarrubias:

Already in the records of Chinese travellers of the fifth century it is mentioned that in the country of "Poli," perhaps Bali, there were Hindu princes, and that the travellers were received by priests who danced around them blowing conchshells. Bali was already a colony of



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the Central Javanese kingdom of Mataram, the earliest recorded ruler of which was, according to Stutterheim, King Sandjaya or Sanjaya (A.D. 732) of the Sailendra dynasty, who ruled also over southern Sumatra. The Sailendras were Mahāyānic Buddhists, and their highly developed art was like that of the great Gupta period of India. Sivaism was introduced towards the middle of the ninth century and, by degrees, the power of the Sailendras waned, but it was within this period, from the seventh to the ninth centuries, the golden age of Javanese art, that the finest monuments of Java were built, the Buddhist Borobudur and the Sivaist Lora Djongrang in Prambanan. Soon this great civilization disappeared mysteriously and Bali came under the rule of independent kings in Pedjeng and Bedulu. From their time we have remains of the classic style in the neighbourhood of the present villages of the same names, some in ruined temples, in caves, or among the ricefields, in the strip of land between the rivers Pakrisan and Petanu, where so many of the antiquities of Bali are found. Towards the beginning of the eleventh century there was a renaissance in East Java, in Kediri, brought about by the Balinese-born king Erlangga. Under him Bali became again an integral part of Java and classicism received a new impetus. It was Erlangga who instituted Javanese as the official language of Bali and Erlangga's brother ruled Bali in his name. This brother was buried (according to Stutterheim) in the spectacular "Kings tomb" in Gunung Kawi near Tampaksiring. Tantric black magic seems to have played an important part in Erlangga's time and while he was having trouble with his greatest political enemy, his own mother had sworn to destroy his kingdom by the black arts.

Among the important relics of the ancient period are the following:

**Gunung Kawi:** On the banks of the river Pakrisan, descending a steep ravine, is a group of sober, undecorated monuments shaped like the ancient burial towers (tjandi), hewn out of the solid rock, each inside a niche, four on one side and five on the other. To the right of the main group is a sort of monastery with caves also carved out of the rock, arranged around a central cell with a platform in the centre. The monuments are supposed to belong to the eleventh century, when cremation had not yet been introduced into Bali, and Lekkerkerker thinks the cells were probably designed to expose the corpses to be destroyed by decay and wild animals, such as was the custom among Indonesians. The monuments were only discovered in 1920, but the Balinese knew them, and kept them with reverence because they attributed them to the giant of mythical times, Kbo Iwa, who is supposed to have carved all the ancient monuments with his own fingernails. The natives formerly called the tombs Djalu, but the present place-name, Gunung Kawi, means "mountain of poetry" or "mountain of antiquity."

**Bukit Darma:** In Kutri near Bedulu there is another antiquity of the classic period, also related to Erlangga. It is the beautiful statue of Mahendradatta, Erlangga's mother, as the goddess of death, Durga. It is preserved in the sanctuary of Bukit Darma, which archaeologists believe to be the burial site of Erlangga's mother. The statue is badly worn, but it can still be seen that it was of the purest classic lines.

**Gua Gadja:** Together with Gunung Kawi, the best known relic of the ancient art is the famous "Elephant Cave" near Bedulu. Gua Gadja is a great hollowed rock,

perhaps the former residence of a hermit, elaborately carved on the outside, covered with representative stylized rocks, forests, waves, animals, and people in a panic because directly over the entrance is the head of a great monster with bulging eyes who splits the rock with his enormous fat hands. Nieuwenkamp says it may represent Pasupati, who divided the mountain of Mahameru into two parts and, taking them in his hands, placed each half in Bali as the Gunung Agung and Gunung Batur. There are a number of ancient stone water-pipes outside the cave, and on the inside is a statue of Ganesha in a central niche, with a linga on either side. The statue of Gadja dates also from the eleventh century and receives the popular name of "Elephant Cave" because of the statue, inside, of the god Ganesha, shaped like an elephant. But Coris attributes the name to the fact that the river Petanu, which runs near the cave, was in old times Lwa Gadja, the "elephant river." Elephants have never existed in Bali and the elephant motif does not appear so frequently in Balinese art were imported from India or Java. As of Gunung Kawi, Kbo Iwa is also, according to popular belief, the author of the other hermitages with rock reliefs are the one near Ubud called Toya Pulu; the Gua Raksasa near Ubud; D Paku, both on the river Oos (Uwos); and the caves Kapal in Bandung.

Other statues worthy of mention are the figure of Durga in the temple Pondjok Batu on the road to Tula in North Bali and the great statue of Dewa Pantjering Djagat, over twelve feet high, the statue in Bali, kept jealously out of sight in the (meru) of the temple Trunyan, a Bali Aga village on the eastern shore of Lake Batur. The statue is very old and is held to have magic power.

### Job Placement for Students Aided by New U.S. Program

Washington, June 5.—Industrialists, businessmen, teachers in a city in the United States are learning first-hand about each other's operations and problems in a program designed to improve the vocational guidance given to students in the schools of the city. School leaders believe the association with each other will help them conserve human resources by aiding them in placing young people in jobs for which they are best suited. *New York Times* reports.

Recently, while the 40,000 boys and girls in the schools of Hartford, in the State of Connecticut, given a vacation, their 1,600 teachers spent the day as guests of 70 of the city's factories, banks, insurance companies, department stores, and other business firms. School management officials took the teachers on inspections of the plants and offices, explained the operations and discussed their problems with the teachers.

Many of the teachers arranged to work during the summer in some of the firms to get more knowledge of business and to counsel their pupils. Also, a number of companies offered to provide the schools with business information, motion pictures, and speakers to address pupils on job opportunities.

The program also includes visits to the schools by industrialists to observe operations and discuss problems.—USIS.